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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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Trends in Rural and Urban Fertility Rates

By T. J. Woofter, Jr.†

ABSTRACT

The hypothesis that the spread between farm and city birth rates is becoming narrower is difficult to verify because of the complexity of the factors involved. Comparisons of total white rates are confused by the more rapid elimination of the foreign-born population from urban areas and the consequent sharper decline in urban white fertility. If the ratio of children under five years of age to women of childbearing age is used as the measure of fertility, it would seem that from 1910 to 1940 the differential between farm and urban ratios became wider instead of narrower. It is probable, however, that the apparent widening of the differential in rural and urban fertility may be accounted for by changes in migration rather than by differential change in indigenous fertility. There is fragmentary evidence that since 1940 the farm-urban differential has become narrower, reversing the trend in previous years. In this case also, however, the apparent trend may be in reality the result of migration. The unsatisfactory nature of data now available indicates the desirability of more intensive studies of this trend by comparing groups which have resided constantly on the farm with groups which have resided constantly in the city.

The relative trend of indigenous fertility on the farm and in the city is of basic importance in any future planning which involves the potential size and distribution of the labor force and the rate of growth of cities. It is, of course, well understood that farm fertility is much higher than that in urban areas and that rural non-farm rates are in an intermediate position. It is also known that the birth rates in all of these areas were declining rapidly up to the late 1930's. Any effort to project these trends into the future, however, soon involves the question as to whether the relative rate of decline is bringing the level of fertility on the farm nearer to that in the city or whether the gap between the two is growing wider.

The term "indigenous fertility," as used in this article, refers to the basic family pattern of a group rather than the acquired pattern which may be

the result of previous births which occurred when the women were living in some other group or which may be the result of family customs acquired from another group. Illustrations of acquired urban fertility would be the effect on the urban child-woman ratios of the presence of an appreciable number of couples who lived on the farm during their early life, had two or three children, and then moved to the city; or of an appreciable number of couples who acquired their ideas as to optimum family size on the farm and, as a consequence, had larger than the average families after moving to the city. The rise in the crude birth rate in California from 1935 to 1940 was more rapid than that in the rest of the country. This was probably the result of fertility acquired by reason of the migration of large numbers of farm families from the Plains States. On the other hand, indigenous fertility would define the behavior of

† Federal Security Agency.

couples who were reared either in the city or on the farm and who, subsequently, spent their married life in the same environment. Since indigenous fertility, by definition, is not affected by migration, it is that concept which is basic in determining the true relationships between fertility trends.

Definitive studies on this point are lacking. Some allusions are to be found in the literature of the 1930's which indicate the belief that the differential between urban and rural fertility is narrowing and will continue to do so. An illustration of this is the data quoted by Warren Thompson in his *Population Problems* (page 138) which make the crude comparison between States classified as industrial with those classified as agricultural. This table shows a slight narrowing of the differential between these groups of States. Again, Frank Lorimer in *Problems of a Changing Population* (page 127) shows by the percentage change in fertility, by nativity and race, in communities of different sizes, that from 1910 to 1930 the ratios of native white children to women declined more rapidly on the farm than in the rural non-farm or urban areas, but that foreign-born white fertility declined most rapidly in rural non-farm areas, next in cities, and least on the farms. Negro groups showed a mixed trend which was confused by migration. As we shall see later, the trends of the native white group as shown by this measure could also largely be account-

ed for by migration. Lorimer concludes:

The more rapid decline of the birth rate among native white women in rural areas, which first made greatest headway in cities, is now spreading rapidly throughout the rural population. How much this will reduce the present large differential between urban and rural women cannot be foretold at the present time.

This author set out to see what verification could be obtained for the hypothesis that the gap was narrowing. The apparent conclusion from the data as they stand is so at odds with preconceived ideas that this study turned into an analysis of the characteristics of the measures used. These measures are shown in Tables I and II for 30- and 40-year periods. Table I is based on the children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women, age 15 to 49. This measure records conditions which prevailed for 5-year periods prior to the various Census enumerations and is based on the women who were living on the farm or in the city at the time of the enumeration, regardless of how long they had resided there. Table II shows the completed generation fertility or the total number of children ever born to women who had passed age 40. The residence of these women was also that in which they were located on the date of the enumeration without regard to how long they had lived there. The children reported were born over a previous period of 30 years; hence the incidence in

Table II is earlier than in Table I. Both of these tables indicate a slight widening of the gap between farm and urban fertility from 1910 to 1940. Table I indicates a ratio of farm to urban fertility of 1.64 in 1910 as against 1.80 in 1940. Table II indicates similar change from 1.54 to 1.70 in 30 years and from 1.37 to 1.54 in the preceding 10 years. Closer examination of these measures raises serious doubt as to whether the gap in intrinsic fertility is really widening, is stationary, or perhaps even narrowing slightly. The reason for this uncertainty is that these meas-

ures are obviously affected by factors other than changes in intrinsic fertility, notably by the virtual elimination of foreign-born women from the childbearing ages and particularly by the changes in these ratios which are attributable to farm-to-city migration rather than to any changes in indigenous fertility. Since the cities had a higher percentage of foreign-born and since the decrease in foreign-born was more rapid in cities, this would be an influential factor in the more rapid decrease in total white urban fertility.

Since the total size of cities has been constantly increasing, with the result that the *proportion* of recently arrived farm migrants in the urban population is becoming smaller, the effect of the farm-to-city movement is evidently diminishing in importance. Without the bolstering effects of a continuously large proportion of newcomers from the farm, it would be expected that urban child-woman ratios would decline more rapidly.

Ideally, a study of the relative trends of fertility on farm and in cities would be based on populations

TABLE I. CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OLD PER 1,000 WOMEN, 15-49 YEARS OLD FROM U. S. CENSUS*

	Urban	Rural-Farm	Ratio of Rural-Farm to Urban
1910	336	551	1.64
1930	296	487	1.65
1940	221	397	1.80
Per Cent			
Decrease 1910-30	12	12	
Per Cent			
Decrease 1930-40	25	18	

* U. S. Census of 1940—*Population—Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910—Fertility for States and Large Cities*, pp. 21 and 22.

TABLE II. GENERATION GROSS REPRODUCTION RATES ESTIMATED FROM NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN*

Age of Women When Enumerated	Generation Span	Urban	Rural-Farm	Ratio of Rural-Farm to Urban
50-54 in 1910	1875-1905	208	285	1.37
40-44 in 1910	1885-1915	161	249	1.54
50-54 in 1940	1905-1935	128	206	1.66
40-44 in 1940	1915-1945	106	176	1.70
Per cent Decrease 1905-15		23	13	
Per cent Decrease 1915-35		20	17	
Per cent Decrease 1935-45		18	15	

* U. S. Census of 1940—*Population—Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910—Fertility for States and Large Cities*, pp. 13-17. Estimate allows for under-reporting of children and differential mortality. Cf. T. J. Woofor, "Completed Generation Reproduction Rates," *Human Biology* (September, 1947).

which were comparable in race and nativity composition and which had resided continuously either on the farm or in the city during their entire adult life. No such populations are, however, available for comparison without elaborate field study of selected samples. One method for such a study in selected areas would be to compare the number of children born to mothers and to their daughters who had completed the childbearing period where both generations had lived continuously in the city or on the farm. Lacking such data, the effects of migration must be discontinued as much as possible by deductive logic.

On the basis of deductive logic, Table III has been compiled to indicate qualitatively the probable effect of migration on ratios of children to women, which may be quite independent of changes in intrinsic fertility. In general, it would appear from this table that the effect of migration on farm fertility ratios is probably slight, except as a result of the disproportionate number of young people who move off the farm in the young marriageable ages; whereas the presence or absence of farm-city movement may have a marked effect on urban ratios. Such migration, resulting in age bias, would obviously lower the farm ratio of children under 5 years of age and increase the urban, but would not disturb the "generation" or completed fertility rate in Table II since this is an age-specific rate. Besides the biased age structure, the most important effect

of migration on urban birth rates is the addition to urban populations of considerable numbers of young people who, because they were reared on the farm, have had their ideas as to an optimum family based on the farm family pattern. These couples, probably even for some years after their movement to the city, continue to have a higher birth rate than that of the city-born population. As mentioned above, the constant growth of cities which results in the decrease in the proportion of farm-born, of course has no effect on farm child-woman ratios, but tends to lower urban ratios by diminishing the bolstering effects of a large farm-born group. This factor becomes even more important in periods when there is a back-to-the-farm movement or a cessation of farm-to-city movement. Obviously, under these conditions, the proportion of newcomers from the farm who are to be found in the city is even more rapidly reduced. The question as to whether migration selects from the farm population those young people who already have adopted the urban family pattern as their ideal and, hence, are predetermined to have a smaller number of children is problematical. To the extent to which such selection does take place, farm fertility is slightly increased without much effect on urban fertility. The cessation of foreign immigration has been discussed above. The last factor mentioned in this table (suburbanization) has practically no effect on the farm population and will be discussed in connec-

TABLE III. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN

Factor	Farm Effect	Urban Effect
1. Farm-to-city movement:		
(a) Bias in age structure	Lowers	Increases
(b) Transfer of rural fertility pattern	None	Increases
(c) Growth of cities resulting in smaller proportion of farm born	None	Lowers
(d) Possible selection of couples wanting fewer children	Slightly increases	Little effect
2. Back-to-farm movement	Reverses factors 1(a) to (d) incl.	
3. Cessation of foreign immigration	Lowers slightly	Lowers sharply
4. Suburbanization	No effect	Lowers

tion with the effects on the rural non-farm areas.

The relative importance of these factors varies from region to region and from time to time, but, as stated above, statistics are lacking from which their quantitative relationships can be measured.

Table I, however, indicates somewhat more rapid widening of the gap between farm and urban rates from 1930 to 1940 than in the previous 20 years. It is probable that this is largely due to the virtual cessation of farm-to-city migration during the depression and the continuation of the suburban movement. The proportion of foreign-born women in the child-bearing population in 1930 was already so small that its decrease had little effect in the following decade. On the other hand, in 1930 the cities contained a substantial proportion of young couples recently from the farm who by the year 1940 had aged beyond the young childbearing years and who had not been replaced by fresh tides of new farm-born young people.

The conclusions of the previous paragraph are based on the period

before 1940 when the birth rates of all segments of the population were falling and when the effects of farm-to-city migration were diminishing in importance. From 1940 to 1946, however, birth rates were rising sharply. Likewise, farm-to-city migration had been resumed on a large scale. The question then arises as to whether the relative trends in differentials between farm and urban fertility ratios would be reversed in the decade of 1940 to 1950. Population was in such a state of flux during the war years and residence so ephemeral that data from which to generalize fertility trends in the early 1940's are at best sketchy. However, some fragmentary evidence is available from the Sample Surveys made by the Bureau of the Census.³ The net reproduction rates for both races calculated from these data in comparison with those of 1940 indicate an increase from 1940 to 1946 for both races of 34 per cent in the urban ratio and 18 per cent in the rural-farm ratio, indicating that the urban rates

³ These results are described in *Population—Special Reports, Recent Trends in Population Replacement*, Series P. 47, No. 2, U. S. Bureau of the Census.

rose more rapidly in the 1940's and narrowed the gap; whereas, in the previous 30 years they had fallen more rapidly and widened the gap. Again, it is not possible to segregate the influence of migration from the differential farm and urban response to better economic conditions.

Much of what has been said about the difficulty of measuring relative farm and urban trends applies also to comparisons of rural-farm with rural-nonfarm areas. Just as the urban increase is largely dependent upon immigration, so, to some extent, is the increase in rural non-farm areas. In a recent article by George W. Hill and Douglas G. Marshall¹ the belief is indicated that the differential between farm and rural is narrowing, although the extent of approach shown is too small to be convincing. In fact, in the State of New York the differential shown became wider. In spite of the inconclusive nature of the data, these authors state: "The data show *clearly* that the differences in behavior of farm families and rural families, so far as their fertility index reveals, are *rapidly* disappearing."² One peculiarity of the method used by these authors should, however, be especially noted. They did not make a direct comparison between rural-farm and rural-nonfarm rates, but between "rural" and "farm." Obviously, since the total rural includes the

farm population, they were comparing a total with one of its parts. Under these circumstances, arithmetic can be deceptive. It is possible for the birth rate of each of the parts to remain constant, but for the total rate to change if the relative importance of the two parts changes. Something of this nature happened within the rural population from 1910 to 1940. In 1910 only 43 per cent of the rural women, 15 to 49 years of age, were in nonfarm areas; whereas in 1940 the non-farm women constituted 52 per cent of all rural women. Since nonfarm birth rates were lower to begin with, this increase in the *proportion* of nonfarm in the total would, by arithmetic, lower the total rate even if no change had occurred either in the farm or the nonfarm rates. Actually, from 1910 to 1940 in the total United States white population the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women of childbearing age decreased by 28 per cent in the rural-farm group and by 30.4 per cent in the rural-non-farm group, with a total rural decrease of 29.8 per cent. Thus, while the ratio of the farm to the total rural appears practically unchanged, the ratio of the farm to the rural-non-farm became slightly larger. As in the case of the farm-urban comparisons, this change may also be attributed to factors associated with migration rather than to any changes in indigenous fertility.

An additional disturbance of rural-nonfarm rates arises from suburbanization. It is not known whether

¹ "Reproduction and Replacement of Farm Population and Agricultural Policy," *Journal of Farm Economics*, (May, 1947.)

² The italics are ours.

the couples who move from the central city in order to rear children in the suburbs tend to have families which are larger than those of the people already living in non-farm areas or not, but it is possible that suburbanization tends to bolster the rural-nonfarm birth rate to a slight extent. Also, the growth of industrial villages in rural-nonfarm areas would tend to have the same effect on the birth rate in these villages as the farm-to-city movement has on the urban rates.

Comparisons of fertility rates between States which have had different migration histories are subject to the same criticism.

The annual reproduction rates (net and gross reproduction rates) are less influenced by past migration, since these are age-specific rates and biases in the age structure are elim-

inated. Unfortunately, however, these measures are not available for long-time farm-urban comparisons, because it is only recently that the vital statistics have re-allocated births to the residence of the mother.

To recapitulate: The available measures of fertility rates from 1910 to 1940 indicate some widening of the gap between birth rates on the farm and in the city and also a slight widening between those in rural-farm and rural-nonfarm areas. The effect of migration on these measures is, however, such that it is problematical whether the change indicated by these measures is a change in indigenous fertility or merely a series of changes in the composition of the population which have been caused by migration. This seems to be a problem which is worthy of further intensive study.

Internal Migration in the United States, 1935-40*

By Edmund deS. Brunner†

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes a very small portion of three special United States Census reports totalling 875 pages and dealing with internal migration in the United States, 1935-40. Many findings from these total, nation-wide data confirm earlier and much smaller studies such as the tendency for most migrants to remain in the region of original residence, for nonwhites to be less migratory than whites, and for the rural-farm population to be less migratory than urban or nonfarm persons. The rural-nonfarm population was shown to have gained through migration from both farm and urban groups. The migration of professional workers did not conform to the patterns for the total population. Migration varied greatly by age, the 25-29 year-olds being most migratory.

* The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of two of his graduate students in the preparation of this article, Messrs. Wesley C. Lorimer and Floyd D. Dotson. They carried out all the statistical computations and made the preliminary analysis.

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During 1946 the United States Census issued three volumes, supplementary to the data published in the main reports of the 1940 Census of Population, dealing with internal mi-

gration in the United States, 1935-40.¹ These volumes contain a great wealth of data to which too little attention has been paid. In many particulars the analysis of these data confirms conclusions derived from limited migration studies by rural and other sociologists. However, the information in terms of the volume of migration, the variations in patterns as among the regions, the social, educational and economic status of migrants is not only national and regional in scope, but much of it is new. For instance, it is now possible for the first time to appraise the gain or loss in population by age, education and occupation for each city of over 100,000 population, as well as measure the intensity of each city's problem in absorbing the thousands who replenish its blood.

The data offer numerous and relatively simple opportunities for further research. For instance, the attractive power of our major cities, by types of migrants, can be measured and correlated with such indices as per capita retail sales, Thorndike's G score (goodness) or Paul Gillen's forthcoming analysis based on occupational types. This article, however, is mainly a preliminary analysis of the crude data presented in the volumes mentioned in footnote 1, and majors on the rural-urban, urban-rural material.

One other preliminary remark is

in order. The choice of the years 1935-40 has turned out to be peculiarly fortunate. The worst of the depression, with its backing up of rural youth who would normally have migrated, was over. The dislocating effects on migration of the defense program and the war had barely begun to be felt. These years, therefore, probably come closer to revealing the "normal" patterns of population migration within the United States than any others which could have been chosen. As such, they will afford valuable bench marks if a comparable study of migration for 1945-50 is made at the time of the 1950 census of population.

Volume and Distance of Migration

Of first importance is a measurement of the gross amount of population movement and the distance migrants were willing to travel in seeking new locations.²

By and large for the United States in 1940 one person in 8, 12.0 per cent of the population, was living at a different location than that occupied in 1935, a total of almost 16 million persons. As one would expect, this proportion was highest in the far west, 22.7 per cent, and lowest in the north-eastern states, 7.4 per cent. The other two regions approached the national average. The south had 12.8 per cent of its population which had moved in the half decade before the 1940 census, the north-central states, 11.4

¹ cf. *Social Characteristics of Migrants, Economic Characteristics of Migrants and Age of Migrants*, all Government Printing Office, Washington, 1946.

² Throughout this discussion the very small proportions of migrants from overseas and those persons with migration status unreported are disregarded.

per cent. In all areas except the northeast the non-whites showed sharply less mobility than the whites. In the region named, 1 in 12 of the non-whites was a migrant. Whatever problems arise from fitting new population into the social and economic patterns of a state or community are therefore more present in the west than elsewhere. Despite the large volume of migrants in the northeast, this region's already large population makes for a low proportion of migrants to the total.

In all regions the great majority of these migrants remained within their area of original residence. This was most true in the south and west, least so in the north central states. Thus of all migrants 7 in 12 moved within their own state and 1 in 5

only to a contiguous state, less than one-fourth further away.

In all regions this pattern was also most true of the farm population, least true of the urban. Migration for a farmer involves more than for any other worker. He must either move a considerable amount of machinery and perhaps livestock in addition to his household goods, or he must sell out. Table I indicates the proportion of migrants within each region who moved within their own region or to others.

Similar results were secured by an analysis of the migration data by states and census divisions, though there were sharp variations within the regions and among the states, especially in regions outside the

TABLE I. REGIONAL DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS, 1935-1940 FROM PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS WHO MOVED WITHIN REGION OR TO FOUR MAJOR REGIONS, BY RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE

Rural-Urban Residence	Total Migrants	Per Cent Moving to			West
		Northeast	North Central	South	
From Northeast					
Total	2,796,536	80.8	5.8	9.5	3.9
Urban	2,144,399	79.8	6.0	9.8	4.4
Rural Non-farm	395,454	83.1	5.2	9.0	2.7
Rural farm	127,941	88.1	4.8	5.3	1.8
From North Central					
Total	5,062,942	3.1	77.1	7.0	12.8
Urban	2,904,741	4.4	74.8	8.7	12.1
Rural Non-farm	935,961	1.5	78.3	5.6	14.6
Rural farm	981,108	0.5	82.3	3.3	13.9
From South					
Total	5,617,111	3.4	7.2	82.2	7.1
Urban	2,379,080	5.1	8.5	78.2	8.2
Rural Non-farm	1,206,840	2.9	6.6	84.2	6.4
Rural farm	1,646,098	1.1	5.7	86.5	6.7
From West					
Total	2,258,209	1.9	5.3	4.9	87.9
Urban	1,467,035	2.3	5.3	5.0	87.5
Rural Non-farm	444,372	1.0	4.8	4.8	89.4
Rural farm	259,785	0.4	5.3	4.0	90.3

Source: *Age of Migrants*, Table 2, pp. 10-17.

TABLE II. MIGRATION 1935-40, WITHIN STATES, TO CONTIGUOUS STATES AND TO NON-CONTIGUOUS STATES BY DIVISIONS

Division	Per Cent Moving to		
	Within States	To Contiguous States	To Non-Contiguous States
New England	76.8	11.7	11.5
Middle Atlantic	73.3	16.0	10.7
East North Central	77.8	10.2	12.0
West North Central	62.5	15.9	21.6
South Atlantic	80.6	10.7	8.7
East South Central	66.8	27.6	5.6
West South Central	73.9	11.1	15.0
Mountain	57.2	37.4	6.4
Pacific	84.9	5.0	10.1

Source: *Social Characteristics of Migrants*, Table 16, pp. 66-75.

northeast, as is evident from Table II.

Clearly, with the development of the United States and the considerable degree of opportunity for employment in the northern seaboard states, these no longer furnish the large proportion of migrants to other regions that they did in the nineteenth century.

But it is quite clear from these data that the northeastern states are not the migrants' chief goal. Indeed, in the five years, 1935-40, the South gained about 84,000 population from the northeastern states, reversing a long established trend, but lost to the other two regions. The stake of the north central and western states in the quality and vocational competence of the population they are receiving from the South should be apparent from these data.

The northeast also lost to the other two divisions, nearly 100,000 persons to the west and about 6,000 to the north central. The north central states lost heavily to the west, which was the only region to gain at the

expense of all the others in the interchange of migrants. This trend was probably accentuated during the war.

Rural-Urban and Urban-Rural Migration

Ever since it has been measured, and even before, the cities of the United States have gained by migration from the farms. During the worst of the depression this trend slowed down considerably and in one year even the farm population was a net gainer in exchange with the urban. In 1935-40 the previous trend was reestablished.³ Roughly, for ev-

³In their article, "Internal Migration in Peace and War" (*American Sociological Review*, XII, p. 31), Shryock and Eldridge of the Bureau of the Census state there is "a marked bias in the data on place of residence in 1935" in that "people reported a city as their previous residence even when they lived outside its corporate limits." This would affect only out-migration from urban areas. The data on urban out-migration would therefore indicate "minimal proportions." This article uses these census data as reported without correction for the bias these authors believe to exist. There is obviously no basis for correction. Even if representing only "minimal" numbers the size of the population measured would give the analysis attempted some value. On the positive side the relation of the urban-farm

TABLE III. RESIDENCE OF MIGRANTS IN 1940 BY RESIDENCE IN 1935 FOR UNITED STATES AND REGIONS

Residence: 1935	Total Migrants (in thousands)	Percentage Distribution by Residence in 1940.		
		Urban	Rural- nonfarm	Rural- Farm
United States				
Urban, 1935	8,895	63.7	27.1	9.2
Rural non-farm, 1935	2,983	49.5	38.3	12.3
Rural farm, 1935	3,015	25.4	21.4	53.2
Northeast				
Urban, 1935	2,144	70.1	24.7	5.2
Rural non-farm, 1935	395	57.5	34.0	8.5
Rural farm, 1935	128	36.8	26.8	36.4
North Central				
Urban, 1935	2,905	64.0	25.9	10.1
Rural non-farm, 1935	936	53.0	34.0	12.9
Rural farm, 1935	981	27.0	20.7	52.3
South				
Urban, 1935	2,379	58.8	29.5	11.7
Rural non-farm, 1935	1,207	44.9	42.0	13.1
Rural farm, 1935	1,646	23.1	20.5	56.4
West				
Urban, 1935	1,467	61.5	29.5	9.0
Rural non-farm, 1935	444	47.1	41.1	11.8
Rural farm, 1935	260	28.6	27.3	44.1

Source: *Social Characteristics of Migrants*, Table 13, pp. 36-45

ery two people who deserted the farm for the city, one travelled in the opposite direction. With respect to the rural-nonfarm, the reverse was true. For every three villagers who migrated cityward, five urbanites left for rural-nonfarm localities. This is in part a reflection of the movement of the urban population to the suburbs. On this exchange the cities lost almost a million persons. The villages also gained more than a quarter of a million persons net from the farms. This migration to the places of less than 2,500 population helped produce a rural-nonfarm rate of gain

between 1930 and 1940 twice that of the nation as a whole.

In every region, however, the cities as a whole retained a majority of those urbanites who migrated. The movement of city people to rural-nonfarm territory was strongest in the west and south. Southern cities also sent the largest proportion of their migrants to farms, nearly one in 8. Cities had their greatest attraction for farm migrants in the northeast. Here a few more from the farms actually moved to the cities than to other farms. In the two northern regions more than half the rural-nonfarm migrants went cityward but this population group naturally contributed more proportionately, though not numerically, to the farm popula-

out to in-migration is within the range one would expect from the annual estimates of the movement from farms to cities and cities to farms published for many years by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

tion than did the urban. These and other facts are apparent from Table III.

There is abundant evidence that between 1935 and 1940 when an operating farmer migrated to the city, he chose an urban center of less than 100,000 population. The report on *Economic Characteristics of Migration* presents data on both in and out migrants by major occupational groups. Less than 1,000 operating farmers migrated to places of over half a million population in this half decade. Somewhat more chose places of 100,000 to 500,000, but the farms gained heavily in the exchange of population with the large cities, so far as actual farm operators are concerned. The retirement of farmers to county seat or other familiar centers which happen to have 2,500 or more population and which are therefore classed as urban, is doubtless one important factor in this situation.

Migration and Sex

Studies of rural migration have invariably shown that females migrated a bit younger than males and were more likely to go to the city. This is confirmed by these national data. The ratio of males to females among all farm migrants was 109.8 to 100 but among those who migrated to the city, there were only 92.5 males to 100 females. Indeed, the farm girls seem in 1935 to 1940 to have bypassed the village to a greater degree than previous studies of specific localities would have led one to expect. Among farm migrants⁴ who went to

rural-nonfarm territory the ratio was 112 males to 100 females. Among those farm migrants who migrated to other farms, this ratio rose to 118 to 100. This same situation existed with respect to the rural-nonfarm migrants. Here there were 101 male migrants to every 100 females, but of the group which went cityward there were again only 92.5 males to every 100 females. The situation here described nationally held with relatively slight variation in every region.⁴ The percentages in Table III, which combine the sexes, vary only slightly throughout from being the mid-point between males and females.

Foreign Born More Migratory

The table also conceals some interesting variations between the behavior of native and the foreign born, whether naturalized or alien. Regardless of 1935 residence, the foreign born were from half again to twice as likely as natives to migrate to urban centers than to go to farms or rural-nonfarm territory. This held true regardless of whether the move was within the state of 1935 residence to a contiguous or a non-contiguous state. However, of those foreign born who do move to farms, a majority, 52.6 per cent, go there from cities, whereas among the native born, a majority of those moving to farms, 53.5 per cent, come from other farms

⁴ The widest variation was in the west for the rural-nonfarm group. This was the only case where male migrants to cities exceeded female by 103.5 to 100 though for total migrants in this region the ratio was 114.5 to 100.

and 12.1 per cent move from rural-nonfarm localities.

Migration of Professional Workers

An attempt was made to measure the drain, if any, on the rural population through migration to the city of professional and semi-professional workers. This category combines under one head all those occupations listed under these two terms in the 1940 census of the Labor Force. The results were surprising. In every region the rural areas received from the cities of over 100,000 more workers in these categories than migrated from the rural areas to these cities. The North Central states came nearer to a balance in this particular than did the others. In the northeast, the farm population as such actually received more professional and semi-professional workers than it lost by migration when cities of this size group are considered. The Census

published no data with respect to cities of less than 100,000. It is quite possible that the movement of professional workers to the suburbs is a factor in this situation, though most of the professional service to the farm population operates from villages; that is, rural-nonfarm territory. The largest group of professional workers resident in the farm areas is the teachers of open country schools.

The gain in professional workers accruing to the rural-nonfarm population by migration from the cities of over 100,000 is in proportion to the over all gain of these areas from all urban territory noted earlier. Indeed, for every three professional persons leaving rural-nonfarm territory for urban, five moved in the opposite direction.

The proportion these professional workers comprise of the total number of in and out migrants varies sharply among the regions, but by and large,

TABLE IV. MIGRATION OF PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, 1935-40, TO AND FROM CITIES OF 100,000 TO 500,000 FROM AND TO RURAL-NONFARM AND FARM TERRITORY BY REGIONS. *

Region	To Urban	From Urban
	From Rural-Nonfarm	To Rural-Nonfarm
North East	2,881	7,287
North Central	6,610	10,357
South	6,643	9,530
West	3,168	5,091
	From Rural-Farm	To Rural-Farm
North East	466	779
North Central	2,690	1,491
South	1,950	1,588
West	950	683

* This table does not present the data for professional workers listed as moving to or from rural territory with no report as to whether they were rural-nonfarm or farm. Rural territory lost 2,098 additional professional persons from this source to cities of 100,000 to 500,000 population.

Source: *Economic Characteristics of Migrants*, Table 17, pp. 178-223.

TABLE V. MIGRATION OF PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-PROFESSIONAL WORKERS 1935-1940, TO AND FROM CITIES OF 500,000 AND OVER FROM AND TO RURAL-NONFARM AND FARM TERRITORY BY REGIONS. *

Region	To Urban	From Urban
	From Rural-Nonfarm	To Rural-Nonfarm
North East	5,350	12,929
North Central	4,464	8,759
South	2,336	4,283
West	1,887	4,164
	From Rural-Farm	To Rural-Farm
North East	819	1,356
North Central	1,480	1,116
South	569	343
West	464	352

* This table does not present the data for professional workers listed as moving to or from rural territory with no report as to whether they were rural non-farm or farm. Rural territory lost 1,969 additional professional persons from this source to cities of over 500,000 population

Source: *Economic Characteristics of Migrants*, Table 16, pp. 164-177.

do not deviate greatly from the proportion of professional people in the total population of the groups concerned.

This over all analysis of the migration of professional workers to and from rural territory between 1935 and 1940 conceals some very sharp differences in the behavior of the sexes. Women were far more numerous than men in the trek to the cities, especially from rural-nonfarm territory. The reverse was true among the

professional workers going from the city to village and farm. The west showed minor exceptions to this trend but quite clearly women professional workers feel that the city offers them far better opportunities than rural America. This is doubtless related to the smaller number of professions needed in rural territory in which women are represented and to the disproportionate number of women employed in education and nursing. These differences can best be express-

TABLE VI. RATIO OF MALE TO 100 FEMALE PROFESSIONAL WORKERS MIGRATING TO AND FROM RURAL TERRITORY, 1935-40, BY REGIONS

Region	Cities of over 100,000 to 500,000				Cities of 500,000 and over			
	Rural-Nonfarm		Rural-Farm		Rural-Nonfarm		Rural-Farm	
	To City	From City	To City	From City	To City	From City	To City	From City
North East	57.3	158.9	71.3	180.2	68.7	219.1	45.2	137.0
North Central	35.0	185.1	64.2	129.7	71.9	224.8	39.7	158.3
South	51.3	188.0	71.0	220.5	76.4	307.6	53.5	178.8
West	113.9	169.1	49.5	90.2	128.4	187.0	90.1	122.8

Source: Derived from Tables 16 and 17, *Economic Characteristics of Migrants*, pp. 164-223.

ed in the ratio of males to females and are given in Table VI.⁵

Rural-Urban Migration And Education ⁶

Very full data are given on this point by the Census report on *Social Characteristics of Migrants*. Among the migrants, with the exception of three New England states and two others, there tends to be greater percentage of males than females in both the lowest and the highest educational categories, measured by the number of years of schooling completed among urban and rural-nonfarm migrants. For the rural-farm group this is true of the males only. Ten of the southern states have a relatively high proportion of migrants in the lowest educational categories. Six of the western states, six in the northeast and eight in the north central region have a relatively low percentage in this category. In three-quarters of the states the tendency is for a majority, or at least the largest group, of the migrants to urban areas to have a full high school education and for migrants to the farm to have seven or eight years of

completed schooling. There is no such pattern for the rural-nonfarm.

In the main migration and educational status tend to be directly related to the degree that a higher proportion of the people with more education tend to move than of those with less. There are no important differences among urban, rural-nonfarm, or farm groups in this particular except that those with college education in rural-farm areas, a smaller group than in urban or rural-nonfarm territory, are less migratory. Possibly rural college graduates make their initial choices more carefully than others. Possibly also the number of graduates of agricultural colleges in farm areas account for this.

Beyond this there is a trend for those in the lower educational groups to migrate to, or remain in, rural-nonfarm or farm areas. That one explanation for the migration of these people is economic is shown by a rank order correlation of plus .517 between the gain or loss in the population of the states by migration of the native born and the support of education per classroom unit. There is a tendency for people to move from areas where the level of educational support is below the national average to those states where it is above. The more progressive states, from an educational point of view, cannot afford to be unconcerned about the general level of education elsewhere. Migration could well nullify the effects of their superior educational programs.

⁵ It had been planned to insert here a discussion of migration and employment. This is omitted because there were no significant differences in the migratory behavior of those on public work or seeking employment as compared with those employed, save that the proportion of unemployed farm males migrating within the state of residence or to contiguous states was sharply higher than the proportion of employed farm males so migrating.

⁶ For a detailed analysis of the data on this topic see this writer's "Migration and Education," *Teacher's College Record*, Nov. 1947. Reprints on request as long as available.

⁷ Three and five-tenths times the standard deviation of τ .

Migration and Age

Age was a factor in the migration of persons within the United States between 1935 and 1940, though perhaps not to the degree that might be anticipated. As noted elsewhere, 63.7 per cent of urban migrants moved to other urban communities. This, of course, includes suburban and other places of 2,500 or more population. When this migration of urban people is studied by five year groups, from 20 to 64 years of age, a slight tendency appears for the younger adults to remain in cities to a greater degree than the eighteen and nineteen year olds and those forty-five or over. Thus, of the three groups of migrants between 20 and 34 years, between 67 and 68 per cent moved to other urban locations, as did 65.2 per cent of the 35 to 44 year olds. Above that age the range was from 60.2 to 62.3 per cent.

There was less variation with respect to urban age groups migrating to rural-nonfarm communities. Against a national average of 27.1 per cent who so moved, no group exceeded a proportion of 28.4, nor fell below 25.6 per cent. The high group were those sixty-five years and over; the low groups from 20 to 29 years old.

With respect to urban people migrating to the farm, the age factor is more decisive. The national average was 9.2 per cent of all urban migrants. The younger groups fell significantly below this. Only 6.4 per cent of the urban 25 to 29 year olds went to the farm and of the 30 to 34 year

olds, 6.7 per cent. The 20 to 24 year age group lost 7.2 per cent to farming and the 35 to 44 year group, 8.3 per cent. All others exceeded the national average. Farms attracted 10.4 per cent of the urban 18 and 19 year olds and of those 45 to 54. Almost one in eight (11.8 per cent) of the group 55 to 64 years of age migrated to the farm and even 10.7 per cent of those over 65. From 25 to 64 years, the older an urban migrant, the greater the chance he will go to the farm.

This tendency helps increase the already high average age of the adult farm population. Part of these older urban migrants may be returning to the environment of their youth. Some may always have had a yearning to own a piece of the good earth. Some may have been unable to stand the gaff of urban industry and sought a more leisurely life on small holdings. There are obviously interesting research problems here. Did these older urban migrants settle chiefly in so-called fringe communities?⁸ How do their farm holdings and operation compare with those of their neighbors? Do they participate more or less than their neighbors in the organized social and economic life of the community?

Quite clearly the city has a greater affinity for the rural-nonfarm migrant than the farm. Nationally almost half such migrants (49.5 per cent) go to the city. This figure is exceeded by the 18 and 19 years olds

⁸ Walter Firey, *Social Aspects of Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe*. Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1946.

(54.4 per cent) up to the 30 to 34 year age group (49.9 per cent) and by those 65 years and older (51.5 per cent). The largest proportion, 57.7 per cent, is that of the 20 to 24 year group.

The rural-nonfarm population gained from the city by migration in every age group, though only slightly in the two youngest, the 18 and 19 and 20 to 24 year olds. Elsewhere the rural-nonfarm gain was large, often two to one. Suburbanization is probably one cause of this.

The migration of rural-nonfarm residents to the farm followed the urban pattern. From twenty years and up the older a migrant the greater the likelihood of a move to the farm. Twelve and three-tenths per cent was the farm's share of the rural-nonfarm migrants in the latter half of the 1930's. The groups from forty-five and up exceeded this proportion by from one to 2.1 percentage points. Of the 35 to 44 year olds, 11.8 per cent went farmward. The three groups from 20 to 34 years of age ranged from 9.2 to 10.3 per cent.

Though these *percentages* exceed those of the urban migrants to the

farm, actually in every age group more urban than rural-nonfarm persons migrated to the farm. Usually the ratio was better than two to one.

Among the rural-farm population a higher proportion of migrants in every age group moved to another farming community than went elsewhere. However, only in the ages from 30 to 64 did the farm population retain more than half the migrants. Among the 20 to 24 year olds three out of every five went either to a city or village. The record of the older migrants confirms the often observed tendency for the farmer to retire in village, town, or small city. The record of the rural farm migration is given in Table VII.

It should be noted that the proportions given in this table and the preceding discussion relate only to those who were migrants and to their destination, not to the proportion of each age group which migrated. Data on this point can be derived approximately from the census by comparing the age data for the total population with the number of migrants of specified years of age. When this is done, it develops that for whites and non-

TABLE VII. RURAL-FARM OUT-MIGRATION, 1935-40, BY AGE GROUPS

Age Group 1935	Total Number of Migrants	Percentage of Migrants to		
		Urban	Rural- Nonfarm	Rural- Farm
18 and 19	175,806	31.2	21.4	47.4
20 to 24	468,774	36.5	* 23.2	40.3
25 to 29	363,544	31.4	23.9	44.7
30 to 34	251,628	26.2	23.1	50.7
35 to 44	349,629	22.7	20.4	56.8
45 to 54	257,235	21.6	19.3	59.0
55 to 64	160,640	23.1	21.0	55.9
65 and over	115,171	28.7	25.4	45.9

Source: *Age of Migrants*, Table 12, pp. 54-79.

whites alike the old and the young are in the main the least migratory. The whites of both sexes are also more migratory than the non-whites. For both races and for urban, rural-non-farm, and rural-farm groups the most migratory age is 25 to 29 years,⁹ closely followed by the two age groups just older and just younger than this one. It also develops that age group by age group, for both sexes and for whites and non-whites, the rural-non-farm population is the most migratory. The heavy migration begins earlier and lasts longer. In the younger age groups the rural-farm population is more migratory than the urban. This is probably a function of the larger number of children in farm families. Comparably, from 45 years of age and up there is a tendency for the rural-farm migration to be proportionately higher than the urban, possibly because of changes in farm

⁹ Urban white females 20 to 24 years old exceed the 25 to 29 year old group slightly.

location and retirement. Table VIII gives the data on these points.

Age and Distance of Migration

Age not only affects the likelihood of any individual's migrating but also the distance he is prepared to travel. The Census distributes the number of persons who in 1940 were living in a different county than in 1935 by age according to the following categories: those who moved within the state of original residence, those who had gone to a contiguous state, to a non-contiguous state, and those who had come from overseas, whether foreign lands or territories of the United States.

The largest proportion of the last named, recent immigrants, settled in the northeast, 50.6 per cent, and in the cities, 82.3 per cent. In no region did more than 8.2 per cent go to farms and the national average was 4.7 per cent. The rest, 13 per cent, went to

TABLE VIII. PERCENTAGE OF EACH AGE GROUP MIGRATING, 1935-40 IN URBAN, RURAL-NONFARM AND RURAL FARM POPULATION BY SEX AND RACE

Age Group	Whites						Non-Whites					
	Urban		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm		Urban		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5 to 13	11.3	11.2	17.8	17.8	12.6	12.3	7.0	7.4	9.8	9.6	7.4	7.3
14 to 17	8.6	9.3	14.6	14.7	11.5	10.8	6.6	8.2	11.9	10.0	7.7	7.3
18 to 19	10.8	14.6	19.5	18.2	11.5	12.5	9.5	12.7	15.1	13.5	8.1	8.5
20 to 24	16.1	19.5	24.5	25.4	13.0	15.8	14.5	16.5	19.9	17.3	10.0	10.0
25 to 29	19.6	19.3	27.2	27.4	15.3	16.4	15.1	13.7	21.4	17.6	12.3	10.6
30 to 34	17.9	16.3	26.0	24.1	15.1	14.6	12.0	9.7	19.4	15.1	12.0	9.7
35 to 44	13.5	11.4	21.9	18.2	13.3	11.7	8.0	6.6	17.4	11.9	11.1	8.4
45 to 54	8.9	8.0	17.0	13.5	10.7	9.0	5.6	5.1	13.6	8.5	8.7	6.8
55 to 64	6.7	7.1	13.0	11.6	8.7	7.1	4.4	4.7	9.6	6.5	7.0	5.4
65 and over	6.1	6.8	9.6	9.3	6.1	5.8	4.1	4.2	6.4	4.8	5.3	4.6

Source: Derived from Tables 12-12b, *Age of Migrants*, pp. 54-115. Percentage based on estimates 1935 population.

rural-nonfarm Communities.¹⁰ Among these immigrants the leading age group was that of the 35 to 44 year olds, closely followed by the 25 to 29 year old group.

Within the United States, as a general rule, younger adults moved further than older ones, except in the South, but moves within a state were more frequent than those outside a state except in the West. In this region more males moved to non-contiguous states than made either of the other changes. Even among the females the proportion moving to non-contiguous states exceeded considerably those who moved to neighboring states. This is doubtless because the West as defined by the Census covers the fourteen states comprising the Pacific and Mountain census divisions. The pull of the former on the population of the latter is well known and is quite clear from an analysis of the migration data published in the 1940 Census of Population.

Farm migrants were most likely, urban migrants least likely, to confine their moves within the state of original residence, regardless of age. Farm males moved further than females. This was even more true of urban males, with the rural-nonfarm group falling in between. The most mobile age groups for all classes of population and regions were the two between 20 and 29 years of age. Space

limitations prevent a detailed tabular presentation of these data. The census reports go into great detail with respect to the age characteristics of migrants.

The Story Since 1940

It is of course well known that one of the effects of World War II was an unprecedented amount of movement within the nation, even among the civilian population. The Census has made some attempt to measure this on the basis of a two per cent sample.¹¹ The Census warns that this data is not completely comparable with the 1935-40 results because of the longer period covered.

Over the period of 1940-46, 19.5 million persons changed their county of residence, 14.6 per cent of the population estimated for February, 1946. Slightly over one-quarter of these migrants moved in the six months following VJ Day. Of this huge number of civilian migrants only 6.1 per cent had returned to the county of their residence in April, 1940. On the other hand, of the 4.01 million veterans returning from abroad who had gone overseas after April, 1940, four-fifths returned to the county and almost nine-tenths to

¹⁰ For a further analysis of the data on immigrants see the writer's, "Immigrants to the United States, 1935-40," *American Sociological Review*, Feb. 1948.

¹¹ Cf. especially released Internal Migration in the United States, Series P-S, No. 11, *Internal Migration in the United States; April, 1940 to February, 1946*, December 26, 1946; and Series P-S, No. 14, *Migration of Families in the United States; April, 1940 to February, 1946*, December 26, 1946; and Series P-S, No. 17, *Postwar Migration and its Causes in the United States; August, 1945 to October, 1946; February 14, 1947. Migration in the United States—August, 1946*. Population Series No. 24, June 6, 1947.

the state, of 1940 residence. As between VJ Day and October, 1946, 10.7 million persons migrated, 15 per cent of them veterans. Slightly over half of these moves, for both veterans and non-veterans, were within a state; the balance to other states. Half of the male veteran moves were made to take a job; one-quarter of the non-veteran. Of the non-veterans, one-

half moved because the head of the family had. Other chief reasons for migration were housing problems and to look for work.

So far as comparable, the trends in migration by age and distance of the move, the only data presented, follow quite closely those discussed in this article, despite the larger total volume.

Consumption Patterns of Cotton-Farm Families and an Agricultural Program for the South *

By Dorothy Dickins†

ABSTRACT

Consumption studies of cotton-farm families show that at low income levels these families keep family expenses within their low incomes. Families on similar incomes and composition in other areas and types of farming spend much more than their current incomes. However, at moderate and high income levels, cotton-farm families spend very much as do other families. The low income cotton-farm family has adjusted its consumption to low income. Since this is so, effective agricultural programs must not be limited to plans for adjustment in production. Plans for improving health, plans for better schools, and plans for stimulating desire for more adequate goods and services must also be included.

Consumption studies show that cotton-farm families produce more food for home consumption than families of similar composition and income in other areas and types of farming, but are more poorly housed. Such data are important in agricultural planning.

Consumption studies make available data which can serve as a basis for working out minimum family budgets. Such budgets should serve as a basis for determining minimum sized efficient farms.

Consumption patterns of cotton-farm families are important background data for planning effective agricultural programs for the South. They show, in the first place, how

cotton-farm families at various income levels spend their incomes. How income is spent at these levels gives a basis for predicting the number of workers in nonagricultural pursuits which a more efficient system of agriculture could support. It also indicates some of the difficulties that will be encountered in moving low-income families into higher income groups.

In the second place, consumption patterns of cotton-farm families show the kind and amount of goods fur-

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nished the family by the farm. Such information is needed in agricultural planning.

In the third place, consumption patterns of cotton-farm families are necessary data for working out minimum family budgets. Such budgets are essential in determining minimum-sized efficient farms.

Consumption patterns of cotton-farm families at different income levels are best understood only when compared with consumption patterns of other farm families of similar composition. For this reason, expenditure data obtained from cotton-farm families and from four other types of farm families included in the Consumer Purchases Study will be used as a basis for most of the discussion of this article.

Expenditures for Family Living By Cotton and Other Farm Families

In Table I, the average expenditure for family living of five groups of white farm families in four income classes are compared. All are families with husband and wife and either one or two children under 16 years of age. All are farm operator families (sharecroppers were not classified as farm operators in the Consumer Purchases Study from which these data were taken). The first group of families are cotton-farm families from Georgia and Mississippi; the second, dairy-farm families from Michigan and Wisconsin; the third, wheat-farm families from North Dakota and Kansas; the fourth, livestock- and -small-grain-farm families from Colorado, Mon-

TABLE I. AVERAGE EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY LIVING AND PROPORTION OF TOTAL INCOME WHICH WAS MONEY INCOME FOR WHITE FARM OPERATOR COTTON-, DAIRY-, WHEAT-, LIVESTOCK-, AND FRUIT-FARM FAMILIES WITH HUSBAND, WIFE, AND ONE OR TWO CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN INCOME CLASSES OF \$750 TO \$999, \$1,500 TO \$1,749, \$2,500 TO \$2,999, AND \$4,000 TO \$4,999 DURING 1935-36.*

Type of farming group	Income classes							
	\$750-\$999		\$1500-\$1749		\$2500-\$2999		\$4000-\$4999	
	Expenditures for family living	Proportion of total income money	Expenditures for family living	Proportion of total income money	Expenditures for family living	Proportion of total income money	Expenditures for family living	Proportion of total income money
Cotton-farm families (Miss. and Ga.)	\$427***	53	\$811	68	\$1445	80	\$2199	86
Dairy-farm families (Mich. and Wis.)	577	58	772	67	1322	83	**	**
Wheat-farm families (N. Dak. and Kan.)	706	50	882	70	1199	76	**	**
Livestock-farm families (Colo., Mont., and S. Dak.)	714	55	887	74	1366	80	**	**
Fruit-farm families (Calif.)	834	71	1172	81	1740	86	2261	93

* Day Monroe, *et al.*, *Family Income and Expenditure*, (Consumer Purchases Study, Mist. Pub. No. 465, U.S.D.A.), pp. 207-266.

** No schedule secured.

*** White cropper, Negro operator, and Negro cropper families in the same category spent \$417, \$402, and \$408, respectively.

tana, and South Dakota; and the fifth, fruit-farm families from California. (Negro operator and sharecropper families and white sharecropper families of Georgia and Mississippi are not included in this comparison, since there were no families except in the first income class.)

As will be noted in Table I, at an income level of \$750 to \$999, cotton-farm families spent considerably less cash for family living than did the other types of farm families.

They spent \$150 less than dairy-farm families, \$279 less than wheat-farm families, \$287 less than livestock-farm families, and \$407 less than fruit-farm families. But at moderate and higher income levels, cotton-farm families behaved very much as did other families. At an income level of \$2,500 to \$2,999, they averaged \$1,445 for family living; livestock-farm families averaged \$1,366; dairy-farm families, \$1,322; and wheat-farm families, \$1,199. Fruit-farm families in this income level averaged \$1,740, but more of their income was in the form of money, less in form of nonmoney items. At all income levels, fruit-farm families spent more cash for family living than did the other four types of farm families. However, at the \$4,000 to \$4,999 level they averaged only \$65 more than cotton-farm families.

In Table II, average expenditures for four groups of goods and services are shown for cotton—and other types of farm families in two income classes. Cotton-farm families in the \$750 to \$999 income class spent \$90

for clothing. In the \$2,500 to \$2,999 income class, they spent \$251, or about three times more. Dairy-, wheat-, livestock-, and fruit-farm families in these two income classes did not show nearly as great difference in expenditure for clothing. In expenditures for auto, furniture, and recreation, the situation was about the same—comparatively low expenditures for the cotton group at the lower income level, comparatively high expenditures for the cotton group at the higher income level. The Cotton South will spend large amounts for consumers goods, given the ability to pay. It behooves the nation, as well as the South, to raise income levels of cotton-farm families. This means creating a more efficient system of agriculture and training members of farm families not needed in such a system to do other kinds of work.

Cotton-farm families accustomed to a family income of \$850 and finding themselves with an income of \$2,850 would not immediately spend for family living as those accustomed to a \$2,500 to \$2,999 income level. However, in the long run, the majority would. Consumption studies of cotton-farm families not only show that cotton families are as responsive, if not more so, to changes in income as are other farm families. They also show that there is a large segment of low-income families who have adjusted their consumption patterns to their low incomes.

In Table III, the value of consumption and average net surplus or de-

TABLE II. AVERAGE EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY LIVING FOR SPECIFIED GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES OF WHITE FARM OPERATOR COTTON-, DAIRY-, WHEAT-, LIVESTOCK-, AND FRUIT-FARM FAMILIES WITH HUSBAND, WIFE, AND ONE OR TWO CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN INCOME CLASSES OF \$750 TO \$999, AND \$2500 TO \$2999 DURING 1935-36.*

Type of farming group	Income class \$750-\$999				Income class \$2500-\$2999			
	Expenditures for				Expenditures for			
	Clothing and personal care	Auto and other transportation	Furniture and equipment	Recreation	Clothing and personal care	Auto and other transportation	Furniture and equipment	Recreation
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Cotton-farm families (Miss. and Ga.)	90	56	29	17	251	359	79	89
Dairy-farm families (Mich. and Wis.)	89	75	24	12	156	290	52	77
Wheat-farm families (N. Dak. and Kan.)	105	100	27	32	168	80	57	36
Livestock-farm families (Colo., Mont., and S. Dak.)	119	69	30	27	147	182	49	45
Fruit-farm families (Calif.)	122	97	34	27	250	298	93	80

* Day Monroe, *et. al*, *Family Income and Expenditure*, (Consumer Purchases Study, Misc. Pub. No. 465, U.S.D.A.), pp. 244-269.

ficit of cotton-, dairy-, wheat-, livestock-, and fruit-farm families of husband, and wife and one or two children under 16 years with \$750 to \$999 incomes included in the Consumer Purchases Study are given. Even though the income and family composition of the cotton-farm families were similar to these other four groups of farm families, their consumption patterns were different. The other four groups spent in cash for family living from 40 to 70 per cent more than did the cotton-farm group. Cotton-farm families showed a net surplus of \$40.¹ Families in each of the other four groups showed a net deficit.¹ The dairy group had an aver-

age deficit of \$62; the other three groups an average deficit of \$217 to \$257.

Similar differences in consumption patterns of cotton- and other farm families were observed in families in the \$250 to \$499 income class, and in families of the \$500 to \$749 income class. In the income class of \$250 to \$499, white cotton-farm operator families spent \$190 in cash for fam-

¹ In determining whether a family had a surplus or deficit, items representing an increase in assets and those representing a decrease in liability were added; from this total were subtracted the sums of the de-

crease in assets and the increase in liabilities. If the former sum was greater, a surplus was attained by the family; if the latter sum was greater, a deficit was incurred. Changes in assets and liabilities for the most part included only those resulting from actual money transactions; however, a non-money item representing the net increase or decrease in value of crops stored for sale and of livestock owned was included with business investments in addition to the money items. Changes in value of property due to damage, depreciation, or to rise and fall in market prices where no sale had occurred were excluded.

TABLE III. VALUE OF CONSUMPTION AND SURPLUS OR DEFICIT OF WHITE FARM OPERATOR COTTON-, DAIRY-, WHEAT-, LIVESTOCK-, AND FRUIT-FARM FAMILIES WITH HUSBAND, WIFE, AND ONE OR TWO CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN THE \$750 TO \$999 INCOME CLASS, 1935-36.*

Type of farming group	Number of families	AVERAGE						Persons per family
		Total family income	Net money income	Non-money income	Value of consumption	Expense for family living	Net surplus or deficit	
		Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Number
Cotton-farm families (Miss. and Ga.)	59	873	465	408	835	427	+40	3.47
Dairy-farm families (Mich. and Wis.)	45	873	507	366	943	577	-62	3.48
Wheat-farm families (N.Dak. and Kan.)	67	872	439	433	1139	706	-257	3.63
Livestock-farm families (Colo., Mont., & S.Dak.)	29	878	481	397	1111	714	-223	3.42
Fruit-farm families (Calif.)	30	859	606	253	1087	834	-217	3.45

* Day Monroe, *et al.*, *Family Income and Expenditure*, (Consumer Purchases Study, Misc. Pub. No. 465, U.S.D.A.), pp. 207-226.

ily living and averaged a deficit of \$43. Families in the other four groups spent an average of \$570 to \$754 in cash for family living and had an average deficit of from \$508 to \$562.

When one considers that Negro operator and sharecropper families and white sharecropper families are also in the group of low-income cotton-farm families who have adjusted their consumption patterns to low incomes, one realizes the size of the problem with which agricultural planners must cope. (For example, in the \$250 to \$499 income class of families with husband, wife, and one or two children under 16 years, expenditures for family living by white sharecropper families was \$179; by Negro operator families, \$200; and by Negro sharecropper families, \$184. Net deficits for the three groups averaged \$19, \$1, and \$1, respectively.)

How could cotton-farm families

get along better on low incomes than these other groups of farm families? As families receiving relief during the year were excluded from this study of consumption, the low-income groups described consisted of families that lived within their incomes without assistance from welfare agencies, and those that were able to maintain higher levels of consumption by decreasing assets or increasing liabilities. Most of the low-income cotton families fell in the first category, most of the low-income dairy-, wheat-, livestock-, and fruit-farm families fell in the second category.

The net income received during the year by the low-income cotton-farm families was about the same as, or a little below, amounts received in the past or expected in the future. Low income was a chronic occurrence for them. They must restrict consumption to a low level of income, since they did not have the resources to

provide a level of living beyond current receipts.

In the low-income dairy-, wheat-, livestock-, and fruit-farm group were many accustomed to higher incomes. Because of temporary reversals or large farm operating expenses, their incomes were unusually low during the report year. However, they continued to maintain their usual level of living by drawing upon savings or using credit. They were temporarily low-income families. Cotton families were perpetually low-income families.

It is important in developing an agricultural program for the South to take into consideration the large group of chronically low-consumption cotton-farm families—the large group of cotton-farm families who have a tradition of poverty. The farm operator and homemaker in such families are practically always farm reared, usually on cotton farms where consumption had been even less; on cotton farms where food had been produced, but not in adequate amounts of various kinds; on cotton farms where there had been too little cash to purchase medical care really needed; on cotton farms where the child's labor was important; on cotton farms where one learned to "get by" on little; on cotton farms where one worked from sunup to sundown during "chopping" and "picking" but just "rocked" and "rested" a good part of the year.

All agricultural plans for the South, provide for some of the low-consumption farm families to remain on cotton farms, others to shift into

other types of farm production, and others into nonagricultural work. There will be three main problems in bringing this about; the first two are often mentioned, but not as frequently as the third. It is none the less important. These problems are: (1) More persons in low-consumption families suffer from poor health and hence, do not feel like trying something new and challenging. (2) More persons in low-consumption families have little formal education, lack skills. (3) Members of low-consumption families, because of limited exposure to higher levels of consumption frequently lack the incentive, or the desire for higher levels of living.

More persons in low-consumption families suffer from poor health because there is not income sufficient for proper medical care, for a balanced diet, for decent housing. A number of studies could be cited which show poorer health of members of low-income families. One is the National Health Survey made by the United States Public Health Service in 1935-36. In this study, families on relief averaged 17.4 days of sickness per family member per year; families not on relief but with incomes under \$1,000 a year averaged 10.9 days of sickness per family member per year; families with incomes of \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year averaged 6.5 days of sickness per family member per year.

More persons in low-consumption families have little formal education, lack skills because due to inadequate funds they are forced out of school or

prevented from taking vocational training. When family incomes are low, even small earnings from unskilled labor are of prime importance.

Adequate medical care, more schooling, and more and better vocational training must be given to members of low-consumption farm families. Also, members of low-consumption families must have more direct contact with higher consumption levels. They must desire goods and services that only higher incomes can purchase. It may be that home economists of the South should give more emphasis in their teaching programs to stepping up to the next level of consumption; perhaps less emphasis on managing on what one has. Home economists might well teach, "Decide what you want then plan to earn income to get it," rather than "Take what you have and make what you want out of it."

Any shift from cotton to other types of farming or to industry will change the rhythm of life of the family. The cotton farm furnishes a very different set of stimuli from the dairy or livestock farm or from industry. For example, on a dairy farm, milking must go on every day in the year. One may have more to consume from receipts from a dairy farm than from a cotton farm, but one may prefer added leisure to electricity and a bathroom with running water, especially if all of one's associates use kerosene lamps, wash bowls, and slop jars. In fact, on the indifference curves of these families, 1,000 hours of leisure, 1 kerosene lamp, 1 slop jar,

and 1 wash bowl may be just as satisfactory as 100 hours of leisure, electricity, and a bathroom.

The problem of the large group of low-consumption families in the Cotton South is the basic one that must be solved. There is no one way to solve it.

Goods and Services Furnished To The Cotton- and Other Farm Families by the Farm

Consumption patterns of cotton-farm families also show kinds and amounts of goods furnished by the farm. Such data are important in agricultural planning. Programs for home production will not work if they vary too greatly from the habits of a people.

As will be noted in Table IV, cotton-farm families produced more food for the family than did the other types of farm families. In the \$750 to \$999 income class, the value of the food they produced was \$326. (Farm-furnished foods were valued at local retail selling price.) That produced by the other groups averaged from \$141 to \$271. In the \$2,500 to \$2,999 income class, cotton farmers produced on an average \$331 worth of food. The other four groups averaged from \$101 to \$283.

Values of food produced for the family by white sharecropper, Negro operator, and Negro sharecropper families in the \$750 to \$999 income class and of husband, wife, and one or two children under 16 years were \$385, \$242, and \$285, respectively. The difference in food production

found in whites and Negroes in the \$750 to \$999 income class with husband, wife, and one or two children under 16 years was found in families of other types and in other income classes.

Since the growing season in the South is long and since the farm family (especially the white farm family) has the tradition of home food production, it would seem that agricultural plans might well provide for production of much of the protective food needed by the family. Such plans if backed by strong educational programs, are likely to meet with success, especially so if families not having facilities for production of essential foods, such as milk and meat, are loaned money at low interest rates to purchase same. This is especially important for Negro families. It has been the experience of the Farmers Home Administration that when Negro families are shown what and how to produce, and credit for purchasing facilities needed is made available, they are as responsive, if not more so, than white families of similar economic status.

Agricultural planners in the South also need information on the value of the family's housing furnished by the farm. Why do cotton-farm families in the same income class and of similar composition live in poorer houses than other types of farmers? One reply is, of course: Large number of Negroes and of croppers; and this is true. These groups were found to have lower housing values than white operators. However, white cotton-

farm operator families resided in houses of less value than did dairy-, wheat-, livestock-, and fruit-farm operator families. The question may be asked again here: "And was not this difference also due to a difference in tenancy?" The reply is: "No, at least, not altogether." Wheat-farm operators in the \$750 to \$999 income class had housing values of \$135; cotton-farm operators had values of \$47; yet proportions of owners included in the two groups was practically the same.²

Nor was the difference in housing values between the cotton and other four types of farm operators due altogether to climate. The fruit-grower family of California, even though in as mild climate as the cotton-grower family of Georgia and Mississippi, had housing values more nearly resembling other farms.³ Perhaps low housing values are a concomitant of perpetually low-income cotton-farm families.

² Fifty percent of the cotton-farm families in the \$750 to \$999 income class and 73 percent in the \$2,500 to \$2,999 income class owned their farms. The proportions of the other four groups were 51 and 91 for wheat farms; 64 and 100 for dairy farms; 79 and 92 for livestock farms; and 90 and 92 for fruit farms. Hazel Kyrk, *et al.*, *Family Housing and Facilities*, (Consumer Purchases Study, Misc. Pub. No. 399, U.S.D.A.), p. 8.

³ The question may well be asked if the findings would have been different if another type of family group had been selected and the reply is "no." For example, values of houses of cotton-, fruit-, livestock-, dairy-, and wheat-farm families of husband and wife only in income class of \$500 to \$749 ranged from \$54 for Georgia and Mississippi cotton-farm families to \$140 for California fruit-farm families. At low income levels, cotton-farm housing values were invariably low.

TABLE IV. AVERAGE VALUE OF FARM FURNISHED CONSUMPTION AS DISTRIBUTED AMONG MAJOR GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES OF WHITE FARM OPERATOR COTTON-, DAIRY-, WHEAT-, LIVESTOCK-, AND FRUIT-FARM FAMILIES WITH HUSBAND, WIFE, AND ONE OR TWO CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE IN INCOME CLASSES OF \$750 TO \$999 AND \$2,500 TO \$2,999 DURING 1935-36*.

Type of farming groups	Income class \$750 to \$999				Income class \$2,500 to \$2,999			
	Value farm furnished consumption				Value farm furnished consumption			
	Food	Housing**	Household Operation***	Total	Food	Housing**	Household Operation***	Total
	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars	Dollars
Cotton-farm families (Miss. and Ga.)	326	47	35	408	331	190	31	552
Dairy-farm families (Mich. and Wis.)	183	155	28	366	198	209	39	446
Wheat-farm families (N.Dak. and Kan.)	282	135	16	433	283	268	94	645
Livestock-farm families (Colo., Mont., & S.Dak.)	271	93	33	397	243	134	36	512
Fruit-farm families (Calif.)	131	112	10	253	101	281	11	393

* Day Monroe, et al., *Family Income and Expenditure*, (Consumer Purchases Study, Misc. Pub. No. 365, U.S.D.A.), pp. 207-226.

** Value of occupancy of the dwelling of an owned or rented farm. Rental value was computed from the estimated replacement value by taking account of the age of the house and the family's estimate of its remaining years of usefulness. For owners, rental value was derived by applying to the depreciated replacement value of the dwelling (as computed above) a percentage that represented estimates of interest, taxes, depreciation and a reasonable return from money invested; for renters, these items and, in addition, repairs and insurance. Repairs and insurance were not estimated for owning families because the actual amounts spent for these purposes were ascertained.

***Includes farm furnished fuel, ice, and non-food products, such as wool, tobacco, and feathers.

****White cropper, Negro operator, and Negro cropper families in this same category had values of housing of \$43, \$36, and \$28, respectively.

An efficient system of agriculture would give farmers more income with which to purchase better housing for themselves and their tenants. It would release workers for house building and repairs, for manufacture of materials for same. It would leave vacant the most substandard houses in the open country, perhaps making available some extra material for house repairs.

There must be desire as well as ability to pay for better housing on the part of the cotton-farm family. A

family who really wants good housing can make its house better at little or no cash expense. Men and boys in low-income families, because of low physical stamina, often lack the added energy required to make simple repairs or develop necessary skills. It takes energy as well as skill to make repairs and improvements that may spell the difference between good and poor housing. Then, too, members of low-income families have all too little direct exposure to good housing. They need to visit families with better

houses, to get acquainted with household comforts and conveniences.

Good houses within ability to pay must be made available to cotton-farm families. Cotton-farm families at low income levels now spend for clothing very much as do other farm families in the same income classes. There is a supply of attractive low cost clothing in nearby towns. Cotton farm families at low income levels do not live in nearly as good houses as do other farm families in the same income classes. There needs to be a supply of comfortable low cost houses near at hand.

Consumption Patterns as a Basis For Minimum Family Budgets

Consumption studies make available data which can serve as a basis for working out minimum family

budgets. Techniques have been developed by a technical advisory committee of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with members of the Bureau staff, using data from consumption studies of city workers' families to determine where the minimum shall be set on the demand curve for specified goods and services.⁴ These same techniques could be used with data from consumption studies of cotton-farm families. Minimum budgets for farm families should serve as a basis for determining minimum sized efficient farms. Production plans should be made so that minimum budgets can be attainable.

⁴ *City Worker's Family Budget. 34 Cities of the United States, Spring 1946, Summer 1947.* U. S. Dept. Labor, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Price and cost of living, December 1947.

The Social Processes and Mechanization of Southern Agricultural Systems*

By Alvin L. Bertrand†

ABSTRACT

The historical fact setting the stage for this analysis is that planters of the South generally ignored agricultural machinery many years after mechanization had become common in the North and West. People connected with the southern plantation system were divided into distinct classes, with ownership of land concentrated in the upper class and vertical mobility up the agricultural ladder virtually impossible for the masses. Because of this, in 1930, class struggle was imminent and precipitated the change to technology.

Two developments bear primary causal relations to the advent of machines on southern fields. The plantation system has or is changing to technology as a result of social processes set in motion by the unionization of agricultural laborers and strengthened by landlord adjustments to the AAA program. The situation was brought to a climax through the mass abandonment of the fields by the workers during World War II.

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Introduction

Much literature of late has been devoted to the general theme of "mechanization" in the South, with the plantation belt coming in for particular reference. These studies, as a rule, have been confined to the factual establishment of the phenomenal increase of machines on southern fields since 1930.¹ Seemingly, social scientists have been too absorbed in the duty of chronicling this trend to indulge in more abstract analyses. At any rate, inventories of both the popular and scientific treatments of this subject reveal a conspicuous neglect by authors to construct a theoretical framework or, in other words, to analyze the role of the social processes in bringing about the change. This paper is an effort in that direction.

The terminology and concepts employed are the ones more or less commonly accepted.² Illustrations are

¹ For some late studies of this nature consult: Arthur Raper, "Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," *Social Forces*, XXV (1946), 21; and Rupert B. Vance, *All These People* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1946), pp. 192-212.

² Basically the social processes are considered as coming about from the interaction of individuals and groups. It has been pointed out that there are only two fundamental forms of such interaction, opposition and cooperation, and that other processes derive from them. Opposition can be divided into either competition or conflict and broadly defined as a struggle against another or others for a good, goal, or value. Cooperation, on the other hand, is set forth as a joint striving for the above ends and may involve the combination of unlike effort as illustrated in the division of labor. Differentiation is designated as a type of cooperation which involves a division of social labor in terms of roles and status. Accommodation, compromise, toleration, or any other basis for working agreements be-

taken only from the Southern Plantation System for two reasons.³ In the first place, the clear-cut identity of this system expedites analysis. Secondly, it is in these areas that the greatest change of this nature has and is taking place.

Historical Background

It is common knowledge that the social structure of the Southern Plantation System had taken on more rigidity very soon after the Civil War. This makes it seem reasonable to assume that these "crystallized mores" were shed only when social processes were set in motion which altered or destroyed some social institutions and founded others. We propose to examine the contemporary scene, first to find out what developments

between contending groups or individuals, comes out of conflict. From conflict and differentiation emerges the process called stratification. This process is closely related to accommodation and involves the formation of society into caste, class, or orders of status. Assimilation, or the merging of divergent groups into new and homogeneous associations, generally arises out of competition, conflict, and cooperation. Actually as the above definitions imply, the social processes are just another way of describing social functions and of looking at fundamental cultural phases of familial, economic, political, and other social activities. For a detailed discussion see: Kimball Young, *Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1942), pp. 643-867.

³ The term "plantation system" is used to denote a system which is essentially characterized by concentration of landownership, centralized control of a large force of laborers, specialization by enterprise or the "one-crop system," rigid supervision, and specialization by task. A plantation proper is a tract farmed by an owner or manager arbitrarily limited to a certain minimum number of resident families or cultivated acreage or both. See T. Lynn Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life* (Rev. Ed., New York: Harper and Bros., 1946), pp. 308-309.

were responsible for the departure from established practices; and second, to review insofar as is possible the evolving social fabric in terms of a theoretical framework designed to show the causal relation between this behavior and the introduction of technology to the fields. Obviously many variant patterns in specific areas and special cases will have to be overlooked for the sake of brevity. This fact, however, does not detract from the value of the study and it should serve the purpose of stimulating further investigation.

The historical fact setting the stage for this treatment is that planters of the South generally ignored agricultural machinery many years after mechanization had become common in the North.¹ This lag was related to several factors. Slavery was one of the more important reasons why the early South did not look to technology. The Southern planter of that time was so fully occupied with both slave management and the defense of slavery that he had little time to think of or experiment with new machinery.

Immigration differentials during the latter part of the 19th century give a clue to another reason why the South lagged behind the North and West in the use of machines. Land-hungry migrants with little cash but

new ideas and tools did not find a welcome in the comparatively populated, socially stratified and culturally static South. Consequently, agricultural technology at the production level did not advance far beyond the limited knowledge brought over by the first settlers of this region.

A third reason why the South overlooked mechanization is found in the so-called "factory" system of the plantations. Agricultural endeavors, under this system, are characterized by non-laboring and oft-times non-resident entrepreneurs. It is not difficult to see how a non-laboring farm operator or owner might be slow to experiment with and adopt innovations which did not affect his personal comfort or well-being.

Ogburn's point that an important factor restricting the use of an invention is the existence of a substitute which is available at a lower price or which is simpler or more workable suggests a fourth reason.⁵ The presence of an abundant supply of labor undoubtedly retarded the adoption of machinery.

Traditional Interactional Patterns

It is necessary to give a brief history of the plantation system in order to bring out the basic interactional patterns which characterized it until the early 1930's.

Emerging from the devastation of the Civil War, southern landowners were faced with the problem of getting their lands into production

¹ Almon E. Parkins, *The South, Its Economic and Geographic Development* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1938), p. 237. For statistical proof see: O. E. Baker, *A Graphic Summary of Farm Machinery, Facilities, Roads, and Expenditures*, U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 264, (Washington, 1937).

⁵ William F. Ogburn, *The Social Effects of Aviation* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 64.

again. At the same time many former slaves were finding their new freedom woefully lacking in the essentials of food and shelter. It was inevitable that the two come to some kind of a working agreement. The system of sharecropping⁶ which evolved, following a brief trial of wage labor, has been attributed to both the scarcity of money and a disapproval on the part of the planters to the paying of cash wages. T. Lynn Smith, citing primary sources, has shown how this disapproval was a result of the planters' not being able to depend on work agreements with ex-slaves.⁷ During the busiest time the "hands" were apt to desert the fields as soon as they received their wages. At any rate, the system assured the planter, on the one hand, of a stable supply of labor and the sharecropper, on the other, of a relative security in the furnish of food, shelter, etc.

Actually the above working agreement represented a truce from the oppositional interaction between planter and laborer developed during the Civil War. The terms of the truce called for a differentiation between groups which reset class lines and again stratified the society as in "antebellum" days. That the system was characterized by wide differentials in standards of living is not sur-

prising. In a stratified society where the masses have no alternative but to gain their livelihood in competition with one another, living standards are bound to vary widely between the upper and lower classes.

With a class system three fields of interaction became possible; between the lower class members, between the upper class members and between the classes. Between lower class members the interaction can be described as more of a competitive process than anything else. Disparities in the fertility of land and variations in the policies of landlords were the basis for keen competition. The well-known residential instability of croppers can be attributed in part to this process. Oppositional interaction between white and non-white "tenants," because of race relations or cultural competition, often developed into open conflict.⁸ It has been said that some planters aggravated this situation by openly expressing a preference for Negroes as sharecroppers. Though the main current of interaction, in an economic sense, was oppositional in nature, it is significant that cooperation was maintained to a fairly high degree in the religious and recreational activity.

Oppositional interaction between

⁶ In this paper the term "sharecropper" is used to designate a laborer paid with a part of the crop. For a detailed description of how this system emerged see: Fred C. Frey and T. Lynn Smith, "The Influence of the AAA Cotton Program Upon the Tenant, Cropper, and Laborer," *Rural Sociology*, I (1936), p. 481.

⁷ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 508-513.

⁸ As population pressure increased whites began to compete with Negroes for places on the land as tenants and laborers. By 1935 there were 368,408 colored sharecroppers as compared to 347,848 white sharecroppers, and in 1940 white tenants outnumbered Negro tenants 597,912 to 461,982 in the cotton belt. Smith has described this "assimilation" at length: *ibid.*, p. 525.

planters, when it was found, can best be described as simple rivalry. Little personalized competition or open conflict characterized social relationships between these upper class members. On the other hand social functions were the occasion for many cooperative efforts. A strong in-group feeling or class solidarity seems to account for these phenomena. Though landowners were not always on the best of economic relations with bankers, loan companies, etc., interaction between these groups does not directly concern class relations.

Inter-class relation, on the other hand, was something entirely different. With land giving them their license, planters, as a rule, felt free to adopt coercive practices in order to control the landless masses. This control usually was maintained by close supervision of the cropper's or tenant's crop as well as his holidays or rest periods. The laborer accommodated himself to such practices either by rationalizing that the situation could be worse, or inwardly compromising a present injustice to future revenge.⁹

In summary it can be said that people connected with the Southern Plantation System, in 1930, were divided into two distinct classes. The ownership of land was concentrated in the upper class and vertical mobility up the agricultural ladder was virtually impossible for the masses. While the former class enjoyed a relatively high living standard, the latter

class in many instances enjoyed no more than mere subsistence. Population pressure and economic dependence made competition a keen process in the lower class, while upper class members were too busy trying to carry on in the face of the depression to worry about labor relations. Such a system, as Smith has pointed out, has all the elements necessary for class struggle.¹⁰

The Role of the Depression

The coincidence of our last great depression with the first large scale observance of the machine on the southern fields may lead the casual observer to assign a direct causal relation between the two. No more exercise than a slight review of history proves the error of such an analysis. Though going through many previous periods of hard times the southern scene had retained its familiar one-horse technology intact. It is necessary to hold the fact of the depression as a constant and look for developments which it may have brought about as variables. Two such observations stand out as being characteristic of no previous crisis. They are the unionization, with resulting cooperative action on the part of agricultural workers, and the advent of the AAA with its specific definitions and policies. According to our hypothesis, close scrutiny of these developments should give us the answer to the enigma of why southern planters began mechanization only after 1930.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 507-516.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 472.

Unionization of Sharecroppers Related to Mechanization

The organization, in 1931, of a sharecroppers union in Tallapoosa County, Alabama can be looked upon as the beginning of a series of incidents which changed the relations between "tenant" and landlord and paved the way for mechanization. Never before had these particular agricultural workers got together in anything like a cooperative organization. Since the first organizers were industrial workers, some reportedly Communist,¹¹ it seems safe to say that the tenants and laborers themselves respected the existing class interactional patterns (whether because of tradition or fear of upper class retaliation is beside the point) too much to provide the necessary leadership for this kind of organization. At any rate, the speed with which the movement spread pointed out that these lower class members were in a potential state of revolt against the existing order.¹² Strangely enough, though the first union's members were all non-white, the later Southern Tenant Farmers Union organized in Poinsett County, Arkansas in 1934 was composed of both races, a precedent seldom set in southern history.

Plantation owners and operators

reacted immediately and violently when it became apparent what an organization of their workers could mean. Justifying their action on the grounds that the sharecroppers had violated the sacred precepts of class behavior, some landowners indulged in nearly every type of coercive behavior at their command. The situation was described by one of the union leaders as follows:

While violence of one type or another has been continuously poured out upon the membership of the union from its early beginning, it was in March, 1935 that a "reign of terror" ripped into the country like a hurricane. For two and a half months violence raged throughout northeastern Arkansas and in neighboring states until it looked at times as if the union would be completely smashed. Meetings were banned and broken up; members were falsely accused, arrested and jailed, convicted on trumped-up charges and thrown into prison; relief was shut off; union members were evicted from the land by the hundreds; homes were riddled with bullets from machine guns; churches were burned and schoolhouses stuffed with hay and floors removed; highways were patrolled night and day by armed vigilantes looking for the leaders; organizers were beaten, mobbed and murdered until the entire country was terrorized.¹³

Despite all these efforts the unions

¹¹ Katherine D. Lumpkin, *The South in Progress* (New York: International Publishers, 1940), p. 27.

¹² Organizers were able, because of the prevalent depression—brought destitution among the croppers, to stress grievances to good effect. Such things as "tenants" being allowed smaller shares of cotton, less food furnishings, and having to pay exorbitant prices at the plantation store were thoroughly propagandized.

¹³ Howard Kester, *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* (New York: Covici Friede, 1936), p. 82.

thrived¹⁴ and managed through their own pressure instruments, strikes, to achieve some of their immediate aims. The effectiveness of these strikes is shown by the report that:

On a given night the strike bills were distributed throughout the territory. So effectively were they distributed that many people thought an airplane had dropped them down on the cabins. On the following day a strange emptiness hung over the cotton fields. Most of the workers did not go to the fields and those who did soon returned to their cabins. . . . A labor official from Little Rock made a trip through the cotton country to see how effective the strike was. He reported that he saw two workers picking cotton. The strike was effective and the cotton hung in the bolls until the union told the men to go back to work.¹⁵

This turn-about coercion served notice to all landowners that their labor supply was not assured and furthermore it could and would desert the fields at the most critical times to press any bargain it desired. Only when planters realized that they were unable to rely on traditional inter-actional patterns to assure them a continuous human labor supply did they begin looking toward the ma-

chine as a substitute. And more and more as conflict situations developed between laborer and landowner machinery was substituted for the former. The first part of our hypothesis finds justification in that fact.

The AAA Related to Mechanization

In the previous section it was shown how some laborers and "tenants" overstepped the bounds of class convention to set processes in motion which precipitated mechanization. This section proposes to show how very soon after the labor movement began, one class of planters¹⁶ in turn was to behave similarly with like results.

In answer to the mounting surpluses and stagnant markets which were staring farmers in the face, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. Under this act farmers entered contracts to reduce acreage in specified surplus crops in return for benefit payments, financed chiefly by processing taxes on the commodity concerned. The first cotton contract offer specified that "any producer who is owner, landlord, cash tenant, or managing share tenant and who operates a cotton farm" could be a party to a 1934 and 1935 cotton acreage reduction contract covering his farm.¹⁷ In other words payments were to be made to the farm

¹⁴ Raper and Reid have pointed out that it was the peasant like, small-owner membership which gave the union exceptional tenacity. Arthur F. Raper and Ira De A. Reid, *Sharecroppers All* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 58.

¹⁵ Keeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁶ One class of planters steadfastly adhered to the philosophy of governmental action programs and complied accordingly. The other class complied with the "letter" only of these programs, and this is the class which the following discussion has in mind.

¹⁷ Henry I. Richards, *Cotton and the AAA* (Washington: The Brookings Institute, 1936), p. 49.

operator if he could qualify technically as manager.

Since some "tenants" and sharecroppers could qualify as "managing tenants" they were entitled to a pro rata benefit payment for the land taken out of cultivation on their respective plots. Mere laborers, however, had no claim to these payments. Many landlords were quick to realize this difference and to take advantage of it by shifting from sharecropper or "tenant" to cash day labor or mechanized operation. A few, through the "Landlord's Code,"¹⁸ were able to abide by the letter of the law with such maneuvers as declaring the tenant "non-managing" if he was "supervised" by a casual riding boss. It is not unfair to say that the "tenant" was left to bear the large share of acreage reduction while the landlord received the major benefits. The authors of *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* felt that:

One obvious reason for the wholesale neglect of the tenant lies in the fact that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration organized its program under the direction of the planters themselves. . . . The AAA as finally administered met the landlord's approval. If it effected any disorganization, that disorganization was not inimical to the planter's interest. Ultimately it proved to be a mere subsidy to planters.¹⁹

¹⁸ Since the administration of the cotton program rested primarily on community and county committees selected from cotton producers, control of the program was vested mostly in the hands of the landlords.

¹⁹ Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree,

As early as 1935, Frey and Smith were able to see what had happened and the reason for it. They wrote:

At the present time it is very apparent that the tenant, cropper, and laborer were pretty much overlooked in the cotton-control program. They were not the ones demanding a program of control in the first place; they had practically no voice in framing it in the second. The program devised was one entered into by the government and the landlord. The planter was left to work out his own arrangements with the families on his place, tenants, croppers, and laborers. It is small wonder that the cotton-control program is often called a "landowners' program."²⁰

The extent to which the landlords managed to attract AAA benefit payments their way is shown by the Woofter study. They found that, "the landlord received an average of \$822 per plantation, compared with \$108 per plantation received by all tenants together."²¹ Tenants, then, became no more than pawns in the game between the AAA and landowners. They were either discharged completely as surplus labor when production curtailment took place, changed over to seasonal day laborers, displaced by "non-managing" machines, or ruled ineligible for payments through the use of legal strategy.

and W. W. Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), pp. 51-52.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 488-489.

²¹ T. J. Woofter, Jr., et al., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, WPA Research Monograph V, (Washington, 1936), p. 67.

Obviously, action of the above sort violated traditional interactional patterns in that planters forsook customary arrangements for the express purpose of profiting at the tenants' expense. When the full significance of his "treatment" dawned on him the tenant was prone to be bitter and uncooperative. This in turn set in motion processes which ended in more displacement of workers by machines. In 1940, only those landowners who had abided by the "meant" conditions of the law and tenants who had obeyed the traditional class behavior code were operating under a semblance of the old system.

The War as a Climax

If mechanization was rapidly taking place through the processes just discussed, the coming of the war can be looked upon as the event which capped the climax. A large share of the farm population literally deserted the land. Those who were not being pressed into the armed forces migrated to the industrial centers of the North and West. Thus, the plantations found themselves practically without manpower. As workers became more and more scarce, planters who had mechanized for one reason or another counted themselves very fortunate. On the other hand, landowners who have not turned to technology, in particular those who had lived up to the AAA law and retained their labor supply, found themselves in a predicament. Years of strict compliance with both the letter and the spirit of the law went for naught as the planters who had done most to

safeguard the rights of the workers on their lands watched the laborers leave by the thousands at exactly the time they were most needed.

At this point it was impossible to substitute machinery for laborers because the manufacture of agricultural equipment had come to a virtual standstill soon after the National Emergency was declared. Their workers gone, unable to get machinery, and confronted with the relatively favorable situations of their less scrupulous neighbors, such planters resolved never again to be caught in such a dilemma, to free themselves from a dependence upon labor to the highest degree possible.

In this resolve they did and are turning to the relative security of the machine and in so doing are completing the breakdown of old behavior patterns and institutions and creating or adopting new ones. In their turn, sharecroppers, tenants and laborers of the former lower class have had an opportunity to evaluate their previous existence in the light of army travels and industrial "war wages." Neither will be conducive to their return to the areas in the first place, and to the old patterns of interrelationships in the second place.

In conclusion it may be said that the die is cast, the plantation system has or is changing to technology as a result of social processes set in motion by the unionization of agricultural laborers, strengthened by landlord adjustments to the AAA program and brought to a climax by the mass abandonment of the fields by the laborers during World War II.

Nationality and the Emerging Culture*

By Douglas G. Marshall†

ABSTRACT

Nationality is the greatest single social variable common to the rural people of the Midwest. A certain degree of assimilation has taken place but a few major culture traits together with countless minor ones tend to persist even after three or four generations removed from the old country.

The locus of this study using the culture-type classification is the social process rather than the geographical setting. The purpose of this phase of the series of studies conducted by the writer was to analyze the social process within specific nationality groups and between certain groups who have lived in close proximity for a period varying from 90 to 40 years. The three predominant groups are the Norwegians, the Polish, and the Welsh.

It was found that the original values and idea systems of the particular nationality groups have been greatly modified. These modifications are "changes of the times".

Too often we have taken for granted our rural cultural heritage, particularly here in the Mid-west, or we have reasoned fallaciously that all rural people are pretty much alike. On the contrary, we owe much to this heritage, much which we applaud as progress and much which, conversely, we conveniently label as cultural lag. Moreover, this rural heritage is as varied as it is rich. Nationality is the greatest single social variable common to the rural people of the Mid-west and this variation is at least as numerous as the countless nationalities who settled this region.

It has been the tacit assumption of the American people that somehow these divergent nationalities were being "melted" into an amalgam in the American "crucible." This is not strictly true, for, although a certain degree of assimilation has taken place, the hard cores of the various

nationalities tend to persist. The result is that we have, instead of an amalgam from the melting pot, a mosaic of cultures.

With this in mind, let us turn to the nationality studies conducted by the College of Agriculture, at the University of Wisconsin. Their main objective has been to give a more complete picture of rural Wisconsin. Moreover, from a practical viewpoint, it was found that recommended agricultural programs were accepted with varying degrees of success, and that the reluctance to accept or the full acceptance was invariably related with the cultural background of the people in certain areas. With these factors in mind, a major hypothesis was formulated, namely, that management, economic and social practices have cultural origins and that any change in these practices must be related to the culture of the people concerned. Field studies conducted by Walter Slocum, Rockwell Smith, Glenn Taggart, Douglas Marshall

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† University of Minnesota.

and Veronica Nisbet, under the supervision of George Hill and J. H. Kolb have been concerned with testing various phases of this original and major hypothesis.

The locus of the studies using the culture-type classifications, a tool of analysis utilized to a large extent throughout the studies, is the social process rather than geographical setting which has been stressed in the culture-area concept.¹ Recasting the major hypothesis, it would be something like this. As Wisconsin grows older and loses many of its obvious frontier characteristics, the emerging patterns tend to follow courses that have their roots in the cultural past of the present population. The background of each nationality group integrates with the developing American culture in varying degrees and manner. The place of birth is the best indication we have of the cultural background of the people who settled Wisconsin. Nationality background is merely *one* of the indices of culture, but probably one of the more important ones. The point of emphasis at Wisconsin to date has been the social process rather than the historical or geographical setting. Smith, Slocum, and Taggart attempted to distinguish the form of the social process among differing ethnic groups and the content, to some extent, of the social process *within* a specific nationality. This leads to the next step where an attempt has been

made to view the various nationalities as a social emulsion rather than as distinct types labelled Finnish, Czech, Dane, and so on.

The purpose then of this phase of the study conducted by the writer was to analyze the social process within specific nationality groups and between these groups when they have lived together in an area for a period varying from 90 to 40 years. This report is of a preliminary nature since this phase of the study in the area to be described below is continuing.

The emphasis is social change on a group level and the resulting degree of assimilation. The specific hypothesis to be tested, which is a phase of the larger hypothesis stated above, is that the interaction of sub-cultures or particular nationality groups involves changes in the original culture pattern of a group and pushes the emergent culture pattern of the community farther along the road toward a relatively homogeneous and harmonious culture, eventually an "American Way" of life. It is hoped that this hypothesis can be tested in more than one area. At present, a preliminary field study has been completed in one area—Wild Rose, an agricultural community in Waushara County, located in the sand plains of central Wisconsin.

The author of this paper together with Veronica Nisbet spent upwards of five months living and participating in the life of the community. Miss Nisbet confined herself largely to the people of the village at Wild Rose, while this writer concerned himself

¹George W. Hill, "The Use of the Culture-Area Concept in Social Research," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII, No. 1, (July, 1941.)

primarily with the rural farm segment of the population. The usual statistical material was gathered pertaining to the agricultural and social life of the farm people. In addition, 29 farm families were carefully selected to represent specific nationalities found in the area. In terms of nationality background, 5 Welsh families, 7 Norwegian families, 4 Polish, 4 English, 4 Yankee, 2 German, and 3 mixed families were selected.

Wild Rose—A Rural Melting Pot?

Before the field analysis was undertaken, certain criteria were advanced to be considered in the selection of the areas. Listed below are the criteria used:

1. Geographical areas which at the same time contain definite community centers in which various ethnic groups must from time to time come in contact.
2. At least three distinct nationality groups of which two are of major importance, numerically speaking.
3. Areas in which agriculture is an important industry, and,
4. Areas which have been settled at least two or three decades by at least two distinct ethnic groups. This allows for the process of assimilation the important time interval necessary, if some measurement of the process is to be made.

On the basis of these four criteria, Wild Rose was selected, along with four other communities. It is to be noted that many other communities in the Mid-west could be selected within the framework of these criteria.

During the first week of the surveys, it became apparent that Wild Rose satisfied all four criteria and "filled the bill" on a number of other important sociological counts. For example, a heterogeneous religious grouping was also found which is in many ways apparently a more important differentiator than nationality. Moreover, three of the four most important ethnic groups, numerically speaking, settled in the community at about the same time. This has a two-fold advantage. First, the two non-English speaking groups, Norwegian and Welsh, can be compared with the third group who came from New England. Also, all three have had the same time interval to manifest cultural change. Secondly, the fourth group, the Polish, who came much later can be compared with the other three and particularly the first two, where the two most important events are time and the difference in religious and nationality background. These factors will be discussed in more detail later. The important fact here is that theoretical criteria are often modified or completely nullified by pre-testing in the field. In passing, it can be stated that one of the five areas originally selected has been discarded because of its failure to qualify under the first criterion.

And now some demographic and historical facts about the area. The farm community of Wild Rose covers the better part of four townships which had a total population of 2,700 in 1910, 2,470 in 1920, 1,938 in 1930, and 1,862 in 1940. The village of Wild

Rose has remained relatively stationary over the 30 years, being 551, 576, 512, 559 for the census years since 1910. The farm section of the community has dropped nearly one-third in the thirty-year period.

The Welsh, Norwegians and Yankees settled in various sections of the community at about the same time. The Welsh came in first in the early 1850's, and settled in a closely-knit area adjacent to what is now the village of Wild Rose and in the township of Rose. The Norwegians settled in the township of Mt. Morris, southeast of the village and in Wautoma, southwest of the village. The Yankees and English settled mostly south of the village. These early settlements were closely-knit open country neighborhoods held together by common customs, language, and religion. They kept practically to themselves up until about thirty years ago. These ethnic "islands" were able to maintain their cultural cohesiveness largely because of the fact that they were relatively isolated and very seldom ventured out of the confines of the local neighborhood. This isolation, which was social largely because of language barriers and physical because of lack of communication, meant that it was relatively a simple matter to maintain a *status quo* in cultural conformity and to preserve the old-country folkways and traditions.

The Welsh and Norwegians for the most part came looking for freedom from chronic insecurity, but maintaining close ties with the old country. They had no particular embitter-

ed attitudes toward the land of their birth and were therefore proud of their Welsh and Norwegian background and successfully withstood the erosion of their heritage for nearly 75 years. The feeling of nationalism was especially strong among the early Norwegians since nationalistic movements were coming to the fore in the old country which at that time was part of Sweden.

In the early days they learned the language of their parents since it was the common means of expression within their social realm. Their social and religious life was centered in country neighborhoods and the vehicle of expression was the native tongue. Social distance was maintained with other groups largely because of self-sufficiency of the community, the difficulty of oral expression, and the conscious effort to maintain group identity through clan-nishness.

A further device for maintaining a cultural *status quo* was to frown upon mixed marriage and conversely to encourage "pure" marriages. This was used successfully among the two major nationality groups up until very recently. As one Norwegian put it, "up until recently there has always been enough Norwegians to go around." Of course, coupled with this device was the actual taboo of mixed religious marriages since each ethnic group was also a distinct denomination. Veronica Nisbet has shown in her study of the village families in Wild Rose that mixed marriages have increased steadily and that therefore

the effort of ethnic groups to maintain their cultural identity has been slackening.² Miss Nisbet points out that 74 per cent of the second generation immigrants married into the same nationality, 37 per cent of the third generation and only 23 per cent of the fourth generation have married the same nationality.

The Norwegians have maintained their cohesiveness much more firmly than the Welsh. In fact, it has been only within the last decade that the "Norse Grend" community has shown any cracks in its solid wall of common identity. There is much concrete evidence to substantiate this trend other than the observations of the investigator. One is the much faster migration out of the farm community of the Welsh. The rate was about one-third higher for the Welsh than the Norwegians in the period 1931 through 1945. Secondly, the Norwegians still maintain two very active open-country churches while the last open-country Welsh church closed some 20 years ago. Third, only one Welsh family out of five reported the use of Welsh language reading material, whereas four out of seven Norwegians still read regularly reading material in their own language. Fourth, none of the Welsh would prefer their children to marry Welsh, while three of the five Norwegians would prefer their children to marry Norwegians. Fifth, and finally, the

Norwegians confined 80 per cent of their visiting to Norwegians, but the Welsh confined only half of their visiting to Welsh families.

This writer intensively interviewed 29 farm families of which five were Welsh and seven were Norwegian. Again, these interviews significantly point out that the Welsh are losing their distinct Welsh culture traits much faster than the Norwegians, although the children of the present generation of Norwegians are speeding up the process of assimilation to a very rapid rate. Without exception, the Welsh describe themselves as losing their distinctive characteristics and becoming part and parcel of the "American" cultural stream. Many areas once solidly Welsh have an appearance of cultural porosity, being interspersed with Polish, Yankee, German and Norwegian. This porosity has been recognizable since 1915.

The Polish, the other large non-English speaking group who live in the Wild Rose community are a study in contrasts. They came into the community over 40 years after the Norwegians and Welsh, during the late 1890's and early 1900's. In addition to the language difficulties, the Polish people had the added disadvantages of settling on very poor soil, of being Catholic in a predominately Protestant area and of being Slavic in origin with all its connotation in a Yankee-Northern European community. However, the evidence seems to allow making the statement that the Polish people have entered the main current of American life relatively faster

² Veronica Frances Nisbet, *Nationality Background as a Factor in the Social Stratification of a Rural Wisconsin Village*, unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1946.

than the Welsh or the Norwegians. Just why should this be so?

Probably the most important factor accounting for the apparent rapid pace in which these Polish people have become assimilated was the fact that they arrived in the community at a time when isolation was being ameliorated by more modern means of communication and transportation. Coupled with this is the additional fact that many of the Polish had lived in Chicago before settling in the Wild Rose community where, of course, they had been rather intensively subjected to the cross-currents of American life. Very few were directly from rural Poland which would have made assimilation of any degree much more difficult.

However, it cannot be overlooked that the Polish people being of Slavic origin and not Northern European were conscious of the fact that they were less socially acceptable in a predominantly Northern European-Yankee community. This was a situation they were willing to face and the best way was to make a deliberate effort to shed their more obvious "foreign" culture traits and to accept the dominant social behavior norms of the area such as learning English, going to school and participating actively in community affairs. It should be pointed out, however, that many of the Polish families have left the area. In 1910 there were 140 families in the area, while in 1946 there were only 40 remaining. No doubt the economic adversities of trying to eke out a livelihood on sub-marginal land drove the

majority out, but a large number were unable or unwilling to make drastic changes in their mode of life to satisfy the dominant Welsh-Norwegian-Yankee group in the community. The easier way was to leave the area and return to the more cosmopolitan life in such cities as Chicago and Milwaukee. Thus, it is in all probability quite possible that the present day Polish people are a *select* group who for the most part have accommodated themselves to the dominant values of the community.

The other two groups of any size at least numerically in the community are the English and the Yankees. The English, of course, had very little or no problem of accommodation to the main stream of the values found in the community insofar as these values were societal in scope. As might be expected, the English very quickly blended with the Yankee group and today are practically indistinguishable. It is apparent that the Welsh, Norwegians, and the English and Yankees, all of whom settled there in the 1850's and 1860's, set themselves off into three well-defined and distinct areas within the community and that these locality groupings based on nationality existed as practically self-sufficient social and economic units until well into the 1900's.

This, then, is a brief account of the historico-cultural development of the community to the present day. In brief, the four major immigrant groups, three of which were originally non-English speaking peoples have progressed at varying rates toward

complete assimilation. What then is the picture today and what of the future?

It seems in order at this point to show the similarities and contrasts of the major ethnic groups based on quantitative data. For example, it was found that certain differences appear when the educational backgrounds of those children not in school were compared. The Welsh children had on the average 14.5 years of schooling, the Norwegians 10.7 years, the Polish 9.7, and all others 11.0 years of schooling.³ The quest for education has been a factor pulling the Welsh away from farming and their subsequent entry into the professional fields. Moreover, it has indirectly added to the prestige of those Welsh who have remained in the community; they can point with pride to their kinfolk who have achieved a mark for themselves. This has also been observed by Kaufman.⁴ Conversely, the Polish and Norwegians have shunned higher education and therefore have tended to remain as farmers in the community. The rank in the community by education of the children not now in school approximates the status rank of the various major ethnic groups; namely, Welsh, Norwegians, Yankees, Others, and Polish.

Social participation and leadership also follows about the same pattern. The Welsh family head belonged on

the average to 4.0 formal groups and held 2.2 offices in 1946, the Norwegians to 3.3 groups but held only 0.3 offices, the Polish 2.7 groups and 1.0 offices, and all others to 2.3 formal groups and 0.9 offices. The picture for the wife very closely parallels this. The more active people are in community affairs the more status they usually have or achieve.⁵ This again bears out the general status classification of the community shown above and based on objective observation. There is some tendency for status in the community to be conditioned by ethnic background. However, certain factors are at work among this generation which will in all probability lessen the influence, be it adverse or otherwise, of having a nationality background label.

It was found that 62 per cent of the married children of a specific nationality background had married someone of a different nationality background. Moreover, only 14 per cent, or 4 out of 28, of the families preferred their children to marry some one of the same nationality and of these four, *three* were Norwegian and one German. In contrast, 17 of the 29 families preferred their children to marry someone of the *same* religion. Apparently, the Norwegians are making a greater effort to retain their identity than any of the other groups.

Another factor that is helping to break down the status barriers is the fact that there is no significant grouping by ethnic background in the ten-

³ This classification—all others—contained the two German families, four English, four Yankee, and the three mixed families.

⁴ Harold F. Kaufman, *Defining Prestige in a Rural Community*, Sociometry Monographs, No. 10, Beacon Hill, 1946, p. 7.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

ure pattern when the families were classified as tenants, owners in debt, and owners free of debt.

The last factor which points toward an eventual lessening of ethnic consciousness is the shift in the visiting and work exchange pattern to "mixed relationships." The Norwegians are the only group confining themselves largely to their own group.

The statistical evidence points to a definite acceleration of the process of assimilation with the present-day Norwegians being the only group resisting the process to any degree. However, they too are feeling the effect since the children are associating much more freely with other groups and since the boys if they are to find a "date" in the community must cross ethnic lines. Moreover, all groups are beginning to feel the pinch of too few girls in the area since the sex ratio of the farm population of the four townships in 1940 was 115.5:100 for the 15-24 years of age group, and runs as high as 133:100 in Springwater township. Thus, certain compulsive forces are at work tending to nullify the wishes of the older people among the various groups, particularly the Norwegians.

In summary, there is no doubt that the original values and idea systems of the particular nationality groups have been greatly modified. Most of these modifications have been "changes of the times" apparent in any area of American rural life in the last 30 years and mostly attributable to modern transportation and communication. However, no small

amount of the modification in particular culture patterns can be directly traced to the fact that if people from differing backgrounds live and work together for 40 years or more, they can't help but be influenced in how they do things no matter how impervious they might appear to be to social change.

Finally, these modifications have been accepted at varying rates. Certain ethnic groups have values which are not too far removed from the accepted dominant values of a community. These groups are accepted with little concern by those who control the social standard and set the prestige scale. Other ethnic groups experience more difficulty conforming to a socially acceptable way of life, but are eventually "infected" by the dominant groups if they decide to remain. However, social interaction is a two-way process. Not only does the value system of the Polish and Norwegian change because of his association with the Welsh, but so does that of the Welsh. They are not by any stretch of the imagination the same people they were in 1860 or even in 1920. Consciousness of kind is not only corroded by time but by the inability of most groups "to live unto themselves."

It is fitting to close this paper with a remark of the late George S. Wehrwein that "it takes three generations of a family to own a piece of land and four generations to erase their more obvious old world characteristics." That is the era the Wild Rose community is entering. Further study at Wisconsin and elsewhere will serve to confirm or deny.

An Exploratory Study of Mental Disorders in a Rural Problem Area*

By Edwin M. Lemert†

ABSTRACT

A study of first admissions to all state and three large private mental hospitals in the state of Michigan from 1938 to 1942 reveals a concentration of high rates in the Upper Peninsula counties. These counties are part of what has been delineated as a rural problem area—an area of cut-over forests, decadent mining industry and marginal or submarginal agriculture. Exploratory correlations between the county mental disease rates and selected indices of socio-economic disorganization, such as percentage of population on relief, percentage of tax-delinquent land, and average value of land, proved to be non-significant. However, the high rates did seem to be related to nativity composition of the population. Foreign born and second generation immigrants were found to have much higher rates than native born populations. Correlations between mental disease rates and the number of foreign born in each county were inversely significant, both for the total foreign born and the constituent nationalities. The findings would seem to support the culture-conflict, social isolation theory of mental disease.

This is a preliminary and partial report upon a more comprehensive study of the spatial distribution of mental disorders in the state of Michigan. It presents certain descriptive facts with special reference to the Upper Peninsula of that state and the results of an effort to test the sociological hypothesis that mental disorders are functionally related to breakdowns of social communication.¹ The data for the study consisted of 14,302 first admissions to seven state hospitals and approximately 2,700 first admissions to three large private hospitals from 1938 through

1942 inclusive.² The rates used were computed per 100,000 county population aged 21 years and over, and adjusted for variable sex composition of the county populations. All rates hereafter cited will be taken as adjusted in this manner unless otherwise specified.

The most impressive thing which materialized from the data after they had been converted into an ecological distribution was the concentration of high rates in the Upper Peninsula. Reference to map number one reveals that four out of fifteen Upper Peninsula counties had rates over 100 per 100,000 population in comparison with only four out of the remaining 68 counties of the state. Counties having rates above eighty made up 53.3

* Read before the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, April, 1947. The writer is indebted to the Michigan Department of Mental Health, and to the staffs of the Kalamazoo and Newberry State Hospitals for their fine cooperation in providing data and other assistance.

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¹ R. E. L. Faria, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, (Sept., 1934).

² Excluded were first admissions from the Federal Veterans Administration Hospital, those from two acute medical hospitals and several very small hospitals mostly in the Detroit area. The statistical implications of these omissions are discussed later.

MAP 1

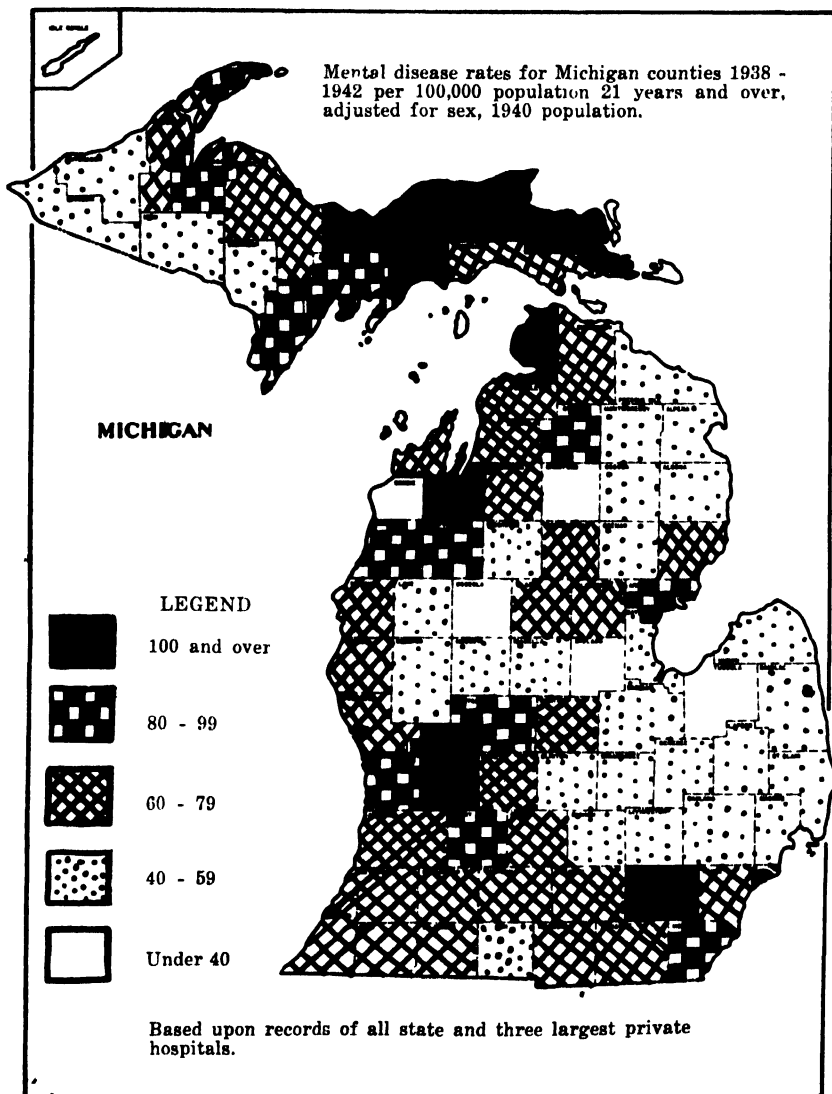


TABLE I. FIRST ADMISSION RATES FOR MENTAL DISEASE PER 100,000 POPULATION AGED 21 YEARS AND OVER, ADJUSTED FOR SEX, FOR FOUR GROUPS OF MICHIGAN COUNTIES 1938 TO 1942, WITH STANDARD ERRORS AND CRITICAL RATIOS OF THEIR DIFFERENCES, 1940 CENSUS.

Counties	Rates	O R	C R	C R	C R
Upper Peninsula	80.6	6.3			
Cut-over"	61.2	5.0	2.4		
Southern Agricultural	67.5	3.9	1.7	1.0	
Southern Industrial	66.2	2.2	2.1	0.9	0.2

per cent of the Upper Peninsula group, whereas only 17.6 per cent of the other counties fell into this high category. The Upper Peninsula had no counties with rates less than forty, in contrast with the rest of the state, where five counties fell below this figure. The highest rate in the entire state occurred in Luce County in the Upper Peninsula, with 127. The county closest to this in the lower part of the state was Kent, with 110.

Michigan counties can be divided for ecological purposes into four groups: the thinly populated Upper Peninsula, which has a mixed economic base of resort trade, mining and fishing; the "cut-over" counties in the lower peninsula north of the so-called Bay-Muskegon line, which also have a sparse population supported by resort trade, marginal forestry and farming; 21 southern agricultural counties; and finally, 15 southern industrial counties. The mean annual rates for these four county groups together with their standard errors and the critical ratios of their differences can be seen in Table I. This shows that the high rate of 80.6 for the Upper Peninsula is significantly higher than that of the industrial counties to the south and that of the "cut-over" coun-

ties.³ In all likelihood if the population of the southern agricultural counties had been greater, the difference between their mean rate and that of the northern counties would also have been significant. From the map and this table it may be concluded that the urban dominance of counties or regions doesn't seem to have much bearing upon their mental disease rates.

When total rates were broken down by type of psychosis certain intriguing variations between the rates for the far northern area and the rest of the state became apparent. Map number two gives the distribution of schizophrenic rates by counties. It is plain that this psychosis was very prevalent in the Upper Peninsula with the exception of two counties. Although these two counties

³ Some statisticians have insisted upon a critical ratio of 3 or more in order to have a significant difference between two rates. F. Ross, "Ecology and the Statistical Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, (January, 1933); However, others believe that this is an over-rigorous test for ordinary purposes and suggest a critical ratio of 2. In terms of probability this would mean that there are approximately five chances out of a hundred that the difference could be due to chance or sampling. C. C. Peters, "Note on a Misconception of Statistical Significance," *American Journal of Sociology*, (September, 1933); T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics*, (1941), p. 257.

fall in a lower category, in neither instance did the rate drop below seven. There are nine counties elsewhere in the state having lower rates. There are four Upper Peninsula counties with rates above thirty, in comparison with but three counties from the lower part of the state having rates this high. Keweenaw County in the Upper Peninsula stood at the top of the array, with a high of 52.0. Wayne County, the largest urbanized, industrialized county, showed a rate of 31.5. On the whole, however, whereas high schizophrenic rates are noted in the Upper Peninsula, they also concentrate in the extreme south and southwestern part of the state.

When attention is directed to the distribution of manic-depressive rates the most definite and clear-cut localization of the disorders appears. Six Upper Peninsula counties had rates over 16 per 100,000 population, and eleven counties, or 73.3 per cent had rates above twelve. There were only eight counties, or 11.3 per cent of the remainder of the state units with rates above this figure. The lowest manic rate for the Upper Peninsula was in Ontonagon County, 7.2, below which were distributed 39 other

counties, all located below the Straits of Mackinac. Inspection of map number three reveals the sharp focus of high manic rates in the Upper Peninsula area, together with their relative absence or spotty occurrence elsewhere in the state. The regional configuration of manic-depressive rates appears here as a challenging contrast, not necessarily a contradiction, to the random distribution for this disorder which characterized the Chicago areas studied by Faris and Dunham.⁴

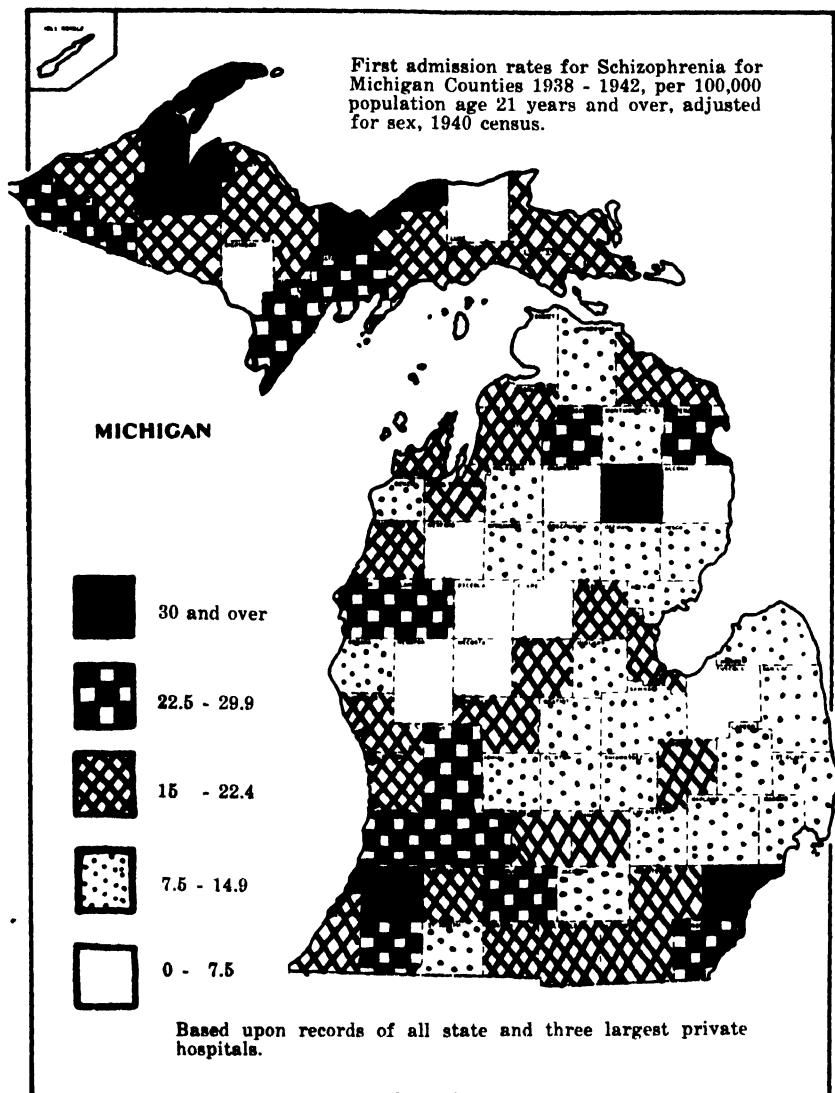
Another unanticipated fact, derived from throwing the data on rates by psychosis into regional categories, is the relatively low incidence of alcoholic psychoses and general paralysis in the Upper Peninsula. The history of vice and heavy consumption of alcohol in the area make these low rates at least superficially paradoxical. The mean rates of the four groups of counties for these two psychoses plus those for schizophrenia and manic-depressive disorders are shown in Table II. The mean rate for schizophrenia was higher but not significantly so in the northern area than in the industrial counties. For alcoholic

⁴R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (1939), Ch. IV.

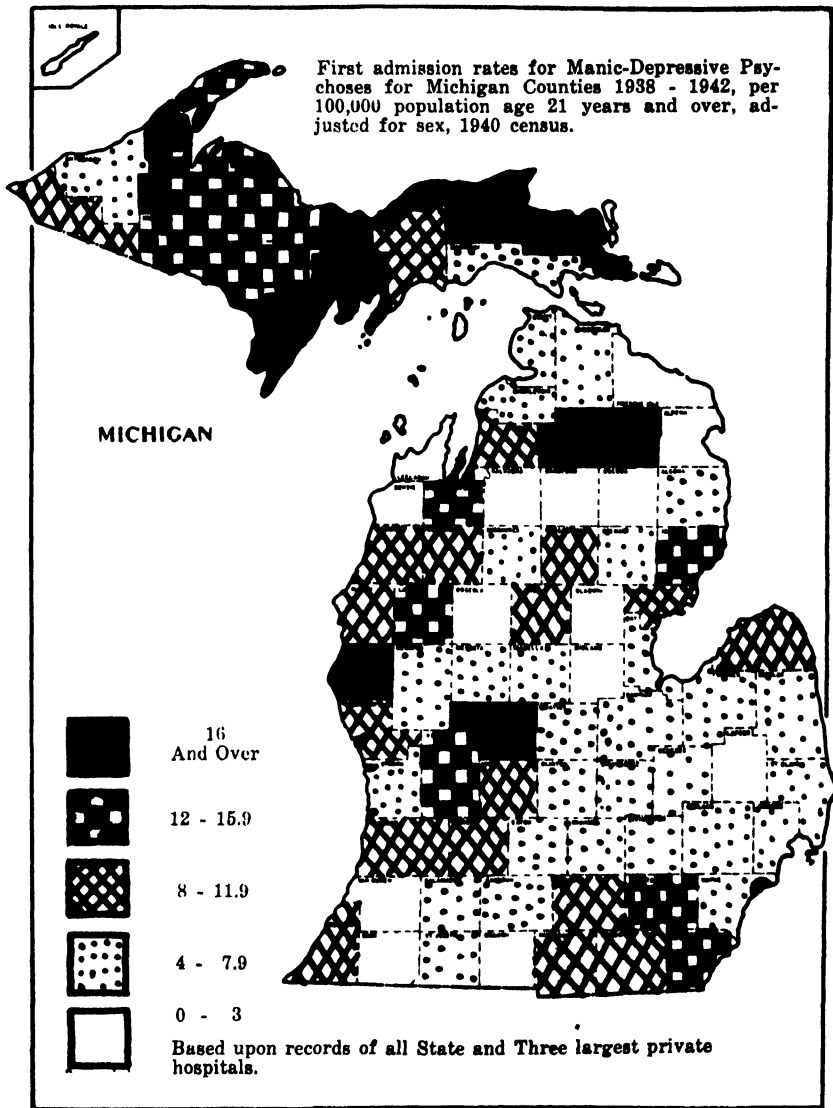
TABLE II. FIRST ADMISSION RATES FOR MENTAL DISEASE BY PSYCHOSES PER 100,000 POPULATION AGE 21 YEARS AND OVER, ADJUSTED FOR SEX, FOR FOUR GROUPS OF MICHIGAN COUNTIES 1938 TO 1942, 1940 CENSUS.

Counties	Psychoses ¹			
	Schizophrenia	Manic-depressive	General Paralysis	Alcoholic
Upper Peninsula	20.9	12.8	4.2	2.0
"Cut-over"	14.7	8.6	3.2	2.2
Southern Agricultural	16.7	7.0	4.6	2.5
Southern Industrial	19.0	7.3	7.3	3.3

MAP 2



MAP 3



pyschoses the critical ratio of the difference between these two regions was likewise too low for significance. However, for manic-depressive and general paralysis rates, the above-noted differences had critical ratios well over two.

Data on rates for other psychoses, not completely adjusted, indicate that the Upper Peninsula had rates higher or at least as high as the southern industrial and agricultural counties in the following: senility, psychoneuroses, arteriosclerotic disorders, and psychoses with mental deficiency. There were practically no cases of involutional melancholia in the Upper Peninsula and very few cases of epilepsy with psychosis.

While the facts noted thus far seem impressive enough, the writer is convinced that this and other studies similar to it are likely to remain little more than a sociological *tour de force* or exercises in statistical virtuosity unless there is cognizance that factors other than mental disorders themselves are reflected in hospitalization rates for mental disease. The writer has endeavored to show in another context that mental disease statistics are a measure of at least two other factors besides the incidence of the psychiatrically defined disorders themselves.⁵ In the present study it was possible through interviews with private physicians and hospital superintendents to assess informally the differential in hospital-

ization tendencies in the Upper Peninsula as compared with those in other parts of the state. A factor making for greater hospitalization of mental cases in the Upper Peninsula is the attenuated stigma which seems to be associated both with having a mental disease and being treated for it. Evidence for this is seen in the high rate of voluntary admissions to the Newberry State Hospital, one-sixth of the total; such admissions are only a negligible amount in the other state hospitals. Many old lumberjacks in and around Newberry, without much concern or fear have expressed to the writer the probability that they would "end their days up in the state hospital." Quite a few infants and acute medical cases are taken to the hospital for treatment, and one gets the impression, oddly enough, that this large and well-equipped hospital symbolizes the strong ingroup feeling that exists throughout the entire area.

In recent years a number of county homes and county hospitals in the northern area have successively closed, in all likelihood dumping their residue of mild senile and arteriosclerotic cases into the hospital at Newberry. Ordinarily these cases would not be charged against the area as mental cases and hence they tend to raise somewhat the totals for the Upper Peninsula. Another consideration is the fact that the staff at Newberry State Hospital has managed to maintain its outlying clinics where they have been discontinued by other state hospitals in late years. Through

⁵ E. M. Lemert, "Legal Commitment and Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, (May-June, 1946).

these the travelling staff members pick up quite a few cases that otherwise would not be hospitalized.

Arrayed against the factors making for a higher rate of hospitalization in the northernmost counties are a number of others having the opposite effect. One is the complete absence of private hospitals in any of the fifteen counties there. The ingrouping of immigrant minorities in which family ties are strong inclines them to resist institutionalization of members in all save cases of very disruptive social behavior. Finally, and that which is probably of greatest importance, both the rustic environment and the people display a great tolerance for psychotic behavior.⁶

In Wayne County and to a slight extent in adjacent counties the exclusion of first admissions from several small hospitals and two acute medical hospitals may have lowered their rates and the mean rate for the industrial counties group. However,

the fact which originally led to excluding these figures was that many patients admitted to the acute medical hospitals are sent directly to state or other private hospitals. Due to a peculiarity of record-keeping, patients entering state hospitals from private institutions are counted as first admissions, which means that a goodly number of first admissions in the southern agricultural and industrial counties have been counted twice. Had the acute medical hospital admissions been counted, there would be the further possibility that some cases would have been enumerated three times.

The exact collation of all of these factors is extremely difficult. The probability is high that the various factors which have been noted cancel out and that the error, if and to the extent that it exists, minimizes rather than exaggerates the differences between the mean rate of the Upper Peninsula and the rest of the state. This conclusion is in conformity with the conventional belief that hospitalization rates are higher in urban areas than rural areas. It is also supported by specific studies showing that about three fourths of mental cases remain unhospitalized in rural areas whereas only one half of urban cases are unhospitalized. The fact that the bulk of the family boarding care homes in Michigan are in rural localities would seem to indicate the greater ease with which mentally ill persons adjust there. Finally, there is evidence that urban readmission rates are higher than rural, which

⁶ The ease with which psychotic persons may live without interference or interfering with others in cabins, resort cottages and "shacks" in this area is well known. There is a folk recognition of this in humorous stories about trappers, woodsmen and others who hear voices or suffer from "cabin fever." One Finnish woodsman told the writer "It is alright to hear voices so long as you don't talk back to them." There is reason to believe that the lumber camps were and still are to an extent a refuge for all sorts of undisciplined persons including psychotic ones. See O. S. Danford, "The Social and Economic Effects of Lumbering on Michigan," *Michigan History Magazine*, (Spring Number, 1942), p. 346. Estimates by several local doctors in Marquette county placed the number of non-hospitalized psychotics in their communities at four to six percent of the population.

suggests the same for first admissions.⁷

The facts brought to light in this research point up the necessity to study mental disease in rural as well as urban settings, and to develop generic as well as special theories of mental disease. In seeking some theoretical explanation of the high rates in the Upper Peninsula attention was turned naturally to certain known facts about the counties there. They are part of one of six rural problem areas which have been characterized as areas of pervasive social disorganization resting upon unstable economic bases. In this case the Michigan counties in question are part of the Great Lakes Cut-over region, which in immediately past years had high relief rates, high tax delinquency, heavy farm indebtedness, low assessed land values and declining populations. All of these have been related economically to a decadent lumbering and mining industry and to the promotion of agriculture foredestined to be marginal or submarginal.⁸

These neat and dramatic indices were a temptation to use for purposes of correlation. More or less per-

functorily several such correlations were run between selected indices of disorganization and the county mental disease rates; the results were entirely unpromising and the idea was discarded in favor of an original plan to discover a sociological index that might prove a fruitful variable to pair with the mental disease rates. Since mental disorders already have been related to migration, culture conflict and especially to social isolation,⁹ the best use of the data seemed to be to test the general hypothesis that mental disease in the person is a reciprocal of a breakdown in social communication.

Contra-indications for the use of the isolation hypothesis were that Faris and Dunham did not employ it to explain all forms of mental disease and specifically exempted the "randomly distributed" manic-depressive psychosis from the class of mental disorders that could be referred to the isolating process.¹⁰ However, the assumption by sociologists of a mutual exclusiveness in the categories of mental disease, with its implication of separate causes for each, strikes the present writer as an unfortunate patronage of medically-trained psy-

⁷ R. Lemkau, C. Fietz and M. Cooper, "Report of Progress in Developing a Mental Hygiene Component of a City Health District," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 97, (1941); W. F. Roth and F. H. Luton, "The Mental Health Program in Tennessee," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 99 (1943); E. M. Lemert, L. C. Kercher and E. M. Hughes, *An Exploratory Study of Some Factors Conditioning Successful Parole Adjustments of Mental Patients*, Mimeographed, Pontiac State Hospital, (Oct., 1943).

⁸ P. G. Beck and M. C. Forester, *Six Rural Problem Areas*, (1935), pp. 11-15.

⁹ R. E. L. Faris, *op. cit.*; R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *op. cit.*; B. Malzberg, "Rates of Mental Disease Among Certain Population Groups in New York State," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 31, (1936); L. Brooks, "The Relation of Spatial Isolation to Psychoses," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 28, (1932-33); J. Dollard, "The Psychotic Person Seen Culturally," *American Journal of Sociology*, (March, 1934).

¹⁰ R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

chiatrists. It seems far more consistent theoretically to reduce the various mental disorders to one or two classes, defined, perhaps, in terms of self attitudes, and to regard the conventional psychiatric diagnoses, including the organic, as special cases of these general disorders. Indeed, psychiatrists themselves more recently seem to be thinking along these lines. In accord with this reasoning the county rates employed to test the hypothesis designedly were based upon first admissions for all disorders, the high manic rates and the presence of "organic" cases to the contrary notwithstanding.¹¹

A separation of the rates for native born, foreign born and second generation immigrant populations together with their comparison was one method of shedding light upon the part played by culture conflict and social isolation in producing the high rates of mental disease in the area. These can be seen in Table IV. The native born population had the lowest rate: 40.8 per 100,000 population; the foreign born were next high: 119.2; and the second generation immigrants showed the highest rate: 131.7. The critical ratios of the differences between the native born rate that that of both immigrant groups were high enough to make them significant. This was not true of the difference between the rate of the foreign born and that of the second generation, but if further age cor-

rections were made in the rate of the foreign born (already done for the senile psychoses) it is possible that the difference would become significant and that a more graded differential between the three rates would appear.

A comparison of the gross rates of various nationalities of the foreign born populations (assuming comparable age-sex compositions) seemed to further validate the culture conflict isolation hypothesis. The non-French Canadians and a combined group of nationalities where in each case the N for the five year period was less than five displayed the highest rates. Most of the foreign born non-French Canadians in the **Upper Peninsula** actually are second-generation Canadians and as a result of their migration to the region may properly be taken as a case of three-way culture conflict. There are also certain special local factors which tend to make this group more isolated socially than other nationalities. The "others less than five N" group is by obvious inference made up of highly isolated, minute, enclave minorities. Their situation is directly comparable to the foreign born in the Chicago study whose dispersed location in areas not predominantly inhabited by those of their own nationality was associated with the highest rates in the city.¹²

The procedure here of demonstrating the existence of a general relationship between mental disease rates and culture conflict and migration

¹¹ This theoretical position closely follows that of L. G. Brown; see his *Social Pathology*, (1942), Ch. XVII.

¹² R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57, 169.

TABLE III. FIRST ADMISSION RATES FOR MENTAL DISEASE PER 100,000 POPULATION 21 YEARS AND OVER TO THE NEWBERRY STATE HOSPITAL 1938-1942 BY NATIVITY AND SEX, 1940 CENSUS.

Nativity	Total	Male	Female
Native Born	40.8	44.9	36.7
Foreign Born	119.2	137.8	100.7
Native Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	131.7	149.6	113.9

was undertaken with full cognizance that the latter have a differential impact upon the various constituents of the foreign born and second generation groups. The attempt to test the hypothesis more systematically and to detect a more specifically operating variable was made by correlating the county mental disease rates with the percentages the foreign born in each of the fifteen counties constituted of the total foreign born population in the Upper Peninsula. The correlation was computed for both gross rates and age-sex corrected rates. The correlation for gross rates was $-.71$ and for the adjusted rates $-.75$. Considering the admitted crudeness of the measure of isolation, these seem fairly high.¹³

Individual correlations were then run for each nationality, and it was found that moderately high negative correlations existed for all of the ethnic groups with the exception of the non-French Canadians, which, as has been explained, is best regarded as a

second generation group. The correlations are presented in Table V. It will be noted that the correlations were not significant in the case of the second generation immigrants and native born population. The latter populations are much more numerous than the foreign born, which led to a suspicion that this correlation held for the lower portion of the distribution of county foreign born populations and tended to reach an upper limit where it no longer operated.

This last proposition was tested by grouping together the paired variables for the Finnish, Swedish and British Isles populations and using the correlation ratio instead of a coefficient of correlation. The results verified the negative nature of the relationship and made clear that it was curvilinear rather than linear; nyx was $.56$ with a PE of $.03$ and nxy was $.65$ with a PE of $.02$. However, these figures must be accepted with caution due to the utilization of rates which most probably would have a low reliability.

Translated into informal terminology these statistical results seem to indicate that for the foreign born population in the area studied some were more affected by culture conflict than others. They were those

¹³ After this paper was read, additional data were secured from the Michigan State Department of Mental Health permitting the writer to increase the sample from five to nine years, from 1936 through 1944. The correlation based upon the expanded sample was $-.65$. Since rank-order correlation was used, no effort was made to compute measures of reliability.

TABLE IV. UNADJUSTED FIRST ADMISSION RATES PER 100,000 POPULATION OF FOREIGN BORN TO THE NEWBERRY STATE HOSPITAL 1938-1942 BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1940 CENSUS.

Country of Birth	Rate
Canada	201.4
"Others less than 5 N"	182.3
French Canada	170.7
Austria	151.5
Germany	142.2
Poland	133.0
Sweden	113.7
Finland	104.6
British Isles	101.0
Norway	90.0
Italy	86.5
Jugoslavia	80.0

who were either spatially too scattered or in the aggregate too few, or with an age-sex composition too distorted to maintain the organization and institutions to permit them to interact on the basis of a common old-world culture and thus cushion the intrusive shock of American culture. The rural nature of the area compelled them to participate on an intimate rather than on a selective, segmental basis with not only native born persons but also with other nationalities. This compulsive intimacy of culturally heterogeneous people

must inevitably lead to a loss of a common core of values for the objective evaluation and social validation of the self—in other words to an introjection of culture conflict and personal breakdown.¹⁴ The economic disorganization of the Upper Peninsula region may play an interactional role in raising the mental disease rates of the foreign born, impinging more di-

"This analysis suggests that culture conflict *per se* is not the important factor in producing the sense of isolation but rather the extent to which the culture conflict is expressed in social organization. See R. Linton, *The Study of Man*, (1936), p. 362.

TABLE V. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FIRST ADMISSION RATES FOR MENTAL DISEASE AND PERCENTAGES VARIOUS NATIVITY AND NATIONALITY GROUPS IN EACH OF FIFTEEN COUNTIES CONSTITUTE OF THEIR TOTAL POPULATION IN THE UPPER PENINSULA OF MICHIGAN, 1940 CENSUS.

Nativity and Nationality Group	Rank-order P
Total Foreign Born	-.71
Polish	-.95
German	-.87
British Isles	-.75
French Canadian	-.72
Finnish	-.66
Swedish	-.46
Italian	-.46
Canadian	-.10
Total Native Born of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	-.04
Total Native Born	-.36

rectly upon the marginally placed immigrants and thus depriving them of resources for social participation and community organization.

In conclusion it is freely admitted that the measure of isolation utilized in the study is very crude. For example, it does not take into direct consideration the possible variations in the degree to which the immigrant populations may be concentrated spatially or the ease of transportation and mechanical communication between them. However, the concept does seem to fit the data and the results appear sufficiently encouraging to suggest further research along these lines. Some other indices of isolation would be required in studying its operation upon the second generation group or upon the native born.

Discussion

By A. R. Mangus

This paper presented by Dr. Lemert contains some very interesting statistics regarding first admission of patients to hospitals for mental diseases in the State of Michigan. The data include 17,000 persons hospitalized during the five year period 1938-1942. Admission rates, based on the 1940 census, were computed by counties, by sub-areas, by sex, by nativity and for certain types of psychoses.

The incidence of hospitalization varied by counties from less than 40 cases per 100,000 population in some counties to a high of 127 in the one least favorable. On a regional basis the rate was highest in the Upper Peninsula, a rural problem area. Even in this area, however, the rates varied widely among the 15 counties comprising that section of the State. Among the foreign born and among second generation immigrants the admission rate was more than three times higher than

among native Americans of native parents. Admission rates were highest among Canadians, Austrians, Germans, Polish immigrants, and among an "other nationalities" group.

About two-fifths of all the admissions in the Upper Peninsula consisted of schizophrenic and manic-depressive patients.

In spite of the fact that admission rates were much higher among the foreign-born than among the natives, those counties with the largest numbers of immigrants tended to have the lowest admission rates.

These facts are made the basis for some very interesting speculations. They are treated in accordance with three basic assumptions. The validity of each of these assumptions may be questioned.

1. The main assumption is set up as a hypothesis to be tested by the data. The study assumes as a working hypothesis that personality disorders have their origin in social isolation and culture conflict related to migration.
2. A second assumption is that the incidence of first admission to mental hospitals provides a valid measure of the incidence of grave mental and personality disorders in the population of a given area.
3. A third basic assumption is that nativity and the numbers of persons of given nationality in a county provides a valid measure of social isolation.

In order to test the thesis that social isolation is the causal factor in the rise of emotional and mental disorders certain statistical methods were applied. These were designed to show that the incidence of grave personality disorders varies by county with variation in social isolation. The great weakness of this design is that the author had no direct measure of either of his variables. There was no direct measure of isolation such as might be had in a social distance scale. There was no direct measure of the incidence of mental disorder such as might be had through careful screening of population groups.

It is now pretty well agreed that the incidence of hospitalization of mental patients

is no valid measure of the incidence of mental disorders. Perhaps it is no more a valid measure of the rise of such disorders than hospitalized flu cases is a measure of influenza in the population. Use of hospitals for treatment depend upon understandings, practices, availability of hospital beds, costs, and upon many other factors.

It is frequently said that there are at least as many psychotic persons outside hospitals as inside. This is perhaps a conservative statement. It is certain that many persons suffer grave emotional difficulties but never receive any hospital treatment. It is not at all impossible that there are groups of counties among which the incidence of mental disorders varies quite independently of the incidence of hospital admission rates. Hence, to use such rates as valid criteria is like skating on thin ice.

Even if the use of hospitalization rates could be used as a valid measure of one variable in the present study there would still be a large shadow of doubt about the index of isolation used in this study. The author's case rests largely upon the finding that hospital admission rates were generally highest in those counties which had relatively few of the foreign-born residents of the Upper Peninsula, and that the admission rates were generally lower in counties with larger numbers of the foreign-born. The interpretation is that where the immigrants are few in number they are more isolated, and therefore more vulnerable to psychotic episodes. This assumption that mere numbers provides a valid index of social isolation or social contact will be immediately questioned by anyone familiar with the nature of group processes in various communities.

Moreover, the author's reasoning could be fully valid only if the numbers of each of the various ethnic groups in the population of each county are great enough to significantly influence admission rates. Examination of the 1940 census figures does not indicate that this is always the case. In Schoolcraft County, for example, (with a high admission rate) there were only 7 Italians, only 9 Polish born persons, only 56 French Cana-

dians, 47 Germans, 52 British and 96 Finnish persons out of a total population of nearly 10,000.

Finally, the migration-culture conflict-social isolation theory as stated in this paper is far too sweeping to be a useful hypothesis. It is now generally recognized that etiologically there are two large divisions of mental and personality disorders. These include the structural and the functional mental diseases. The structural disorders include psychoses resulting from actual bodily pathologies. They include mental disturbances due to infection such as that found in syphilis and encephalitis. They include psychoses due to intoxication. They include psychoses due to brain wounds and injuries. They include psychoses due to cerebral arteriosclerosis or other disturbances of circulation. They include psychoses due to brain tumor or other new growth. At least one-half of all first admissions to mental hospitals are patients suffering from these or other structural mental disorders. One may ask how the isolation theory is to be applied to these.

The functional mental disorders include schizophrenia, manic-depressive disorders, paranoia and the neuroses. These have not been traced back to any structural changes as causal factors. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume for them sociogenic and psychogenic origins. The conflict theory of causation is now widely accepted for these functional disorders. According to this theory personality disorders arise as a result of the persistent operation of incompatible reaction tendencies in the personality. The person gets trapped by his ambivalent attitudes and feelings and as a result develops neurotic or psychotic symptoms.

It will be readily granted that many functional personality disorders are to be regarded as products of disturbed social relations. Contradictory social forces may show up as contradictory attitudes in the individual. One may ask whether the isolation theory propounded in Dr. Lemert's paper is a special form of the conflict theory, or whether it is proposed as a rival theory. In any case sociogenesis cannot be assumed

for all cases of mental disease unless backed up with facts.

Finally it may be pointed out that studies of the kind presented in the paper under discussion represent what may be called background or exploratory research. Its chief value is that of locating and defining problems for fundamental social science research.

Dr. Lemert has done this group of sociologists a real service in calling attention to this most fruitful field for basic social research, and for indicating some outstanding problems for further investigation.

Rejoinder

By Edwin M. Lemert

The criticism by Dr. Mangus challenges the basic assumptions upon which this research is based, raises a serious question about the computation of the mental disease rates for the foreign born, and gives a didactic summary of Kraepelinian psychiatric classifications to prove that an important number of the mental disease cases have a "structural" origin and are not amenable to the explanation suggested.

I would agree in general that hospitalization rates for mental disorders are an unreliable index of their overall incidence. However, I would not agree that in a limited area such as the Upper Peninsula of Michigan we have to assume a significant differential in the hospitalization rates from one county to the next. The factors which Dr. Mangus mentions as possible influences upon these do not seem relevant here. All mentally ill persons in the Upper Peninsula are hospitalized in one hospital, a tax-supported institution. Cost is not a consideration, and relatively this is an uncrowded hospital. As I pointed out, hospitalization does not seem to carry a stigma among these Upper Peninsula people.

I agree that the index of social isolation chosen, i.e., the percentage the foreign born constitute of the total county population is a gross one. I can only repeat that the correlations held not only for the total foreign born in each county but also for all of the component foreign born groups when com-

puted separately. In other words, the concept seems to fit the data. Reinforcing facts were the generally higher rate for the foreign born in contrast with the native born, and also the extremely high rate for the "others less than 100" nationalities when they were grouped together. My field observations in Marquette, Alger and Luce counties indicate that among the Finnish people limited population numbers do create a problem of social contact and organization. In outlying "bush" areas where their numbers are few they are often deprived of the socialization of the church, their informal visiting and their beloved *sauna*. They are manifestly disturbed by these lacks.

The alternative "social distance" tests suggested by Dr. Mangus as a measure of social isolation seem somewhat impractical. They could be administered but the cost would be prohibitive. If it were done on a sample basis, chances are good that Dr. Mangus would end up with smaller cells than mine were.

The statement that the numbers of foreign born in Schoolcraft county in 1940 totalled 220 is a gross and inexcusable error. The correct number is 1082, over ten percent of the county population.

One hesitates to accuse Dr. Mangus of not keeping abreast of recent psychiatric literature but at least one can wonder why he chooses to ignore completely the more recent trend in psychiatry away from the formal structure-function classifications towards more dynamic concepts. The appreciation of the interactive role of organic factors is basic to this new way of thinking about mental disease. The idea is a fairly old one in sociology and consequently I see no reason to patronize an archaic system of psychiatric classifications in setting up a sociological research project in the area of mental disease. That sociological factors could play an important part in the onset of so-called "organic" psychoses was brought out very clearly in our experience with parole adjustments of treated paretics at the Kalamazoo State Hospital. There was a significant number of those with serious damage to the central

nervous system who actually made a better social and economic adjustment after parole than they had ever made previously—even before the date of inrection. Others with less neural damage and comparable treatment had to remain hospitalized.

The hypothesis wasn't meant to explain all cases of mental disease; after all, the correlations weren't unity. The particular index of isolation obviously is meaningful only for a lower range of population numbers. As I said in the article, some other index would have to be developed to measure isolation in larger population concentrations.

Further Remarks on Dr. Lemert's Paper

By A. R. Mangus

The rejoinder by Dr. Lemert presents a fair case for the validity of his original conclusions. There is little more that need be said except to clear up, if possible, some points of apparent misunderstanding which probably arose from lack of initial clarity on the part of the discussant.

1. It was not meant to imply that the concept of social isolation did not fit the data presented. What was meant was that other explanations of the results might be equally applicable, and that the possible alternatives will require careful consideration and further research.

2. The reference to organic and functional categories of mental disorder also requires some clarification. There was not the slightest intention on the part of the writer to endorse the outmoded Kraepelinian theory that all mental disorders are rooted in body dysfunction. That social and psychological maladjustments of a psychotic nature may occur in the absence of bodily pathology is a generally accepted tenet. Furthermore, the psychosomatic point of view, outmoding the old mind-body dualism, is fully recognized. Beyond psychosomatics is the rapidly emerging socio-psychosomatic point of view which has been advocated by the writer.¹

It is a reasonable assumption that the majority of the psychotic and neurotic personality disorders are rooted in adverse social situations. It may even be possible that paresis, a disorder associated with syphilitic infection of the brain may in some instances be related to social situations which act as precipitating causes. But recognizing the fundamental importance of social and psychological factors giving rise to grave personality disorders one wonders whether leap can be completely reversed until backed up with fundamental research.

3. There seems to be a rather serious misunderstanding regarding the discussion reference to the numbers of immigrants of different nationalities in Schoolcraft County. No attempt was made in the discussion to enumerate the totality of foreign immigrants in that County, the number of which was 1,082 in 1940. What was intended was to ask whether some question might be raised as to the validity of the correlations in Table V due to the small numbers of some nationality groups in some of the counties.

It will be recalled that the variables on which the correlations were based were (a) county admission rates, and (b) the numbers of foreign born of given nationalities (converted into percentage indices) in the several counties. The correlations were generally negative, but it was reported that they held only for the lower ranges of the second variable. The question was how small can the numbers be in these lower ranges and still be considered as having any real significance? In this connection it was pointed out that in one county (Schoolcraft) taken as an example the 1940 census enumerated only 7 Italians and only 9 Polish immigrants. It was further indicated that the numbers of French Canadian, German, British, and Finnish immigrants were in each case less than 100. Reference to the census figures show similar pictures in other Upper Peninsula counties. If admission rates were computed separately for component immigrant groups it is evident that the rate base was exceedingly small in some instances. If the dependent variable was the total admission

¹ See A. R. Mangus, "Mental Hygiene and Community Nursing," *Journal of Public Health Nursing*, (September, 1947).

rate for each county then it would seem that for some counties and for some ethnic groups named in Table V the numbers may have been too small to significantly influence total admission rates.

Final Rejoinder

By Edwin M. Lemert

The only additional comment needed has to do with the computation of the mental disease rates for some of the ethnic groups making up the larger foreign born population. In cases such as Dr. Mangus mentions where there were only "seven Italians" and "nine Poles," as might be expected, there was no incidence of mental disease during the five-year period. Consequently their rates were zero. Because zero cannot be cor-

related with anything this meant that instead of having thirteen paired variables in the rank-order correlations for the various foreign born groups they ranged in number from ten to thirteen. In no case did a rate appear where the population was less than 250. Obviously the standard error of such rates would be high and the critical ratios of differences between them would be low. Increasing the size of the populations upon which the rates were based would eliminate the relationship between the variables because it appears to hold only for a lower population range. Under such circumstances it would seem that the validity of the conclusions must rest upon verification or upon the accretion of evidence. To some extent, the writer believes, this was done by the manner in which the data were manipulated.

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

TEAMWORK NEEDED IN EXTENSION SOCIOLOGY¹

"Until more is known of what motivates and controls the behavior of rural society, rural sociology, whatever contribution it may make to a better insight into social relationships, will have a limited function in attempts to meet the many practical problems of rural social organization.² This statement by national leaders who summarized pre-world War II research may well serve as a text for what rural sociology extension workers wish to say regarding our field and our needs in 1947. Our report is a plea for more cooperation in group dynamics to deal with sociological aspects of group leadership, group meetings and community development.

It has been more than twenty-five years since cooperative extension services began employing state specialists in rural organization and rural sociology. At first the aim was one of supplementing the work of those who were supervising extension program development and the teachings of extension specialists who dealt with homemaking production and marketing problems by having a sort of "handy-man" type of service for rural groups. The new specialists worked with leaders of granges, farm bureau locals, churches and youth groups. Often they supplied recreation programs. Consistently they helped to maintain, in extension work, an emphasis upon human values and community viewpoints. Nationally they joined forces to help promote country life conferences.

Then we became involved in emergency

and New Deal programs when there were more directives from Washington. Extension was called upon to do educational work for the AAA program. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics launched county agricultural planning endeavors. Just as these were settling into established channels we became involved in World War II.

The record of the past is well documented in the reports of committees. Consistently there was reference to "(1) direct educational work in disseminating sociological findings, (2) organizational and technical aid, (3) consultation service reaching many agencies and programs of action and (4) the inspirational teaching of philosophies and values."³

Post World War II Agreements

More recently there have been conferences of extension sociologists with sociologists not engaged directly in extension work and with extension administrators. The report of such a meeting held in Washington, D. C., March 1-2, 1943 outlined (1) rural social problems, (2) rural sociology's contribution in extension and (3) the immediate challenge.⁴ This conference focused attention on the fact that, "The primary interest of rural sociology as a science is in the structure and function of groups. The primary interest of rural sociology extension must be the same—not as a science, but as a social technology working to improve the social order." It was recommended that this improvement be achieved by (1) assisting the rural people to develop more effective

¹ Report presented at annual meeting Rural Sociological Society, Fontana Village, August 28, 1947, by Extension Committee, W. H. Stacy, Chairman, Gordon Blackwell, Nat T. Frame.

² C. E. Lively, Lowry Nelson, and Dwight Sanderson "What Has Research in Rural Sociology Accomplished" *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, January 1, 1938.

³ See "The Field and Objectives of Rural Sociology Extension." Report to the President of the Rural Sociological Society, December, 1939, Special Committee, H. W. Beers, Chairman.

⁴ See letter and enclosure from M. L. Wilson, Director of Extension Work, April 21, 1943.

tive organizations, (2) training extension workers in rural sociology techniques and methods, and (3) assisting in implementing the entire extension program.

The year 1943 also marked the employment of a specialist on the federal staff in charge of rural sociology extension work. Significant contributions to the thinking of extension leaders have been made by statements distributed in printed or mimeographed form from this source.⁵

At the first postwar meeting of the Rural Sociological Society in Cleveland, Ohio, March 1-3, 1946, the Extension Committee for that year (Douglas Ensminger, Chairman, W. H. Stacy and M. E. John) presented a statement of basic considerations regarding the role and function of sociology in extension. This was discussed and after minor modifications were suggested, it was adopted by a vote of members of the society. Distributed later to sociologists and extension leaders it stands as a basic memo-

⁵ We would cite the following as being worthy of further consideration:

Douglas Ensminger, *Social Organization for Extension Education*. Outline of talk before the Maine Extension Conference, University of Maine, Orono, Maine, July 10-12, 1945, USDA Extension Service, Mimeograph 1198 (8-45).

Committee of State and Federal Extension Workers, *A Preview of Tomorrow's Educational Problems in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*. USDA Extension Service, Mimeograph, September, 1945.

Conference Committee, Douglas Ensminger, Chairman, *The Contribution of Extension Methods and Techniques Toward the Rehabilitation of War Torn Countries*, USDA Extension Service and Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, October, 1945.

Edmund deS. Brunner, Irwin T. Sanders; Douglas Ensminger, *Farmers of the World: The Development of Agricultural Extension*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945.

P V. Kepner (Chairman,) Ensminger and 8 others. *Report of Committee on the Scope of Extension's Educational Responsibility*. USDA Extension Service, Mimeograph FA-1255, January, 1946

randum of agreement⁶ entered into by members of the profession which states that "the major focus of extension rural sociology should be on making social action-change easier." It asserts that the long time job of the sociologist is to "aid in analyzing and interpreting (1) the types of organization, patterns of association, and processes through which rural people take part in local and wider activities, programs and services; (2) the basic attitudes and beliefs of the people; (3) the basic needs of the people as related to their welfare; and (4) the techniques and ways by which change occurs." An encouraging amount of general understanding of this nature is developing with the presidents, experiment station directors and extension directors of land-grant colleges as evidenced by the conference held under the auspices of the Farm Foundation in Chicago, May 1, 1947.

Limitations

According to the statements referred to above extension rural sociologists are to deal with the whole gamut of human interests and endeavors in so far as these are related to the group experiences of rural people. Sociological factors are less tangible and more complex than comparable biological factors in the fields of plant and animal industry where there are several times as many trained workers. Have we assigned to ourselves the impossible? Obviously the answer is yes, unless we can perfect the best of teamwork.

Of course, if we only contract to "aid" in analyzing and interpreting we may not be greatly worried about our limitations. The amount of "aid" may be great or small. Rural sociologists from the resident staff and researchers can help as do psychologists and educators who are often used in extension conferences.

But more is demanded. In the first place, general counseling will soon become abstract and sterile unless it is related to lab-

⁶ Douglas Ensminger, *Rural Sociology in Extension*, USDA Extension Service Circular 437 (mimeograph) April, 1946.

oratory experience and experimentation. Psychologists and educators profit by documenting information from studies of learning experiences which they can readily transfer or translate to other types of teaching. Sociologists in discussing group situations are too often limited to academic considerations.

Extension education is largely group work. It aims at the "development of people as individuals, leaders, and cooperative members of their local community and world society."⁷ Sociologists are group work specialists. They are expected to make their contributions as technologists and this "in a three-fold way: (1) by assisting the rural people developing and directing its groups and organizations to achieve the goals for which they strive, (2) by training extension workers in rural sociology techniques and methods, and (3) by assisting in implementing the entire extension program."⁸

Leader Training Shortcomings

This statement is an appeal for teamwork to strengthen sociology extension. We wish to emphasize the need for integrating and increasing research on specific sociological problems encountered in the extension field. To illustrate, let us consider the matter of leader training in group methods.

The 1944 Extension Committee of the Rural Sociological Society in summarizing the opinions obtained that year from questionnaires sent to extension directors and extension rural sociologists reported that, "Both extension directors and extension rural sociologists emphasized the need for group leader training methods."⁹ The 1945 Committee of State and Federal Extension workers which outlined "A Preview of Tomorrow's Educational Problems in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology" recommended that one of six major fields for

rural sociology extension should be "to discover and develop voluntary leaders."

The first three of seven suggested methods and procedures offered in the 1945 "Previews" were given in relation to a recommended program of "appraising the present leadership." These were stated as follows:

- ✓(a) By communities, list all leaders and indicate for each in what capacity they are looked to for leadership.
- ✓(b) In terms of the social groupings in the county, find out which groups (community and socio-economic) are more adequately represented through present leadership. Which have little or no representation?
- ✓(c) Through group meetings, contacts with leaders, visits with farm people, and community surveys, appraise the effectiveness of present leadership in motivating rural people to achieve a more satisfying farm, home, and community life.

The extension worker who thinks of using these methods and procedures raises questions. Would the results obtained from carrying out the suggestions pay dividends upon the efforts required? Is leadership such a static thing as appears to be indicated by these ways of treating it? What are the standards by which we would appraise the effectiveness of leaders? Anyway, where does the line come between the leader and those who are not leaders? How should we handle the borderline cases?

Then we turn to one suggestion which is offered for a program of "analyzing jobs in terms of leadership requirements." It is stated:

- (a) Through meetings, assist leaders faced with the same problem or activity in analyzing the job.

Psychologists and educators worked with supervisors in industry to establish a pattern for Job Instructor Training in war industries. This was transferred to extension and used effectively in leadership training work. It supplies guides for job breakdowns showing "important steps" and "key points." What does sociological research offer on this proposition that is comparable?

⁷ See Enslinger, *Social Organization for Extension Education*. Op. cit., p. 2.

⁸ See *Extension Work in Rural Sociology*, 1943, Op. cit., p. 5.

⁹ David E. Lindstrom, "Postwar Needs and Proposals for Extension in Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology*, (December, 1945).

We find that two proposals were suggested for "assisting in finding leaders." These were:

- (a) Discourage the general practice of using the same leaders for each activity.
- ✓(b) Through group meetings and leaders, contacts with the rural people, every effort should be explored to uncover new leadership and get these new leaders started on jobs within their area of competence and where they can motivate others to action.

Where have we had laboratory experience indicating what is meant by "every effort"? How does the matter of discouraging the over use of good leaders conflict or coincide with the repeated recommendations of sociologists for finding and using "key leaders" in undertaking a program? Just what are the best ways to "discourage the general practice of using the same leaders for each activity"?

The other two suggested procedures are related to the proposition of assisting leaders in "developing procedures that will be effective with the group in getting jobs done." These are stated as follows:

- ✓(a) Through group meetings and leaders, contacts with the rural people, every effort should be explored to uncover new leadership and get these new leaders started on jobs within their area of competence and where they can motivate others to action.
- ✓(b) Through bulletins, printed matter, group meetings, and demonstrations, assist leaders to acquire knowledge and skills required to conduct meetings, delegate responsibility, work effectively with others, etc.

Very good. But just what does sociology have to contribute relative to starting new leaders on jobs within their area of competence and assisting leaders to acquire specific knowledge and skills? Have sociological studies dealt systematically with these factors or must we again turn to educators,

psychologists and work simplification experts for our aids?

✓Farmer Viewpoints

Farm people have repeatedly asked for more help on the problem of developing volunteer leadership. They state their concerns in terms of how to do specific things such as:

- (a) Start with our children to build broad attitudes towards community problems and international relations.
- (b) Train teams of leaders to conduct panel discussions in community meetings.
- (c) Hold training schools for leaders of recreational activities.
- (d) Supply aids designed more clearly for the uses that will be made of them by voluntary workers.
- (e) Establish policies for rotating leaders on particular jobs and enlisting new leadership talent.
- (f) Study leadership distribution geographically and in relation to the scope of the program.
- (g) Understand leadership "costs" and emphasize leadership "dividends."
- (h) Clarify leadership responsibilities.
- (i) Evaluate leadership results.
- (j) Promote cooperative relationships which conserve and efficiently utilize leadership.

Lay leadership is the key to voluntary action in a democracy. Extension workers have had notable success through the years in enlisting the cooperation of such leaders. If rural sociologists make a major contribution at this point they will need to join forces much more effectively than they have done thus far. Also, their efforts must be more closely integrated with the "front line" experiences of those who are developing specific programs.

✓Foci of Group Processes

National committees which have reviewed sociology extension during the last twenty years have agreed that we are primarily interested in group processes.

If this is true we have two types of concerns. One is that of helping special interest

groups to more effectively develop adequate programs. The other is to improve cooperative relationships among special interest groups so that their total effort will yield greater dividends in terms of human progress. We have this dual aim as (1) we do intra-departmental work within and for the entire extension staff and also as (2) we advance specific endeavors that otherwise would not be supplied with needed extension leadership. The first "assignment" is centrally one of helping advance *profitable group meetings*; the second "assignment" is one of helping advance *adequate Community development* policies and programs.

Parenthetically, we would recognize the importance of sociology of the family. But the federal office and several state extension services already have family life and child development specialists. And in keeping with provisions of federal legislation we find extension administration working generally to build the "family approach" in the entire program. It would appear that sociological assistance is most needed in the area of community impacts on family life and in clarifying general principles for cooperative living. This may be a phase of our second "assignment."

Profitable Group Meetings—A First Assignment

Everywhere rural groups are holding meetings. To what extent are these profitable? How can they be improved? They are valuable to the extent that they promote (1) understanding, (2) social ability, (3) personality and leadership development and (4) service activities.

If improvement in group meetings is to be achieved, it will be done in one or more of four ways:

- (1) Better programs will be planned.
- (2) More adequate arrangements will be made.
- (3) More effective leadership will be provided.
- (4) Devices and procedures will be used to facilitate profitable participation by members.

Publications from the state extension ser-

vices show that this "assignment" is not a new one for extension sociologists. But they have been largely limited in their efforts to the creative work they have been able to do on the basis of field observations and gleanings from the work of other adult educators.

Adequate Community Development—A Second Assignment

Sociologists have many reasons for moving forward in the area of community development. The work of such men as Sanderson, Morgan, Sims, Galpin, Kolb, Brunner, Polson, Ensminger and Lindstrom may be cited to support our position at this point. It is so well established that relatively little need be said in this report.

Extension workers see the pendulum of public interest and need swinging today from national action programs such as those of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to programs in community, county and regional areas which depend for their success upon the mobilization of leadership resources by cooperative methods. They find new community organization concerns showing up in the functional programs of schools, hospitals, medical services, religious life, recreation and safety education.

In community development projects it is our function to help (1) clarify broad common objectives, (2) develop an understanding of new situations, (3) bring to bear guides from related experiences, (4) perfect instruments for use in analyzing problems and organizing procedures, and (5) arrange workshops, conferences, and association programs for those engaged in field work. We can help integrate extension work with other programs while, at the same time, we can sharpen thinking regarding such procedures for effective group action as:¹⁰

- (1) Contacting key leaders.
- (2) Promoting self discoveries.

¹⁰ See W. H. Stacy, "Mobilizing Our Communities for School District Reorganization," Third Annual Iowa Conference on Problems and Procedures of School District Reorganization, Ames, Iowa, July 25, 1947.

(3) Emphasizing agreements rather than arguments.

(4) Shaping specific proposals.

(5) Using conference methods.

(6) Reaching the people where they live.

(7) Unifying forces.

(8) Organizing campaign drives.

(9) Maintaining long time objectives.

Three Types of Team Play Needed

"Two strong political ideas are before the world today—communism and democracy. The representatives of these two theories are going to work hard to prove which one can most effectively serve the people of the world. . . . This battle is going to be won or lost in the individual communities of this, the greatest democracy of the world." Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt stated this challenge in her newspaper column, May 16, 1947, the very day that the United Nations Security Council began to rock with disputes regarding the work of the Balkan Commission. Professionally no workers are more directly addressed by this than are rural sociologists who work with rural leaders. Our numbers are few. Our days may be limited. May we maximize our resources by teamwork. Your 1947 extension committee in presenting this challenge suggests that a review of the situation such as we have made indicates that we can improve three types of team play.

1. We can more distinctly build our efforts into the program of the cooperative extension system which has 9,000 educational workers cooperating with rural people in counties throughout the nation.

2. We can more effectively correlate sociological research and sociological extension education.

3. We can more significantly focus the efforts of extension sociologists on key programs of (1) profitable group meetings and (2) adequate community development.

1947 Extension Committee
Rural Sociological Society
GORDON BLACKWELL
NAT T. FRAME
W. H. STACY (Chairman)

LIFE CYCLES OF FARM, RURAL-NONFARM, AND URBAN FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES AS DERIVED FROM CENSUS MATERIALS

That families go through fairly explicit stages or cycles is well recognized. In fact, there is a sizeable body of literature on the family cycle, especially on the farm family cycle.¹ During the life cycle of the typical

conjugal family in America, important changes in numbers, composition and economic stress occur. The following stages are ordinarily experienced by the average family in this country: (1) marriage; (2) birth of the first child; (3) birth of the last child; (4) marriage, or the migration of the first child from the parental household; (5) marriage, or the migration of the last child from the parental household; (6) death of the father; and (7) death of the mother.

While certain problems dealing with the family life cycle have been treated in special studies, no attempt has been made to combine published census materials into comparative rural and urban cycles.² The pur-

¹ See such treatments of the family life cycle as P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1931), II, 41 ff; C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany* (East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945), Chapter 9; C. P. Loomis, *The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to its Activities*, North Carolina AESB 298 (Raleigh, June, 1934); C. E. Lively, *The Growth of the Farm Family*, Ohio AES Mimeographed Bulletin No. 5 (Wooster, 1932); and Gordon W. Blackwell, "Correlates of Stages of Family Development Among Farm Families on Relief," *Rural Sociology* XVII (June, 1942).

² Paul C. Glick has described the average family's life cycle as it appeared from the Census data of 1890 and 1940. However, no

pose of this note, therefore, is to suggest a method of bringing a number of census materials together in order to describe rural, rural-nonfarm, and urban differences in the life cycle stages.

The essential data together with a graphic representation is found in Table I and Fig. 1. The median age at first marriage is highest for the urban females (22.1) and lowest for rural-farm females (21.2). The rural-nonfarm women are intermediate in respect to age at first marriage (21.4) but much closer to the farm women. It will be noted from the Table that the males marry as much as 3½ years later than the females. While numerous factors are involved, the median age at which farm, nonfarm, and urban women marry may be related to the sex ratio in these areas.³

The second stage of importance in the life cycle is the arrival of the first child. With the expansion of the family additional economic burdens are assumed. It is at this point in the life cycle, unfortunately, that overall data on rural-urban differences are least adequate. For the country as a whole, the median age of mothers bearing their first child is 22.6 years.⁴ Separate data, however, are not available for rural and urban mothers.⁵

attempt was made to indicate rural-urban differences throughout the cycle. See Paul C. Glick, "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, XII (April, 1947), 164-174.

* The sex ratio for the urban white population of the United States in 1940 was 96; for the rural-nonfarm white population, 104; and for the rural-farm white population, 113.

* Glick, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

* Several studies indicate that regional variations are great. Among the studies are: Harold T. Christensen, "The Time-Interval between Marriage of Parents and the Birth of their First Child in Utah County, Utah," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (January, 1939), 518-25. The average interval for his urban sample is 416.0 days and for the rural sample 400.1 days; W. A. Anderson, "The Spacing of Births in the Families of University Graduates," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (July, 1947), 23-33. In three-child families of farm reared women, the interval between

In an attempt to estimate the spacing for mothers in these residence groups, data for the eight most rural and eight most urban states were combined into a weighted average from the Vital Statistics reports. (See the footnote to Table I.) Using this device, the average age of the rural mother when the first child is born is 22.0.⁶ The age ranges for the eight most rural states from 21.3 in Arkansas to 23.6 in North Dakota. The average age of the urban mother at the birth of her first child is 24.3 and the range is from a low of 23.4 in Michigan to 25.3 in New York for the eight most urban states.

The average age of the mother when the last child is born is another significant stage of the life cycle since the family, unless relatives or others are added to the family group, has then attained its maximum size. As computed for the eight rural states, the average age of the mother at the birth of the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth children is 22.0, 24.2, 26.2, 28.1, and 30.0. The compar-

marriage and first birth is 16.5 months; in three-child families of women reared in cities of 100,000 or more, the interval is 24.2 months. The data are subdivided by number of children and there is no average available; Otis Dudley Duncan, "Rural-Urban Variations in the Age of Parents at the Birth of the First Child," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (March, 1943), 62-67. He indicates that the mean age of open country mothers is 20.7, Village mothers 21.0 and Urban mothers 22.3.

* It will be noted that a period of 2.2, 0.6, and 0.8 years elapse between the marriage and the birth of the first child for urban, rural-nonfarm, and farm women. These relatively short spans, especially for rural women, may at least partly be attributed to the fact that age at marriage data represent an average of all marriages while the age when first child is born applies only to mothers. The age of 22.0 is used as the mother's age when the first child is born for both the rural-farm and the rural-nonfarm population. Lacking more exact data, this would appear to be a reasonable procedure, since age at marriage for the rural-nonfarm and the rural-farm female is very close. Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 67, says "the village patterns of age of parents at first childbirth are distinctly rural, for they are much more similar to the open country than to the urban patterns."

TABLE I. STAGES IN THE FAMILY LIFE CYCLE IN THE UNITED STATES, BY RESIDENCE.

Life Cycle Stage and Residence Group	U. S. White Males	U. S. White Females
MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE^a		
Urban	24.8	22.1
Rural-Nonfarm	23.6	21.4
Rural-Farm	24.7	21.2
AVERAGE AGE WHEN FIRST CHILD BORN^b		
Urban		24.3
Rural-Nonfarm		{ 22.0
Rural-Farm		
AVERAGE AGE WHEN LAST CHILD BORN^c		
Urban		27.9
Rural-Nonfarm		26.8
Rural-Farm		28.5
AVERAGE AGE WHEN FIRST CHILD MARRIES^d		
1. If Son:		
Urban		49.1
Rural-Nonfarm		45.6
Rural-Farm		46.7
2. If Daughter:		
Urban		46.4
Rural-Nonfarm		43.4
Rural-Farm		43.2
AVERAGE AGE WHEN LAST CHILD MARRIES^e		
1. If Son:		
Urban		52.7
Rural-Nonfarm		50.4
Rural-Farm		53.2
2. If Daughter:		
Urban		50.0
Rural-Nonfarm		48.2
Rural-Farm		49.7
AVERAGE AGE AT DEATH^f		
Urban	61.5	66.25
Rural-Nonfarm	{ 64.1	{ 67.5
Rural-Farm		

^a Wilson H. Grabill, "Age at First Marriage," Bureau of the Census, Series P-45, No. 7, May 28, 1945. The median age at first marriage for males in the U. S. in 1940 was 24.3; for females 21.6. See also, C. P. Loomis, "A Comparison of Marriage Ages of City and Farm Reared College Men Who Have Achieved Recognition in the Field of Agriculture," *Social Forces*, IX (October, 1930).

^b Very little data on child spacing is available for the United States. See footnote 5. The data presented above are weighted averages computed from birth order data for the eight most rural and eight most urban states. The rural average represents the states of Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, and West Virginia; the urban average represents the states of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Rhode Island. Michigan was substituted for Massachusetts since birth certificates in the latter do not require a birth order indication. Computed from *Vital Statistics of the U. S.*, (Wash. D. C. Govt. Printing Office, 1940).

^c The average number of children ever born to women in each of the residence categories is obtained from *Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910—Fertility for States and Large Cities*, (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1943), Table 3. The average number of children born per woman ever married who in 1940 was aged 50-54, or had just passed the childbearing period. The average number of children ever born per woman in the these ages were:

able ages of the urban mothers, in the eight most rural states, are 24.3, 26.7, 28.4, 29.5, and 31.5. Unfortunately, the "rural" spacing must be used to cover the farm and nonfarm populations because census data do not furnish a basis for separating them. Since the average urban white married female who has completed her fertile span (i.e., women aged 50-54 in 1940) bears an average of 2.773 children, she will be between the ages of 26.7 and 28.4, the average ages at which urban women bear their second and third child. The difference between these ages is increased by .77 percent and the result is added to 26.7, yielding 27.9, the age at which the typical urban white woman bears her last child. Similar computations yield 26.8 and 28.5, the ages at which the average rural-nonfarm and rural-farm woman bears her last child.

Until the first child marries or leaves the family unit for one reason or another, the family is relatively constant in size. Concomitant with the marriage of a child, the family ordinarily gives up members. Assuming that the children marry at the same ages as their parents, the age of the mother in each residence group when her children marry is easily obtained.⁷ If the first child to marry is a daughter, the mother will be younger than if the first child to marry is a son. Thus, the average age of the urban mother when her first child marries, if a son,

is 49.1 and if a daughter, 46.4. The comparable ages for the rural-nonfarm mother are 45.6 and 43.4; for the rural-farm mother, 46.7 and 43.2.

Making use of the average number of children born to mothers in the three residence categories, it is easy to determine the mother's average age when the last child marries. If a son, the urban, nonfarm, and rural-farm mother will be 52.7, 50.4, and 53.2 years of age, respectively. If a daughter, the average ages will be 50.0, 48.2, and 49.7, respectively. These ages, therefore, represent the ages of the mother when the typical family is reduced to the original two members.

The final stage of importance to the conjugal family is the age at which partial and complete dissolution occurs. As is well known, life expectancies are substantially longer for the female than for the male. On the basis of recent life tables giving urban and rural comparisons,⁸ at birth the average urban white male may expect to live 61.5 years while the average urban white female may expect to live 66.25 years. Unfortunately, no distinction can be made in the life expectancies for rural-nonfarm and rural-farm populations. The life expectancy for rural white males is 64.1 years and that for rural white females is 67.5 years. The life cycle of the average urban white family lasts

⁷ See footnote *d* to the Table I.

⁸ See footnote *c* to the Table I.

U. S. Urban White Females—2.773
U. S. Rural-Nonfarm White Females—3.333
U. S. Rural-Farm White Females—4.218

From the data on the average age of mother when first, second, third, etc. children were born, one is able to establish the average age of mother when the last child is born. See footnote 2. Since "urban" and "rural" states were used in this computation, the same spacing is used for rural-nonfarm and the rural-farm mother.

⁷ It is assumed that the parent's age at marriage also applies to the children, and that the children stay in the same residence group as their parents. Since sons marry at a much older age than the daughters in all residence groups, the ages of the mother when children marry are shown for both sons and daughters.

⁸ *United States Abridged Life Tables, 1939, Urban and Rural, By Regions, Color and Sex, Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. 23, No. 15, June 30, 1947. Since average future lifetime expectations are given for cities of 100,000 or more, other urban places, and rural territory, the average of the two urban expectancies is used. This appears reasonable since cities of 100,000 and over represent nearly half of the urban population (51 per cent). The rural average future lifetime is used for both the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm residence categories.

44.2 years from the time of marriage to the death of the wife. In the case of the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm families the length of life is 46.1 and 46.3 years. The original pair may expect to live alone (without children) as much as 19 years as indicated in the Table.

In numerous practical situations, knowledge of the life cycle is valuable. Relief agencies, in order to equitably allocate assistance, should know the periods of economic stress in urban, village and farm families. Problems of farm management and farm inheritance are also closely related to stages of the farm family cycle.⁹

The foregoing represents an attempt to combine various census materials into approximate life cycles for urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm families. Additional refinements in the census data are needed especially with regard to child-spacing. When such become available, more precise differences in the life cycles of rural and urban families may be made.

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⁹ See Russell L. Berry, "Gap Between Time Son Ready to Farm and Father is Ready to Retire," Mimeographed Statement, Farm Management Department, Michigan State College.

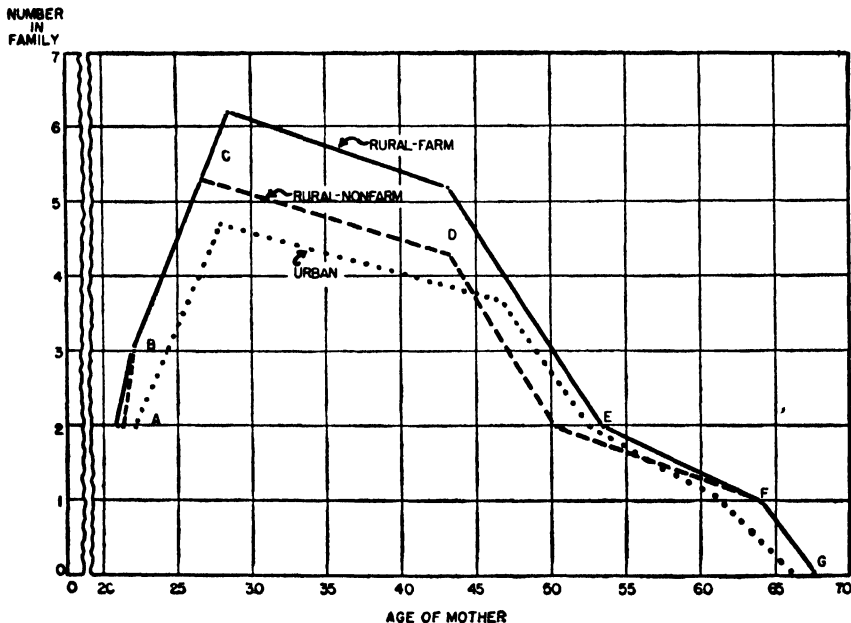


Fig. 1. The life cycles of urban, rural-nonfarm, and farm families in the United States. Note that the age of the mother is plotted against the size of the family.

Key to Family Stage

- A—Median age at first marriage.
- B—Age at birth of first child.
- C—Age at birth of last child.
- D—Age when first child (daughter) marries.
- E—Age when last child (son) marries.
- F—Age husband dies.
- G—Age wife dies.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Publications Received

(*Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

- *1. American Council on Education. Pacific Coast Committee. *College-age population study 1947-64*. 27 pp. American Council on Education Studies, Vol. XI. Washington, D. C. Nov. 1947.
- *2. Anderson, W. A. *Some participation principles: their relations to the programs of rural agencies*. Cornell Ext. Bul. 731. 16 pp. Ithaca, Sept. 1947.
- *3. Bright, Margaret L. and Lively, C. E. *Farm youth in Missouri*. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 504. 16 pp. Columbia, June 1947.
4. Bathurst, Effie G. *Schools count in country life*. 61 pp. Bul. 1947. No. 8. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. Washington, D. C. 1947.
5. Butterworth, Julian E. and others. *Improving educational opportunities in rural areas. A progress report on the study of the intermediate school district in New York State*. 155 pp. Univ. of the State of New York. State Education Dept. Albany, 1946.
- *6. Carter, Robert M. *Rural non-farm family living in nine Vermont towns*. Vt. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 537, 36 pp. Burlington, Aug. 1947.
- *7. Charlton, J. L. *Social aspects of farm ownership and tenancy in the Arkansas Ozarks*. Ark. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 471. 80 pp. Fayetteville, Sept. 1947.
- *8. Columbia Univ. and Univ. of Wisconsin. *Cooperatives in school and community. A teacher's guide*. 84 pp. Teachers College, Columbia Univ. New York, 1947.
- *9. Cutler, Virginia F. *Personal and family values in the choice of a home*. Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 840. 107 pp. Ithaca, Nov. 1947.
10. Dahir, James. *The neighborhood unit plan*. 91 pp. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, 1947.
- *11. Davies, Vernon. *Housing for Mississippians*. 41 pp. Bureau of Public Administration, Univ. of Miss. University, 1947.
12. Federal Security Agency. Office of Community War Services. *Teamwork in community services, 1941-1946*. A demonstration in Federal, State and local cooperation. 80 pp. Washington, D. C. 1946.
- *13. Felton, Ralph A. *The salary of rural pastors*. 40 pp. 1946.
One foot on the land. 94 pp. 1947. Agricultural Missions, Inc. New York.
The Lord's acre. 34 pp. 1946. The Committee for the Training of Negro Rural Pastors, Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Home Missions Council of North America. New York.
14. Fuhrman, Walter U. *Farm organization and income on irrigated farms in 1944. Vale-Owyhee Project, Oregon*. 46 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ. U. S. Dept. Agr. in cooperation with Oregon State College, Bur. of Reclamation and Farm Security Admin. Washington, D. C. Jan. 1947.
- *15. Garnett, William E. *Virginia rural youth adjustments*. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 405. 80 pp. Blacksburg, Mar. 1947.
16. Garnett, William E. *Rural medical care and related questions*. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Rural Soc. Rpt. 35. 18 pp. Blacksburg, Dec. 1947.
- *17. Hepple, Lawrence M. *Veterans and rejectees in Randolph County, Missouri, 1940-1946*. Univ. of Mo. Bul. Vol. 48. No. 29. Arts and Science Series No. 3. 75 pp. Columbia, Nov. 1947.

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

- *18. Hervey, John D. and Pasto, Jerome K. *Association management of camps for migratory farm workers. A preliminary report on methods of farm labor associations which operate central housing for migratory farm workers.* 42 pp. Extension Serv. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C. July 1947.
19. Kirkpatrick, E. L. and others. *The community of Eupora. The story of a Mississippi agricultural town and its surrounding trade area.* 42 pp. Report from a project planned and conducted by a class in "Community Research in Relation to Program Building." Mississippi State College. June 2-July 3, 1947.
20. LaFollette, Mary. *A partial list of craftsmen and handicraft groups in the United States.* 151 pp. Cooperative Ext. Serv. U. S. Dept. Agr. Washington, D. C. 1947.
- *21. Miller, Paul A. and Beegle, J. Allan. *The farm people of Livingston County, Michigan.* 40 pp. Mich. State College Extension Service. East Lansing, June 1947.
22. Motheral, Joe R. *Trends in the Texas farm population, 1947.* Texas Agr. Expt. Sta. Progress Rpt. 1098. 5 pp. In cooperation with U.S.D.A. College Station, Nov. 26, 1947.
23. National Education Association. Dept. of Rural Education and American Institute of Cooperation. *Farm leaders and teachers plan together.* Reports of eight regional conferences of agricultural and educational leaders. 35 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
24. New York State Legislature. Commission on Medical Care. *Medical care for the people of New York State.* 504 pp. Rochester, 1946.
- *25. South Carolina Research Planning and Development Board. *Health facilities survey—State of South Carolina.* 104 pp. Columbia, 1947.
26. Stoll, George. *The layman helps the warden. What two hundred men of Louisville are doing about prisons, jails, courts, hospitals, and child-care institutions.* 37 pp. Paul's Workshop, Inc. 241 East Walnut, Louisville 2, Ky.
27. Stucky, H. R. and Thompson, Layton S. *Montana father-son business agreement for farm or ranch.* Mont. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 247. 30 pp. Bozeman, July 1947.
28. Thorman, George. *Broken homes.* 31 pp. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 135. Public Affairs Committee, Inc. New York, 1947.
29. U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Population. Education. Educational attainment by economic characteristics and marital status.* 226 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
- *30. U. S. Congress. House. 80th Congress. *Project IX. The South's health—a picture of promise.* Reprint from Hearings on Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt. July 7 and 8, 1947. 70 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
31. U. S. Congress. Senate. 80th Congress. *National health program.* Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. May 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, June 4, 5 and 6, 1947. 608 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
32. U. S. Congress. Senate. 80th Congress. *Permanent farm labor program.* Hearings on S. 1334, June 17, 18 and 19, 1947. 170 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
33. U. S. Dept. Agr. *U. S. D. A. testimony proposing long range agricultural policy and programs.* Before Congressional Committees on Agriculture. April 21 and October 6, 7, 8, 1947. Washington, D. C. 1947.
34. U. S. Dept. of Agr. Library. *Rural reading list.* 39 pp. Library List No. 39. Washington, D. C. Oct. 1947.
35. U. S. Dept. of the Interior. War Agency Liquidation Unit formerly War Relocation Authority. *People in motion. The postwar adjustment of the evacuated Japanese Americans.* 270 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
- *36. U. S. Extension Service. *Preliminary survey of major areas requiring out-*

- side agricultural labor.* 207 pp. Ext. Farm Labor Cir. 38. Washington, D. C. Sept. 1947.
37. U. S. Extension Service and U. S. Bur. of Agri. Economics. *The extension service in Vermont. Part I: Farmers and the Extension Service.* 109 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
38. Walker, John O. and others. *Grass roots. A report and an evaluation.* 53 pp. Council on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C. Sept. 1947.

Land and People in Rural Vermont

A wide variety of information on land use in nine representative commercial agricultural towns of Vermont is contained in a series of bulletins recently completed by the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station.¹ Vermont, though not typical of our finest farm land because of its rugged, glaciated terrain and comparative isolation, is nevertheless interesting as a predominantly dairy farming state approaching a mature stage in its development. The statistical data contained in these bulletins are a detailed documentation of this.

Two significant trends are noted, bearing out similar trends in other sections of the country. One, that the marginal land on the steeper slopes which is unsuited for commercial agriculture is being abandoned, while the farms on the more productive valley lands are expanding in size and efficiency. Two, that there has been a definite increase in the number of non-farm rural families. Two-fifths of the open-country

population in the towns studied now earn their cash living off the farm, while still producing foodstuffs for their own use. The problems of human adjustment which both these trends will present are legion. Where will the farmers go who are moving off the marginal land? And what of those who still remain but are unable to make a living? What changes will be wrought in rural life by non-farmers living on a wage basis? The four bulletins do not raise these questions—their emphasis is economic rather than sociological—but they do present the statistical background.

For example, the first bulletin, *Farm Business and Farm Family Living as Related to Land Class*, contains a great deal of information on farm income and expenses, number of barns, size and condition of dwelling place, conveniences such as running water, electricity, telephones and automobiles, in relation to the four land class divisions set up by the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Land Class 1 is that best adapted to intensive dairying or dairying and cash crop production and usually lies in the more fertile valleys. This is the land which is being more intensively developed. Land Class 2 encompasses the "better hill farming sections," Land Class 3, "the poorer hill farming sections," and Land Class 4, the areas "where rough topography and stoniness make the land unprofitable for farming." The latter is the land which is gradually being abandoned by commercial farmers. One criticism of the study is the system of land classification used. It was made on the basis of external appearance of fields, barns, farmsteads, etc., and, while this seemed to correspond with topographical differences, the conclusions drawn were in terms of the relative prosperity of the farms in each class, which had been part of the original basis for the differentiation.

Nevertheless, from some expansion of this classification, the study concluded that within each land class there were variations of income due to variations in managerial ability. These, however, were exaggerated by the quality of the land so that an "effi-

¹ *The Farm Business and Farm Family Living as Related to Land Class in Nine Vermont Towns*, Carter, Robert M. Bulletin 526, December, 1945.

An Economic Study of Local Government in Fifty Vermont Towns, Dalton, John J. and Williams, Sheldon W. Bulletin 532, July, 1946.

The People and Their Use of Land in Nine Vermont Towns, Carter, Robert M. Bulletin 536, April, 1947.

Rural Non-Farm Family Living in Nine Vermont Towns, Carter, Robert M. Bulletin 537, August, 1947. University of Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, Burlington, Vt.

cient operator" had a much greater opportunity for "optimum living" in Land Class 1 than in Land Class 4. "Poor operators," however, were little better off on the better land than they were on the poorer slopes. Charts, graphs, tables and photographs bear this out.

The second bulletin deals with a study made in 1932 of the burdensome and unequal taxes imposed on Vermont farmers by local governments. The third, taken from the manuscript of Mr. Carter's doctoral thesis at Cornell University in May 1943, analyzes the historical background for the changes in population composition and land use which are now taking place, as well as geographical factors, crops grown, livestock raised and operational methods.

One of the most significant trends noted is the aging of the population, although again the social implications of the trend are not discussed. In 1791, 51 percent of Vermont's male inhabitants were less than 16 years of age, while today the average age of farm operators is 53. There are fewer children in farm families and often an extra unmarried adult. Rural non-farm families are younger and in 1940 were found to have a higher birth rate than the farm families.

The final bulletin in the series focuses on these non-farm rural families. [6] The greatest number were found to be unskilled workers employed on road gangs, in woods, mines, quarries. Almost as many worked as farm laborers for other farmers, and an equal number were skilled carpenters, painters, textile workers and so on. A few were professional or clerical workers.

Why they decided to live in the country was not clearly ascertainable. Some said to be near their work, others wanted to be near relatives, some cited the economic security of being able to grow their own food, and with many it seemed to be a matter of chance. Forty per cent considered an automobile necessary for their work.

The bulk of the study was concerned with the physical conditions of the homes and information related to income—in cash or "home privileges." No attempt was made to study the participation of these people in the

social life of the community, but this might be suggested as a field for further investigation.

In general the bulletins present a diffuse compilation of data significant primarily for the state of Vermont. Nevertheless they also point up the problems of any aging agricultural region and the inequalities that arise not only from limited productive land but also from individual variations in ability.

AMY HODEL.

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Rural Youth

[3.] Some questions concerning *Farm youth in Missouri*, 15 to 24 years of age, are discussed in a bulletin from that State. The number of farm youth decreased 18 percent from 1910 to 1940 because of a declining birth rate among farm women and the migration of youth from farms. Since more girls than boys migrate, there were 118 male farm youth for every 100 female farm youth in the State in 1940. Six counties in southeast Missouri contained 16 percent of the total farm youth and only 6 percent of the land area. The number of Negro youth on farms is decreasing as many have migrated to non-farm areas. In 1940 only 3 percent of farm youth were Negroes.

The average life expectancy of young people has increased steadily each decade largely because of the prevention and control of contagious diseases. Rejection rates for those 18 to 37 years of age in World War II indicated that farm and village youth were less fit physically than youth living in urban areas. The most common illnesses and defects among youth are those which can be prevented or corrected. Health education is needed in rural areas as well as greater health facilities.

Farm youth in general leave school at an earlier age than village and city youth although there is considerable variation between counties. More girls than boys enter high school. Those with the most education tend to migrate to non-farm areas. More than one-half of the youth who remain on farms do not go beyond elementary school and therefore cannot take advantage of the

vocational courses offered in some high schools. The majority of boys who stay on farms are employed as farm laborers. A more diversified curriculum should be developed in high schools and more farm youth encouraged to enroll.

[15.] The final report of a series of bulletins dealing with *Virginia rural youth adjustments* has been published. The study was begun in 1939 with particular emphasis on the 16-24 age group. Because of the abnormal conditions during the war, the study is based on data obtained in 1939-41. The bulletin includes a discussion of: (1) Size and composition of the rural youth population in Virginia along with the home and community background; (2) proportions of youth reached by various agencies, types of training and trends and limitations in youth training programs; (3) guiding principles for occupational choice—farm and non-farm work—with case stories illustrating occupational adjustment problems; (4) attitudes and adjustment problems of most concern to youth and goals leading to a more satisfactory life.

In order that each youth may be helped to reach his maximum potentialities in the midst of changing conditions, the author makes the following suggestions: "(1) The development of a better understanding of the many influences impinging on youth and a greater appreciation of the importance of proper adjustments to the possibilities and the consequences of numerous discoveries and inventions. (2) development of a more general sense of responsibility regarding youth welfare, and (3) correction of conditions adverse to youth development."

Farm Labor

[18.] A number of farmers' cooperative associations operated central camp housing for agricultural workers in the past few years. Their experiences are outlined in *Association management of camps for migratory farm workers*. Attention is given to the steps that should precede the establishment of a cooperative and to the operation of the camp itself. The selection of a good

manager was found to be an important factor. Sound financial procedures are also emphasized. Some attention is paid to the welfare of the migrant laborer and his family in the community. Brief sketches of co-operatives in Sonoma, California, Bergen, New York and Franklin, Idaho are given.

[36.] The purpose of the *Preliminary survey of major areas requiring outside labor* is to provide a reference for personnel engaged in a farm labor program. It contains a map of the major areas requiring outside agricultural labor. The farm enterprises in each area are discussed and estimates of the number of outside workers required and the dates they are needed are made. Workers are described, and their source of origin, their migratory patterns and their crop or work preferences are listed. A few thumb-nail case histories are provided. An inventory of the housing and other facilities available to migrant workers is included. This comprehensive survey integrates the experiences and findings of farm labor supervisors throughout the United States.

Population

[1.] The American Council on Education has issued a report on *College-age population 1947-64* in the five Pacific-western States—Arizona, California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington. Eighteen to twenty-one years was set as the college age in this study. The Bureau of the Census life table was used in estimating the number of native-born students of college age in each State, 1947-64. The assumed net migration gains for this period were based on migration estimates of the 1920's and 1930's, as well as on 1940 Census data. In estimating the number who would attend college, veterans were excluded except for the few under twenty-two years of age. Studies made by the Veterans Administration indicate that the peak of veteran enrollment may be in 1949, depending upon a number of conditions, particularly employment. If job opportunities decrease, more veterans are expected to enroll in colleges. The authors think that the findings point to a continuing need for expansion of

the facilities in higher education. "There is reason for thinking that enrollments, exclusive of veterans, may be about double the prewar peak figures of 1939-40."

[21.] A study of *The farm people of Livingston County, Michigan* emphasizes the importance of group associations. The report describes the types of farms and equipment, the characteristics of the people, and the social groups and relationships operating in the county. The text is supplemented with twelve tables and sixteen figures based on Census data and surveys. A family usually takes part in a number of social groupings at different levels. The members may enter into activities in the local school districts, attend church in the village, and market each week at the larger trade center. There is an increasing tendency for rural people to go to the larger centers to trade and for recreational activities. The authors state that: "Technological advances, new and better standards of living, expanded spheres of individual and family interests, and the growth of an expanded farm marketing system have all tended to reduce the well-defined characteristics of the small village in favor of the larger trading centers."

Health and Medical Care

[25.] A *Health facilities survey* was made in South Carolina with a four-fold purpose: "(1) To survey present hospital and health centers and get as much detailed information as is necessary for analyzing the adequacy of the facilities now in use; (2) to analyze the effects of population, economic, geographic, and other factors upon the demand for hospital service; (3) to ascertain the hospital needs for South Carolina; and (4) to draft a long-term plan designed to provide an adequate system of coordinated hospital and health service facilities to serve every community in South Carolina." Information on existing facilities was secured through schedules distributed to hospitals. A great shortage of beds in both general and special hospitals was found as well as a shortage of physicians, graduate nurses, and dentists.

In making specific recommendations for counties and communities, some of the factors considered were: "The estimated demand for hospital services in 1957, the number of beds which the Federal Government would help finance, travel distances which might affect the use of hospital facilities, the possibility of people in one district or community patronizing the hospital in an adjoining district or community, the amount of local funds available or potentially available for building purposes, and the necessity for retaining in the State pool a sufficient number of unallocated beds to provide future flexibility to meet unforeseen conditions." The integrated hospital plan includes a base hospital operated in conjunction with South Carolina Medical College, district hospitals, community hospitals, and several community clinics. These clinics will perform a limited number of hospital services in small communities located at considerable distances from a hospital.

[30.] *The South's health—a picture of promise*, edited by Leland B. Tate, was presented as an exhibit in the hearings on the study of agricultural and economic problems of the cotton belt. It contains information on current levels of health in the South, medical resources and services in the South, the South's health record, the underlying causes, and a brief statement on current developments in each State. Committee reports and recommendations on public health units, hospitals and health centers, medical training centers, prepayment plans, health and medical care research, and medical education are given.

Housing

[9.] A study of *Personal and family values in the choice of a home* was made at Cornell University in order "to provide an instrument that would help all members of the family to clarify their thinking on what constitutes their housing needs, to discover and consider all the values to which attention should be given." The report describes the construction of a home values test and the use of the test with 50 families in a rural

area in New York State. Families of various sizes and economic levels were selected in order to secure a representative group. The home values test rests on six major assumptions: "1. That a home value is a condition of the home which offers an individual or a family maximum enhancement of home life; 2. That a home is a compound of various conditions or values; 3. That in any home, various values may be present to a large or small degree in a pattern unique to each home; 4. That the home values of greatest importance to the individual and family should be allowed for in the structure of the house, so it will contribute maximally to the type of living desired; 5. That it is possible, by the use of the paired comparison technique, to determine the relative importance of one's values and to establish a family pattern made up of the patterns of its members; 6. That a knowledge of the relative importance of home values will enable the family to recognize specific features in a home which yield maximum satisfaction."

The ten basic values selected for comparison were beauty, comfort, convenience, location, health, personal interests, privacy, safety, friendship activities, and economy. The two main objectives of the test were to find out whether or not a person is able to state verbally the values important to him and to provide a learning experience for the person taking the test. It was found that the test helped an individual (1) to see more clearly what values are important to him, (2) to know the extent of satisfactions he is deriving from his home in relation to the values, (3) to think about the attributes that make up the values, and (4) to look at his own home situation more objectively.

[11.] *Housing for Mississippians* is the first bulletin in a sociological study series to be published by the Bureau of Public Administration and the Sociology Department of the University of Mississippi. A brief history of home construction in Mississippi is presented. The size and condition of dwellings, their value, and household facilities are shown for the rural-farm, rural-nonfarm and urban population. Some tables contain

comparisons with other sections of the United States and some tabulations are broken down by the color of the occupant. Housing needs are discussed and the various governmental housing aids explained.

Farm Tenancy

[7.] Personal interviews were made with 101 owner-operators and 88 farm renters in Boone County which is representative of the Arkansas Ozark area. The process by which farm laborers and tenants achieved ownership was analyzed. Only 17 percent of the owner-operators inherited their farms. Migration from local communities has been extensive and apparently is increasing. There is an especially high rate of out-migration among the children of families in the higher socio-economic levels. Family income, housing, household and cultural possessions and the social participation of owners and renters are analyzed. The tenure process selects owner-operators who can translate farm resources into high levels of living and broad social performance. Social stratification, as measured by intermarriage and informal visiting, was not marked between the families of owner-operators and tenants. Family size and family composition are related to the tenure process, but in the period of the family life cycle when the operator can expect the least help from his family, most activity in the tenure process takes place.

Rural Church

[13.] Problems related to the rural church are discussed in a series of bulletins by Ralph A. Felton. *The salary of rural pastors* includes (1) a description of the pastorate fund in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. which guarantees a minimum salary to rural pastors; (2) a proposed minimum salary plan for Baptist churches; and (3) the minimum salary plan of the Methodist church which is administered separately by each conference.

One foot on the land contains stories of sixteen successful rural churches of various Protestant denominations. Twelve of the churches described are located in the United

States, and four in foreign countries—Japan, Mexico, Korea, and China. They demonstrate what can be done through Christian leadership in even the poorest communities.

The Lord's acre describes the growth and organization of this plan of giving along with its material and spiritual values. It has proved to be not only a method of church support but a means of promoting Christian education and cooperation in many rural communities.

Social Participation

[2.] A recent bulletin, *Some participation principles—their relations to the programs of rural agencies*, summarizes findings resulting from a number of studies of rural families conducted at Cornell University. It "presents some principles of participation, describes briefly the information upon which they are founded, and shows how the principles apply to the practical work of getting greater participation from families and individuals." Some of the findings of studies are: (1) successful operation of a democratic society is achieved only through extensive citizen participation and yet the limits to which families and individuals might participate in organizations is seldom reached; (2) the participation of the individual is determined largely by the participation of his family; (3) wives and mothers show most interest in organizations and take most responsibility for promoting them within the family; (4) participation is affected by the socio-economic status of the family and by its members' acceptance of this status; (5) participation in one organization leads to participation in others.

Miscellaneous

[8.] *Cooperatives in school and community* is a teacher's guide "to provide authentic information about cooperatives and to show how this information can be used in the schools." The guide was prepared by a Workshop on Organization and Administration of Rural Education, Teachers College, Columbia University and a State Curriculum Workshop, University of Wisconsin. The importance of cooperative school activities is

emphasized as preparation for the study of cooperative business associations. Students are taught that: "A cooperative enterprise is one which belongs to the members who use its services, the control of which rests equally with all the members, and the gains of which are distributed to the members in proportion to the use made of its services. The basic purpose of a cooperative is to give a group of people the opportunity to serve their own needs and to solve their own problems more effectively than when acting individually." As the cooperative movement spreads in rural communities, jobs in consumer cooperative stores and as cooperative managers will be open to rural youth. The guide includes a description of what schools in general are teaching about cooperatives, how some schools have developed interesting and effective programs, and the different ways in which cooperatives can be taught effectively to various age groups. A comprehensive list of references and source material is given along with an outline of information useful in the study of cooperatives.

[17.] The University of Missouri has sponsored a study of *Veterans and rejectees in Randolph County, Missouri* in order to plan more adequately for their adjustment to civilian life. Data were obtained from Selective Service Questionnaires of 2,022 veterans and 828 rejectees, the reports of separation of 1,698 veterans, and the replies of 517 of the 1,698 veterans to a questionnaire on June 15, 1946. To find out what the veterans were like before entering the service, information was secured on residence, race, place of birth, age, education, vocational training and occupation at the time of registering. Their military experience—including branch, length of service, foreign service, and reason for discharge—was obtained as well as the length of time they had been out of service, present occupation, marital status, and migration.

It was found that the majority of veterans were born in Missouri and the major portion in Randolph County. Their migration has been largely from rural to urban areas, particularly to Moberly. Less than a third

of the veterans are working at the same occupation they had before entering the service, but there has been little changing from one job to another in the post-war period. There was an increase in the percentage of married men between the time they registered and their demobilization, and another increase between the time of demobilization and June 15, 1946. Only 1.9 percent of the 517 veterans answering the questionnaire have been divorced.

Negroes comprised only 7 percent of the group studied, but these received less academic and vocational training than the whites. Many returned to rural areas and small industrial cities where they were un-

able to find employment. Rejection rates were higher for Negroes than for whites in both rural and urban areas and for both non-psychiatric and psychiatric causes. Diseases and defects which disqualified men for military service were found more frequently among (1) the older age groups, (2) those with the least amount of education, and (3) those engaged in agriculture and unskilled occupations. The author concludes that "Physical and mental health, adequate educational background, and wise selection and preparation for an occupation are among the minimum essentials for effective participation in a democratic society. This study has demonstrated that there are many men who lack these essentials."

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Howard W. Beers

Family and Civilization. By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. x + 829. \$4.50.

For a number of years, Zimmerman has been probing into the cultural significance and social consequences of various forms of family life. In a prior book, *Family and Society*, the analytical scheme for the current monograph was developed and applied to a series of cases in selected strata of the United States. In the present study, the theme is restructured for application to the history of the family in the western world. The thirty chapters appraise the validity of alternative approaches to the study of the relationship of family to society, project a conceptual scheme deemed more adequate for comprehending the relevant data, resurvey the patterns of family organizations manifested in the history of western society, outline the social crises which stem from disorganized family life, and propose ways for overcoming existing conditions in our own times. Most of the readers of this review probably are familiar with the general theoretical framework, value orientation, and methodological procedures of the author. They are employed in the same comprehensive and provocative style in analyzing the new data presented in this book. In a study of this scope, there are bound to be many major and minor items of fact and theory analyzed in ways which are subject to controversy among readers with divergent orientations. This review will be restricted to three points.

First, the conceptual scheme. The author has overcome the traditional weaknesses of historic surveys of family life in which time sequence is the only unifying principle. This is accomplished by the introduction of a series of family types which transcend any particular time and thus make possible the comparative study of similar social phenomena occurring in various historic periods. Zimmerman subdivides family sys-

tems into a triad: atomistic, trustee, and domestic—these are designed to incorporate the fundamental permutations and combinations of family life in different societies taking into account “history, logic, meaning, and causal analysis.” There is no doubt that the formulation of constructs for extracting phenomena from their empirical setting and identifying their essential characteristics is one of the most useful devices of typification, there are the perennial methodological problems of the selection of adequate indicators, the determination of the goodness of fit to social realities, the validation of the causal nexus, the testing of the hypotheses against a full range of facts to assure encompassment of all relevant items rather than the selection of cases to illustrate the theses, the applicability of the classificatory plan to various universes, etc. In the estimation of the reviewer, the constructed typology only partially resolves these difficult problems. The theoretical scheme formulated does effectively serve the highly useful purpose of ordering the data for analysis within the defined problem.

Second, the relationship of this study to the larger body of knowledge. Zimmerman focuses our attention on a salient feature of family structure, its functional interrelationship to culture change and societal problems. In order to more fully comprehend this process, it would be helpful if the author now examined the relevant scientific materials dealing with the dynamics of personal-social interaction—e.g., the socialization processes—in the same explicit manner employed in his *Consumption and Standards of Living*. Out of the recent work in anthropology, social psychology, psychiatry, and sociology itself, have come new insights into the functional relationships between personality, social structure, and culture. Thus it would be illuminating to ascertain how the three typologies actually effect

the interiorization of social values and how these interiorized values then govern human behavior on the individual and collective levels. By such analysis we might trace through more specifically the connections between social forms and social actions in family life and society.

Third, normative orientation and implications of the existing cultural crises. The author does not accept the premises or conclusions of many recent works in family life, fears that disaster may confront our world if we do not realize the source of our problems, and suggest solutions designed to increase familial solidarity. Most sociologists share the author's concern over these questions, accept the proposition that family instability constitutes one of the major problems of our society, and feel the need for some modification in our present social structure. But there are many who doubt that increase in family cohesiveness *per se* will offset the forces operating in the western world, or that the projected norms and solutions for attaining it would be acceptable in principle or as a plan for action. This difference over means and ends reflects the dilemmas of our times. We can readily discern our social shortcomings in the modern world, but we do not have as yet any consensus as to their etiology and we have yet to find socially acceptable solutions which will incorporate the values and practices of the divergent groups within the population. It is evident that western society is evolving new institutional systems which govern social interaction in patterns which are based on values meaningful to its participants, although unacceptable to some of its students.

We are indebted to the author of this stimulating book for calling attention to fundamental problems which confront the social sciences in contemporary society. Perhaps it may suggest further research on these basic issues.

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Edited by Talcott Parsons. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. x + 436. \$6.00.

This book consists of a translation of the first four chapters of Max Weber's monumental work, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, published in 1921, one year after the death of its author. The German original represents an effort to provide a systematic scrutiny of functional relations of economic structures to all other fields of social activity. Max Weber's premature death, however, prevented him from carrying out his plan to completion. The four chapters which make up Professor Parsons' English edition are primarily theoretical and deal with (a) sociological method and the principal sociological concepts; (b) the structure of economic action; (c) the structure of authority; and (d) the concepts of social class and social status. For these reasons the English title, selected by Professor Parsons, is most appropriate.

It is significant that while the chapters translated by Professor Parsons actually represent the last word of their author, the crucial sections of the untranslated remainder of the German volume were finished in 1911-1913, at the time when Max Weber had just begun to recognize the urgent need for a generalizing social science.

Although in the present volume Max Weber comes closer to crystallizing a systematic sociology than in any other of his papers or combinations of them, it is primarily a catalogue of basic concepts, a collection of sociological aphorisms. It has become a sociological classic, thanks to its opening of new vistas for sociological inquiry rather than to its theoretical completeness. Heinrich Rickert had these chapters in mind when he ascribed to Weber's work the pioneering significance comparable with that of Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum*.

Despite its fragmentariness, the present volume is so rich in content and so elaborate in theoretical implications that any effort to summarize even the principal ideas in this review would be futile. Its general im-

Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons.

port lies mostly in the fact that it contains Max Weber's most definitive word in his effort to build a *verstehende* sociology independent of philosophy, regardless of whether it be idealistic or materialistic. It also crowns his systematic effort to raise sociology above all the methodological disputes between various psychological schools. Moreover, it contains a formidable, although in some instances a not very consistent, rebuttal of universal or collective concepts of various biological and Romantic schools as well as the concept of the *Volkgeist* of the so-called Historical school. Thanks to Max Weber's own epistemological orientation (similar to Rickert's theory of knowledge but trimmed of the latter's recognition of the indispensability of absolute values for the understanding of cultural phenomena) he considers the meaningfully oriented actions of individual men as the only valuable source of sociological knowledge. He substitutes "verified generalizations from experience," subjective processes, and socio-cultural causal sequences for *a priori* conclusions, universal and collective processes, and ontological teleology.

Max Weber's well-known but little-applied concept of ideal types bears a considerably narrower denotation in this work than in his earlier papers dealing with historical problems. While in his earlier works, as is well pointed out by A. Walther, the ideal type was characterized as being (a) an ideal logical perfection, (b) similar to the "ideas" of historical phenomena, and (c) constituted through our relations to value-"ideas," in this work he is concerned exclusively with the first-named characteristic.

While in one of his earlier papers he underrated the role played by the economic factor in the rise of Western capitalism, in this treatise he indicates, although not explicitly, that the study of the structure of power relationships, and the mechanism of class stratification in Western society cannot be carried out successfully without a detailed analysis of such economic phenomena as the extensive and intensive growth of market economy, monopolization

of the large sources of profit, the expropriation of the workers from the means of production, and "capital accounting." He reminds sociologists that "the facts of the economic situation provide the flesh and blood for a genuine explanation of the process by which even a sociologically relevant development takes place." (p. 221). However, here as in his previous papers, he categorically rejects historical materialism. While in *The Protestant Ethic* he tried to repudiate monistic tenets of economic determinism, here he directs his guns against Marxist and other advocates of planned economy. Needless to say, his contention that any effort at implementing planned economy is foredoomed to failure has been repudiated by the economic and social changes which have taken place after his death.

On the contrary, the importance of his revealing analysis of the charismatic authority—characterized as "resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him"—has been more than borne out by political developments which have taken place in the decades following his death.

Professor Parsons has done not only a superior translating job, which will be particularly appreciated by those who have had to struggle through the German original, but he has also supplied this volume with a valuable commentary in the form of footnotes and a long introduction, which in itself is a great sociological treatise. However, he would have done a signal service to American sociology if he had incorporated into his introduction a critical appraisal of the scope of Max Weber's influence on both theoretical and practical pursuits of various social sciences, particularly sociology, during the last quarter of a century. There is no contemporary sociologist who would be more competent to do this job than he.

A. VUCINICH

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Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: Harper and Bros., 1947. Pp. xiv + 742. \$5.00.

Some of Sorokin's writing is a test of the objectivity of his readers. Their reactions at times are so loaded with positive or negative feeling that they engage in quarrelling rather than discussion. Perhaps, as Franklin Roosevelt was a father-surrogate to the voters, and was thus loved or hated, Sorokin has become something of a counterpart in American sociology. That his productions are seldom received dispassionately is probably due at least partially to his frequent employment of emotionally expressive words and to the continental vigor of his assertions and criticisms. Such phrases as "blunders of Sumner," so-and so's "cumber-some pile of words," the "gross inadequacy of prevalent definitions," . . . "superfluity of sociometry," etc. seem to this reviewer to illustrate the point. A related and provocative mannerism of Sorokin's is his use of "precise," "exact," and "clear" in passages for which these adjectives are ill-selected.

But the really important consideration is his theoretical system, here presented in one volume. Sorokin is participating in a flow toward consensus among contemporary sociologists; he is influencing powerfully the direction of the flow and is contributing mightily to the maturation of a science of sociology.

Three classes of science deal with three classes of phenomena: physical (inorganic), natural (organic) and social (superorganic, or "mind in all its manifestations"). Among the social sciences, sociology is a generalizing science of sociocultural phenomena. There are structural general sociology (here developed in the first 20 chapters, parts 1-5), dynamic general sociology (here developed in chapters 21-48, parts 6 and 7), and various special sociologies (not developed in this volume).

The "most general model" of a sociocultural phenomenon is meaningful human interaction ("meaningful" puts behaviorism in its place!). The components of interaction are (1) subject, (2) meaning, and (3)

vehicles or conductors. Interaction generates society, culture and person. The important interaction processes (we are still in structural sociology) are: (1) organized, disorganized or unorganized; (2) solitary or antagonistic; (3) integrated or unintegrated. The *sine qua non* of organized social groups (Sorokin seems to use organized group and institution interchangeably) is the existence of "law norms," defining relevant interaction of members. Social systems are differentiated and stratified, and the basic classifications of organized groups are by number of bonds (unbonded, multi-bonded). A cultural system has three levels: ideological, behavioral, and material. A person is a pluralism of selves.

Dynamic general sociology studies mainly the "limited number of basic repeated (social-cultural-personal) processes. (Pp. 367-534) Social processes are listed by Sorokin (p. 368) as origination, organization, maintenance or persistence, change in specified activities, orderly and/or revolutionary change, fluctuation of war and peace, disintegration, regeneration—all of groups. Dynamic general sociology studies also (pp. 537-713) (1) the conception, (2) the objectification and (3) the socialization of cultural systems. Finally, dynamic general sociology studies personality processes (but Sorokin condenses these into his concluding chapter, pp. 714-723).

Many of Sorokin's topics are not treated by other American sociologists. His index lists concepts not found in most general sociologies, and it omits or cites only a page or two on certain concepts usually given extended space (e.g., community, social control, conflict, accommodation). Sorokin is a vigorous composer of theory and prefers not to follow the beaten path in terminology.

Words are formidable barriers to the perfection of theory, however, and one must be lenient and even humble in criticizing Sorokin's usage. Dissatisfaction with items of his nomenclature is hardly more than recognition that much remains to be done in establishing a universe of sociological discourse. At times, he seems almost as

indecisive as other sociologists in adopting words—using strings of synonyms where one word is needed. Of course, we always expect Sorokin's sentences to be compound-complex rather than simple, but this book is less difficult reading on most pages than his earlier works in English.

Many sociologists are careless in classification procedure. Sorokin's insistence upon a *fundamentum divisionis* is wholesome, and he doesn't propose easy dichotomies. He is more likely to submit a classification of three or more categories than of two. However, his classifications of groups and of processes leave one with the suspicion that even these are tentative, and that more appropriate categories will eventually improve them.

Certainly everyone with aspirations to a professional role in sociology must study intensively Sorokin's system as presented in this volume, and must reject none of its content without due scientific cause.

HOWARD W. BEERS

University of Kentucky.

Europe's Population in the Interwar Years.

By Dudley Kirk. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946. 1p. xii + 340. Paper bound, \$3.50; Cloth bound, \$4.00.

Dr. Kirk's book is the fourth and final report in the important series of demographic studies of Europe undertaken by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University for the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations. It represents at the same time the final discharge of responsibility for demographic inquiry in an international context by the old League. Future demographic explorations will rest with the population agencies of the United Nations, which have already recommended, along with technical and methodological projects, a Demographic Year Book and comprehensive surveys of migration statistics and policies and of the populations of trust territories.

In the author's own words, this study is "an attempt . . . to evaluate the human resources of the European continent," an ob-

jective which involves first, the compilation and analysis of representative demographic data from a wide variety of official, semi-official, and private sources and secondly, a probing of the subtle but real associations of demographic trends with cultural development.

The mere assembling of data for a continent of 27 diverse countries constitutes a gigantic task. Obviously census materials vary widely in scope, in definition of categories, and in reliability of reporting. Differences in the dates of individual censuses further complicate the problem of securing comparable series of statistics. All these difficulties are increased for Dr. Kirk by his breakdown of existing nations into regional areas, a step made necessary by the lack of agreement between national and cultural boundaries.

The inadequacy of Dr. Kirk's data, especially in such areas as internal migration and infant mortality, constitutes a basic criticism of the incomplete collection of demographic materials which characterizes even many of the more economically advanced nations. It has been necessary to make considerable use of estimations and even to assume for some areas rates applicable to neighboring political divisions demographically and culturally akin. Life tables for a country have had to serve for its minor divisions, a not wholly happy circumstance where a nation is heterogeneous in social, economic, and vital characteristics. All these shortcomings are noted by Dr. Kirk, and any reader who uses isolated data from the tables should examine at least the methodological notes which constitute Appendix II. I have no adverse criticism to make of Dr. Kirk's statistical synthesis. He has made imaginative but sound use of standard techniques such as those developed and detailed elsewhere by Kuczynski, Glass, Lorimer, Moore, and others; and his emphasis upon the use of the cartographic form as a kind of statistical chart minimizes the importance of deviations from the exact in many series of data.

But the principal contribution of this study is found neither in its statistical synthesis of a tremendous mass of population data nor

in its analysis of the vital trends of Europe's interwar years, excellent as these are. It lies rather in a clear emphasis upon Europe as a cultural whole within which the values and attitudes of the more highly industrialized-urbanized regions are diffusing to the remainder of the continent with a concomitant modification of demographic rates. Inherent in such a diffusion pattern are two major implications. One is the likely "leveling off of the sharp regional differentials in economic and social development that have existed for many previous generations. . . ." (p. 251). The other is the multiplying importance of Eastern Europe in the continental complex.

Any attempt to detail the contents of Dr. Kirk's study would be futile. Sequentially, emphasis is placed upon the distribution of Europe's people and the lack of conformity of this pattern with political boundaries; upon population changes of the interwar years, especially those in fertility and mortality levels, as a phenomenon associated with rapid urban growth; upon international and internal migration (to which four of eleven chapters are devoted); and to changing social and economic development by regions and to the role of ethnic and 'nationalist forces in achieving modernization of cultural structures.

Dr. Kirk's treatment of his materials is thoroughly satisfying. This is the definitive work in its field and its incisive commentary on the association of urban-industrial and of demographic trends is sound far beyond the borders of Europe. I am ashamed to complain of lack of an index.

VINCENT H. WHITNEY

Brown University.

Leadership in War and Peace. By Sanford Winston. Raleigh, North Carolina: The Agricultural Experiment Station of the North Carolina State College, 1946. Pp. 141.

The rural communities of North Carolina during the last war were divided into small neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods local men and women were selected as leaders, chiefly through election by their neighbors,

to assist county agricultural agents and home demonstration agents in securing wide participation in various wartime emergency programs, such as scrap iron and rubber collection, Victory gardens, war bonds and stamps, and war production goals. *Leadership in War and Peace* is a study of these neighborhood leaders and how this program functioned.

Six counties were selected as representative of the various regions in the state. Complete schedules were obtained from 966 of the 1,272 leaders reported in these six counties at the time of the survey.

The largest section of this 139-page monograph is devoted to a highly detailed presentation of the following characteristics of these 966 leaders: race, sex, age, birthplace, residence, spatial mobility, occupation, types of farms operated, education, level of living, and organizational affiliations. For most of these characteristics separate frequency distributions for Negroes and for whites for each sex are given in tables and then almost every figure in each table is repeated, commented on, and then its size accounted for to the satisfaction, apparently, of the author. Some of the explanations are so obvious that one wonders why they are mentioned. Some are pure conjectures, yet stated in a dogmatic manner.

The section in which leaders and their groups are compared in respect to the factors mentioned above reveals several important differences. The last section describes, analyzes, and evaluates the operation of the neighborhood leadership program. Extension service workers and most other people interested in rural community organization will probably find this section of more value than the other.

This monograph contains several obvious weaknesses. First, although relatively unimportant, the title is inexcusably broad. *The Rural Neighborhood Leadership Program in North Carolina* or some similar title would have been much more descriptively accurate.

The study apparently was not designed to contribute much to rural sociology as a science in a narrow sense of the term. It has

no theoretical framework. The key word "leadership" is not even defined. Instead of being pointed in the direction of testing specific, relatively controversial hypotheses in the field of rural leadership, the bulk of the data are merely descriptive. No suggestions for further research, nor any indication that important questions remain unanswered, appear in this report. Whether similar peacetime programs would be equally successful, for example, is not known notwithstanding the author's assertion that they would be.

Lack of objectivity is a major weakness of this report. Much enthusiasm, optimism, and pro-rural prejudices may be assets under certain circumstances, but not in the analysis and interpretation of a study such as this. After presenting data which indicate an exceedingly low rural level of living, the following statement appears on page 80: "Any rurally minded man will agree that there are advantages in rural (as contrasted with urban) living which more than outweigh the so-called conveniences of urban living." (The italics are supplied by the reviewer.) Another illustration of the categorical, subjective assertions which appear throughout this work is the following on page 139: "It has been stated before that no one knows better the needs of a neighborhood or community than do the people living there." Is the concept "perspective" only an illusion or meaningless? Even unsupported and biased statements may not be highly detrimental if they are presented as opinions rather than as facts (the reviewer cannot recall seeing even one instance of this) or if they can otherwise be easily distinguished by a reader. In this case, unfortunately, they are so inextricably interwoven throughout the monograph with factual and objective statements that a reader is again and again left to wonder whether specific statements and interpretations are supported by evidence produced by this study or are mere guesses or statements of opinion.

It is not clear who are the intended readers of this work. If it was written for professional rural sociologists, many pages of

generalizations well known in the field and most of the descriptive detail should have been omitted. If it was written for laymen, it should have been trimmed differently, the order of sections radically changed, and greatly condensed. This lack of concise presentation is made more serious by the absence of a badly-needed summary.

Information of value is contained in this report. It is unfortunate that it was not better presented.

MELVIN S. BROOKS

Texas A. and M. College.

The Grassland of North America. By James C. Malin. Lawrence, Kansas: James C. Malin, 1541 University Drive, 1947. Pp. viii + 398. \$3.00.

Land of the Dakotas. By Bruce Nelson. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1946. Pp. 354. \$3.75.

The Grassland of North America is a prolegomenon to the history of that region since "One purpose . . . is to bring together summaries of the literature in the several borderland fields that seem significant to history. . . . There is no attempt here to present a formal history of the grassland of North America. . . . The things put into this book are . . . new methodology, different points of view or emphasis, syntheses of materials not hitherto brought to bear upon this field of history, and some illustrative products of original research."

In addition, "The review of the several sciences in Part One is the first attempt anywhere at such a task. To put it differently, scientists have not made such a survey, even for their own use. The bibliography is extensive. . . . This is the first time such a bibliography has been compiled anywhere. . . ."

The work is scholarly, gives perspective and offers a new look at science and knowledge. A historian, also a resident of the region, comes to grips with vital grassland problems.

As a source of data, the book falls short of the author's own criteria, namely, "scientists might profitably address themselves to the problem of how scientific knowledge can be

presented in order to make it more effectively available to the uses of the historian." In its present form, the prolegomenon is less readily available to the historian than it ought to be; not readily available to other scientists, and practically unavailable to "folk."

The author, who made a strong case for "an open system" fell into the "trap" of the historical method by starting at the beginning. He does concede that "some readers of this book may prefer to read Chapter 15 first, and for some purposes that may be desirable, but the author decided that perspective is better maintained by the present arrangement." Perhaps perspective, "an open system," and heightened interest could have been more effectively achieved by introducing the contents of Chapter 21 first, then Chapter 15, and followed by the remainder in about the present order.

This reviewer is in hearty agreement with the author's approach and interpretation. The "forest-corn" complex, supplemented by the "closed system" fostered by the thinkers of that tradition, has too long been like unto a millstone for the grasslands of America.

The Land of the Dakotas is a portion of the history of the northern part of the grasslands of the United States, namely the Missouri River Basin. It is not a prolegomenon, and lacks the perspective, the methodology, and the scientific value inherent in *The Grasslands of North America*. It adds, however, to the descriptive history of the northern portion of these grasslands. The weakness of Malin's work is that it concentrates on Kansas and the southern grasslands, and de-emphasizes events in the northern portion. Perhaps this is due to the lack of writings about the northern grasslands. If this is so, *Land of the Dakotas* helps fill this gap of description. The style contributes to readability; the setting is authentic and accurate.

Malin demonstrates a bit of intolerance for the social sciences. The reviewer is not critical of this; rather he is critical of the gap in thinking that follows from such an attitude. This is especially evident in the two-page Chapter 19, dealing with "The

Community and the City." Again Malin states (p. 317) that "abuses charged against the railroads have been exploited at length and far beyond the facts . . ." A reading of the Chapters 8 and 16 in *Land of the Dakotas*, dealing with "The Founding Fathers" and "The Empire Builder," ought to add some additional facts for Mr. Malin.

Both of these books demonstrate the grassland's "coming into its own," in spite of the "forest-corn" complex and Mr. Turner. They are necessary reading for an understanding of the grasslands of North America.

CARL F. KRAENZEL

Montana State College.

The Contemporary American Family. By Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947. Pp. xii + 838.

This is a completely rewritten edition of the senior author's 1934 book, *The American Family*, which has replaced his earlier *Social Problems of the Family*. The present edition bears many resemblances to the 1934 book. It has essentially the same 25 chapter titles and the corresponding four parts, with somewhat revised headings. Although the page size has increased slightly, this is due to larger and much more readable type for almost identical page content. The additional 338 pages therefore represent additional material, distributed throughout as inserted paragraphs.

The authors select from many disciplines to help the college student "handle his own problems whether they are associated with premarriage, marriage, or parenthood experiences." Some brief comparison of rural and urban family life is contained in Chapter 7, "The Modern American Family." "The Mental Hygiene" chapter puts the family in the center of this movement.

"The Study of the Family," the closing chapter in the 1934 edition, now becomes Chapter 2. Almost all its former content is retained. On page 34, the listed examples of research are expanded and revised to show their growth in the past 13 years. The paragraph analyses of methodology in research

(pp. 41-44) include six new studies and drop one of the eight former ones. Burgess and Cottrells' *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* and Lockwood and Ford's *Youth, Marriage and Parenthood* are used to describe newer methods in questionnaire study. A new section in this chapter is a short summary (pp. 45-53) of the growth of high school and college teaching of preparation for marriage and family life. Ernest R. Groves' pioneer work in this field of college teaching is here set forth as a posthumous record.

Part II, American Family Experience, has been reduced to "Psychological Aspects of . . ." by omitting a chapter on Social Conditions and one on Economic Conditions. The content of these has been transferred to other chapters in the new edition. The former Chapter 17, "Social Problems Related to the Family" is omitted from the new edition. Two new chapters appear in Part III, Social Problems: "Sociological Aspects of Family Life" includes technologically induced changes and premarital sex experience; the chapter titled "Marriage" contains much new material on psychological adjustment and rearranges some that in the previous edition was in the "Courtship" chapter. The closing chapter of Part III, "The Family Itself a Problem," deletes two paragraphs on the Russian family and adds a pungent one on the guilt-feeling of parents that unwholesomely grows out of their taking the parental role in a too-exaggerated form (p. 508). The analysis of fiction dealing with the family is brought up-to-date, a condemnatory paragraph on the motion picture is inserted and five pages are added on "Some critics of parents and of marriage."

Part IV has significant new material on "Specialized Programs." The "Legal Approach" chapter has a 1945 table on state marriage laws (p. 537,) and several new sections on abortion and the unmarried mother. Juvenile and family courts are adequately treated. The Eugenic chapter is greatly expanded and revised under the new title, "The Biologic Approach." A new chapter, "The Medical Approach," justifies the claim of the authors that "no application of

science to human need has contributed more to the welfare of the family than preventive medicine." The "Mental Hygiene" chapter brings up-to-date the work of marriage counseling services. The change in chapter titles from the "Economics" to the "Home Economics" approach adequately reflects the revised content of this chapter. "The Educational Approach" chapter adds a threefold classification of college courses on "the family" and "marriage," the third being a combination course (p. 717). The closing chapter, "The Successful Family," has been expanded and decidedly strengthened for college students by including six specific suggestions (pp. 748-51). Appendix C, "To the Instructor" summarizes the experience of the authors in college teaching of marriage classes. This 1947 edition by personal and professional partners in marriage is a fitting tribute to the life work of the senior author.

MERTON D. OYLER

Berea College.

The Family in American Culture. By Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. Pp. xii + 780. \$4.25.

This is one of the most culturally oriented works on the family yet to appear. The institution is studied from the standpoint of its grounding in the American ethos. The central thesis is that "those elements which have produced our society have been the elements molding the characteristics of the family." (p. 36)

The authors indicate at the outset that they are primarily interested in the middle-class, white, native born, urban family in the United States. They intentionally minimize the personal aspects of family relationships, choosing to stress the institutional, customary, and quantitative aspects.

Part One, which consists of ten chapters, is given to the development of this thesis. It begins with a general discussion of the nature of the family in American culture, then treats the family as an integral part of the nation's developments in religion, capitalism, frontier experience, romantic love,

democratic ideals, and biological science (especially as it has been applied to an understanding of physical functions of the family, birth control, and related problems.) Part One is exceptionally well done.

Part Two, dealing with the family as a social institution, is a standard treatment of the numerical composition of the family, its cultural and biological composition and its changing economic and social functions. A final chapter discusses the continuing social functions of the family.

In Parts Three and Four, the interpersonal relationships are discussed. Part Three deals with personality as a social product, discusses childhood and adolescence as family experiences, has a chapter on courtship and marital choice, another on marital interaction, one on parenthood, and a final chapter on war and family relationships. This section treats rather briefly materials covered much more extensively in books on marriage.

The chapter on war and the family will be especially valuable. It shows a great deal of insight into problems of the war marriage and its readjustments. In this respect it has a decided advantage over basic texts on the family that appeared in the early part of the war and in the prewar period.

Part Four is interested in the family as it relates to problems of social change. Family conflict and crises are the main interest although the two final chapters are given to a discussion of "reorganization of the family" and "the future of the American family" respectively. The authors do not come to grips with the future as effectively as with the past.

The book is well integrated, has a definite theme which is consistently followed. The theme makes the book a contribution to sociological literature, for its orientation is cultural and sociological throughout rather than primarily historical, psychological or psychiatric. It is a valuable contribution to the textbook literature on the family. The publishers have sold the authors short in their workmanship.

Readers of *Rural Sociology* will want to know what attention is given to the rural

family. Except for recognizing rural-urban family differences briefly and presenting data on the comparative fertility of the rural and urban marriages, little space is given to the rural family. This is, of course, excusable in that the authors stated at the outset that their primary interest was the American middle-class urban family.

PAUL H. LANDIS

State College of Washington.

Higher Education in the South. A Report of Cooperative Studies Conducted under the Auspices of the Committee on Work Conferences on Higher Education of the Southern Association of College and Secondary Schools. Preface by O. C. Carmichael. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. vii + 171. \$2.75.

The report on *Higher Education in the South* is timely and challenging. The special significance of this publication lies in its regional emphasis designed to point up certain issues with which educational leadership in the South is now faced and to make specific recommendations for meeting them. This report represents the best collective thinking and judgment of workers in higher education in the South and is unique among the increasing number of studies of the problems of higher education in the United States in that it reflects the considered opinion of the educators of an entire region. This fact gives the report general significance and makes it a "must" on the reading list of all concerned with problems of Southern education.

The Committee recognized the fact that no two institutions have the same traditions, the same approach to all educational problems, the same methods of getting effective results and specifically warns against efforts at imitation of programs and practices. Four chapters of the twelve constituting the report deal with problems of liberal education. The Committee's view is that no college can afford to ignore the need and demand for general education and that the method for meeting this demand must be worked out by each institution in accordance

with its objectives, facilities, teaching personnel, and equipment. The issues raised and the recommendations of the Committee in the areas of general and special education, the humanities, the natural sciences, and the social sciences are worthy of careful study and consideration.

Throughout this report there are indications of concern for the improvement of both quantity and quality of education in the Southern region with suggested emphasis on quality. Suggested approaches to the problems include better teaching, improved curricula, more adequate equipment, improved conditions of learning, and more satisfactory means of testing achievement. Recommendations for the improvement of graduate instruction are based on the recognition of scientific research and the training of Southern men and women for intellectual leadership as essentials to progress and general welfare in the Southern states. Graduate education for Negroes is considered highly significant.

An appraisal of problems together with some recommendations in the areas of administration, student personnel work, the library, and college community relations make up the last four chapters of the report. Particularly noteworthy is an emphasis upon the energizing force of faculty participation in the governance of the institution; the significance of academic freedom and tenure to the attainment of educational objectives; and the role of long-range planning in programs designed to meet student needs.

In view of the fact that this report was designed to lead to action directed toward the improvement of higher education in the South, the reviewer feels that its value to administrative officers, college presidents, deans, faculties, librarians, and registrars would have been greatly enhanced if specific consideration had been given to problems of planning for the future of higher education in the Southern region in the light of the issues which are set forth in the report.

HENRY L. ANDREWS
University of Alabama.

Prosperity Decade. By George Soule. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiii + 365. \$4.00.

From 1915 to 1917 American neutrality abroad was linked with organization for war at home. Out of a traditional lack of preparation for war and an industrial confusion, second to none, our government did much to eliminate the bottlenecks by April, 1917. Numerous war agencies were created, many government corporations were chartered and economic planning was "accepted as an operational necessity."

Our entrance into the war saw a rapid shifting of labor to war production with an inflationary prosperity that made possible labor objectives and created good times for the farmers. However, the greatest wealth was attained by the corporations through war contracts. There were 42,000 millionaires in the United States in 1920.

The high cost of living after the war soon took away labor's wartime savings while strikes consumed the money in union treasuries. The drastic fall in farm commodity prices, when prices for manufactured goods remained high, forced the farmer to begin anew mortgaging his property. Apparently, government controls on agricultural products should have been retained to control the farmer's growing disadvantage. Although the rural folk were drifting into indebtedness, the corporations continued to pay dividends. Nineteen hundred and twenty-two brought recovery for the wage earner, continued prosperity for the manufacturer but a decreasing percentage of the national income for the farmer.

From March, 1921, for 10 years the government was influenced more by the attitudes of big business than anything else. Republican Administrations resisted all agitation for sound farm relief, for greater security in employment, for better laboring conditions, for regulation of big business, for social control of public utilities, for enforcement of the anti-trust laws and for any liberalization of the judiciary. In brief, all efforts to convince the Republican leadership that the American economy was not in robust health were in vain.

In foreign affairs the government chose to withdraw and let things take their course when our position had shifted from debtor to that of creditor. Our debtors could not pay us, when we sought and maintained a favorable balance of trade with them, unless we made loans in gold to them. This is just what we did. When this practice was stopped in 1928, the plateau of prosperity ended.

The crash of 1929 was visible on the economic horizon in 1927 when there was a decrease in construction, a drop in employment, a depreciation of private investment, a lessening of consumer spending and deflationary fiscal policies. The economic strains and stresses were suppressed, however, in one last productive spurt.

These, in brief, are the conclusions found in this well-documented, thorough and scholarly book. Mr. Soule has written with a liberal interpretation but by no means is he highly prejudiced. The last chapter is an able discussion and evaluation of the sources used by the author. The illustrations are apt and the index accurate.

GEORGE C. OSBORN

University of Florida.

Puerto Rican Emigration. By Clarence Senior. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1947. Pp. 186. \$1.00.

Rexford Tugwell, its New Deal Governor, has called Puerto Rico "The Stricken Land." A few simple statistics, offered in the introduction of the study under review, confirm the bitter felicity of the antonym. Agriculture employs the largest group of workers and contributes the largest private share to the insular income. But: "There is now only one-half acre of arable land per person; by 1960 there will be only one-third; by 1980, only about one-fourth and by 2000 around one-sixth." (p. 1). In general: "The insular income, in 1940 dollars, increased from \$228 to \$305 millions or a gain of 34 percent, but the per capita income increased from \$121 to \$151 or only 25 percent." (p. 2).

The main single factor responsible for this sad state of affairs seems to be the rapid growth of population. Since 1898, when the United States took possession of the island,

its population has doubled. "The death rate has decreased sharply in the past fifty years but there has been no significant decrease in the birth rate." (p. 1). Thus, it would appear that the improvements brought about by the U. S. administration are, paradoxically enough, at least partly responsible for the trouble.

The main solution to the island's problems, often suggested by others and strongly urged by the Bell Committee, seems to lie in emigration. But this is not as simple as it sounds. For, obviously, the emigrants will want to go where the opportunities for starting life anew are best. This happens to be the case, for the Puerto Rican as for many before him, in New York City. But strong and unexpected influx of largely destitute immigrants creates problems for Housing Authorities, Social Agencies, Juvenile Courts, and the newspapers begin to demand that something be done about it.

It is in answer to these protests that the present study has been released. Actually it is—as pointed out in the Foreword by Jaime Benitez, the Chancellor of the University—only a section of an exhaustive treatment of the population problem in Puerto Rico which is being prepared for publication in the fall of 1948. Immediate publication, even if in mimeographed form, was deemed necessary in order to offer "government officials, legislators, students, and writers," the background material which would enable them "to gauge properly and soberly the meaning of the journalistic reports." (p. II)

In spite of the urgency of release, the study is solidly based on factual data. A keen well documented analysis of past emigration experience, to St. Croix, to Hawaii, and the continent, as well as of the emigration potentialities to Latin America, to the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and Dutch Guiana (Surinam), supports Senior's conclusion that "The contribution to be made by migration may easily be over-estimated and its cost, on a large-scale basis, underestimated." (p. 122). That does not mean, however, that emigration is to be altogether rejected. Emigration can prove to be helpful but, as Senior rightly stresses, "only if it is

part of a broad program of population adjustment." Such a program must, in addition to emigration, include: "raising levels of living, education, and planned parenthood." (*ibid.*)

Judging from the present sample, the work carried on by the Research Center is significant beyond the immediate concerns of Puerto Rico itself. The promised full publication may be awaited with a great deal of interest.

HENRIK F. INFELD

Poughkeepsie, New York.

Dark Glory. By Harry V. Richardson. New York: Friendship Press, 1947. Pp. xiv + 209. \$2.00.

The author was chaplain at Tuskegee Institute for fourteen years, and for the past two years has been director of the program for training Negro Rural Ministers, sponsored by the Home Missions Council and some of the Foundations.

The source material for this book was a study by the author of Dallas County, Alabama; Calhoun County, South Carolina; Mississippi County, Arkansas; and Northumberland County, Virginia. He has also drawn upon extensive reading and his wide experience in the 16 Southern States.

Dark Glory is a study and interpretation of the Negro Rural Church. In Chapter One the author describes the way the Negro Churches were started. In slavery days, state legislatures and church bodies passed laws to make clear that baptism and salvation freed the soul but not the body. One such official statement said, "Christianity gives freedom from Satan but as to their outward condition slaves remain as before baptism." Negro ministers were allowed to preach only if they "did not disturb the status quo" of their audience.

The author quickly concerns himself with the 24,000 Negro Rural Churches in America at the present time. He describes the 130 churches in these four counties in considerable detail. Only nine per cent had any flowers around them and only 18 per cent had any shrubbery. Eight churches had wooden shutters for windows. Only two per

cent had any play apparatus. Fifty-eight churches had no water supply. In one case when a church wanted to raise money for digging a well, the people voted it down. One man said, "No one in this church has perished for lack of water in 40 years to my recollection."

Dr. Richardson found that in Northumberland County where income, home ownership and the standard of living is comparatively high, the church membership composes 89.7 per cent of the population. In Mississippi County where tenancy is high and living standards are low, only 10 per cent of the population are church members.

The author contradicts the usual opinion about Negro rural pastors being underpaid. He says they receive more than city pastors or more than teachers for the time they give to their church work.

Only 14 of 108 churches had resident pastors, and less than 10 per cent had "preaching" every Sunday. The author concludes, "How long the country Christian will continue to support a ministry whose primary function is to bring a thrill once or twice a month is an open question."

Nearly three-fourths of the 80 pastors he visited had less than high school education. Six ministers out of 80 were graduates of a Seminary. This is the place to begin, Dr. Richardson concludes, if the Negro rural church is to be improved.

The author now is giving all his time to setting up Rural Church Departments in Seminaries and Colleges. During the past two years he has inaugurated 11 such departments with the help of the Home Missions Council and Phelps Stokes Fund and has employed 19 new instructors for this new program.

RALPH A. FELTON

Drew University.

Youth After Conflict. By Goodwin Watson. New York: Association Press, 1947. Pp. xv + 300. \$4.00.

Youth After Conflict presents seventy predictions about youth's world in the 1950's which merit study by educators, youth leaders, and parents. In fact, the book will in-

terest all thoughtful adults and youth who will share that world of the 50's.

The predictions represent a synthesis of Dr. Watson's own judgment with data collected from: (1) 100 selected "sages" (social scientists, educators, youth leaders, philosophers, etc.) who were asked: "What factors do you see on the horizon . . . which are likely to have an impact on youth in the 1950's?"; (2) a study by Hadley Cantril of Princeton University who asked 72 selected persons ". . . what sort of political, social, and economical changes we might expect in the next ten years?"; (3) discussions with groups of high school boys and girls who were asked how they thought their world of the 1950's would differ from the prewar world.

In the introduction, Dr. Kilpatrick makes this observation: "The final conclusion seems to support Dr. Watson's judgment that the war as such will have no great effect on youth who enter college and life from now on. Leaders of youth, therefore, need to consider the deep currents of social change to which Dr. Watson wisely directs attention."

For the thoughtful reader these predictions stimulate questions such as these: What kind of educational experiences should children be having to prepare them for responsible living in the 1950's?; What lines of communication can best be used to help more people see the handwriting on the wall?; Will redoubled efforts enable us to help the tide before it is too late, as for example, in the forecast of future world conflict?

Readers might toss aside these predictions as being the opinions of only a handful of persons, were it not for these factors: (1) The earlier sections of the book analyze developments among youth after the Civil War, and World War I. From the data presented it becomes obvious that the significant influences of these periods were discernible prior to the wars; (2) The study of the 1920's as presented in the chapter on "The Flowering of Modernism" reveals that the major characteristics had their beginnings before World War I; (3) It, therefore, seems reasonable to assume that keen observ-

ers might identify developments which will affect youth in the 1950's.

Furthermore the predictions seem credible because to many people they are not new ideas. Many represent goals toward which we are striving; others are forewarnings of obstacles to social progress which we seek to avoid.

Youth After Conflict gives those who work with youth a perspective view in planning services. It helps us to look ahead analytically, rather than to stumble forward blindly. This makes the book worth reading.

Only time will enable the reader to say whether the predictions are true or false for the 1950's. However, Dr. Watson adds a cautious note in the seventieth prediction which he states is "a guarantee that life never will be dull: The unexpected will happen."

BERNICE BRIDGES

Director, Youth Division
National Social Welfare Assembly.

Social Control. By Joseph S. Roucek and Associates. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 584.

Social control as an academic field is coming of age. Another text has been added to the ones already available. "Designed to serve as an introductory text for the growing number of courses in Social Control in our higher institutions of learning," *Social Control* by Roucek and associates "aims to fill the definite need of bringing to the student and layman a wealth of knowledge that has been accumulating through the work of many scattered experts, but all bearing upon the central theme—Social Control."

By and large the volume serves its purpose adequately. Some of the chapters present rather commonplace ideas and facts as basic data, little if any of the materials will tax the ability of the average college sophomore, and a wide range of topics is treated in the thirty chapters of the volume. In several of the chapters the connection between the development of the topic and the central theme of social control is rather

tenuous, which probably is to be expected considering the relative recency of systematic thinking in the field. One gathers the impression, too, that the volume was a war casualty, a number of chapters giving evidence of having been completed before 1944. Other chapters, however, are down-to-date with references to post-war developments. Indeed, the final chapter on "Social Control and the Atomic Bomb" resembles more a historian's than a sociologist's development of the topic.

Social control is defined as "a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages and life-values of groups. . . . In other words, social control takes place when a person is induced or forced to act according to the wishes of others, whether or not in accordance with his own individual interests."

Despite the fact that the volume is the effort of twenty-seven contributors, the essential definition and aim are consistently maintained. An excellent job of editing has been done in keeping the materials well integrated, and the publishers have cooperated by minimizing the names of contributors, listing them only on an introductory page. All chapters, of course, are not of equal quality.

The outline is basically sound. Proceeding from the "Foundations of Social Control," Part II deals with "Institutions as Elements of Social Control," Part III with "Means and Techniques of Social Control," Part IV with "Social Control and Public Opinion," and Part V with "Contemporary Problems of Social Control." One might quarrel over the inclusion of chapters on "Economic Control" and "Economic and Social Planning" under means of control rather than under institutions as elements of control.

An annotated bibliography of books, a bibliography of periodical references, questions for review and discussion, and suggested topics for term papers and further research are features to interest the busy or the lazy instructor. Memo to rural sociol-

ogists: neither "rural" nor "farm" is listed in the index.

CARL F. REUSS

Capital University.

Social Science Principles in the Light of Scientific Method. By Joseph Mayer. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. xxii + 564. \$5.00.

This is a double work, one an examination of the general postulates of social science and the other of current economic theory. The first, method, is used as a tool for examination of the second, economic theory; and the second, theory, is used as a "field demonstration" to test the series of hypotheses raised in the earlier part on scientific method. Together they make a good book. Obviously social science method is of no use to an investigator if he cannot thereby understand more of the problems of value, exchange, business cycles and wealth. And the changing economic conceptions are such that a fixed interpretation of the system at one time is of little value to a scholar unless he possesses the tools to re-evaluate such interpretations. Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes were both economists but an understanding of one does not guarantee an understanding of the other.

Of main immediate interest to most sociologists will be the analysis of social science method discussed mostly in Chapters I-VII and XXV. Here the main issue centers about the question of differences between the natural and the social sciences. A large school of existing thought considers the method or methods of natural science as being the only scientific approach. Consequently to them very little in the social sciences is "scientific." On the part of the natural sciences this has led to the failure to recognize the "social sciences" as shown by restricted memberships in several important academies, associations and prestige directories. Further, many natural scientists, sensing the failure of the society to absorb the recent drastic changes in natural sciences without becoming confused, now suggest blandly that they move into the

social science fields and "straighten things out." "Playing social science" has become a sort of hobby by many distinguished natural scientists. In the social science field this belief in only one pathway to God's door has not only resulted in the inferiority complexes in some cases but also has brought about an effusion of "strict" and unworkable methodologies (often by noncreative social scientists personnel) and a good deal of methodological obscurantism otherwise. This "inferiority methodological obscurantism" now dominates about two-thirds of sociology.

Sensing this, Mayer seeks to understand the differences between the two broad fields and, although dimly and haltingly, seems to have the answer. Social systems, object of social science study, are, at least partly, man-made. Consequently any approach to a careful study of them must reckon not only with things but with "artificial" creations, and with rational systems of thought and values. As a result, social science must not only use the methods of natural science but will also have to interlard these with methods almost purely consonant with social behavior alone. The emphasis, reaffirmation and implementation of this idea by Mayer is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the most valuable part of the book. It alone justifies its publication, reading and its use as a text in advanced courses in methodology for the social sciences.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

Harvard University.

Marriage and the Family. By Meyer F. Nimkoff. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. Pp. xx + 750. \$5.00.

In this addition to the growing bookshelf on the family, Dr. Nimkoff has attempted to provide a combination of the traditional course on the family and the newer course on marriage. He offers it as an entirely new book, although first planned as a revision of his earlier text, *The Family*.

The new title indicates the direction in which major changes were made. The first two sections of the work deal with institutional aspects of the family with particular

emphasis on patterns of organization as influenced by technology. The last two sections deal with "Marriage and Personality" and "The Family and Social Change."

A second major difference between the two books lies in the statements of the purposes of education for family living. The earlier work placed an emphasis on prevention of family failure. The new volume closes with the more positive point of view of helping young people to gain insight, to establish families which function harmoniously. Rules for marital success are avoided. Appropriate caution is given with the prediction schedules. Use of charts, pictographs, and illustrations has improved the presentation of statistical data.

The problems of marriage and family living are not consistently discussed in terms of relationships and personality adjustment. For example, in a marriage and family living course how differences in family incomes affect relationships within and between families may be a more pertinent question than how they affect standards of living.

The author points out the importance to the individual of having a great number of "satisfying human relationships." But he does not challenge the student or the teacher to be concerned with promoting such relationships on the college campus or to a co-operative evaluation of relationships in the campus-community life. Clues to a curriculum of experiences in relationships could well replace some of the discussion questions and report topics suggested.

Dr. Nimkoff makes much of the importance of achieving happiness. This has been questioned as a major goal of marriage in that it tends to make the point of reference oneself. Should not the concern of each individual rather be with the growth of all personalities involved in any relationship? Likewise open to question are the uses of "wholesome" as applied to children or personality, the emphasis on romance, the discussion of conflict and its solution, and the limited content of democracy.

The book will be a useful reference for both students and teachers. It will be usable

as a text provided that the course does not become stranded in formal lectures about background material; never to reach those sections where discussion and other group activity can provide meaningful experiences in learning.

WILLIAM M. SMITH, JR.

The Pennsylvania State College.

The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations, Bulletin 57. By Robin M. Williams, Jr. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. Pp. xi + 153. \$1.75.

This valuable report covers a wide range of research on racial, ethnic and religious group tensions in the United States. The assumptions and techniques of organizations seeking to reduce intergroup tensions are examined and appraised in the light of research knowledge. From the study of contemporary research there are derived over one hundred propositions bearing upon the problem of intergroup tensions and their reduction. On the basis of his study of both research and action programs, Professor Williams is able to develop an integrated set of most stimulating research problems. He concludes with a discussion of research techniques adapted to the field and appends a selected bibliography of 223 titles.

This study represents a most basic and constructive step for the integration of action programs with research knowledge and also for the integration of research activities themselves. The critical inadequacy of scientific principles, upon which rational programs may be built, is carefully and constructively detailed. One is impressed not so much with the inherent difficulty of achieving adequate scientific foundations but rather with the simple fact of paucity of research studies and their disjointed relationship both to each other and to the strategic problems.

The propositions drawn from extensive study of research offer succinct statements of known principles, hypotheses and educated guesses on the roots of intergroup hostility and the techniques of its reduction.

Professor Williams seems well aware of their wide range of validity and meaningfulness. The proposed program for research would, if utilized, assure much more efficient use of the energies and monies expended in this field. One might wish he had spelled out more thoroughly the needs for internal studies of minority groups, their cultures, organization and processes.

As a seeker after scientific generalizations *apropos* intergroup hostility, Professor Williams has given himself a limited range of inquiry only partially imposed by availability of materials. Thus the studies he has consulted are mainly contemporary researches in the United States. Insights in historical researches, European studies, and even some, especially older, American studies are not systematically covered as such. This probably arises partly through recurrent topical emphasis on current U. S. minority problems, but it undoubtedly means that many "propositions" are situationally unique in some unknown degree. The scope of the report is thus narrower than its title and its narrowing is upon practical rather than upon logical and scientifically defensible grounds.

This criticism is essentially an expression of regret that Professor Williams could not cover a broader research base. As it is, he has covered an immense amount of literature in an intelligent and systematic fashion and has produced a work of real importance for the development of this phase of social science both pure and applied.

BYRCE RYAN

Rutgers University.

Censo Nacional de Poblacion de 1940, Vol. II. Lima, Peru: Direccion Nacional de Estadistica, 1940. Pp. 121.

Boletin de Estadistica Peruana, Ano VII, No. 2. Lima, Peru: Direccion Nacional de Estadistica, 1947. Pp. 48.

Anuario Estadistico Del Peru, 1944-1945. Lima, Peru: Direccion Nacional de Estadistica, 1947. Pp. 763.

These three publications exemplify the phenomenal improvement that has taken place in the quantity and quality of statis-

tical publications in many parts of Latin America during the last two decades. The 1940 Census of Peru, planned and executed under the brilliant leadership of Alberto Arca Parro, is a work of which any country might be proud. In a nation beset with so many physical and cultural obstacles, one in which the last preceding Census was taken in 1876, it represents a magnificent accomplishment. The new statistical *Anuario* and the latest number of the *Boletín* are additional evidences of the modern mentality at work in Peru's statistical services.

The second volume of the Population Census gives detailed information for three of the *Departamentos* or states which lie in Northern Peru on the Ecuadorian border, namely Tumbes, Piura, and Cajamarca. Forthcoming volumes will present comparable data for other groups of *Departamentos* and Volume I gave summary data for the Nation as a whole.

In Volume II are given for each of the three *departamentos* brief background materials and 34 statistical tables presenting the results of the Census enumeration. Tabulations include classifications of the population by rural and urban residence, according to the altitude of their homes above sea level, and by age in single years for each of the sexes. Marital status of the population 15 years of age and over, race, language spoken, educational status, detailed information on the fertility of women, occupation, place of birth, physical defects, size of the family, and foreign nationality groups are other aspects of demography about which detailed tables are presented.

Rural sociologists will be particularly interested in Table 34 which gives the name of every population center in the *Departamento*, its classification, and the number of families and inhabitants residing in it. Careful study of this information will aid in clarifying many obscure aspects of rural social organization in Peru.

The 1944-1945 issue of the statistical yearbook is a mine of current information, prepared according to strictly modern standards. In it on most subjects the student will find information comparable to

that in our own annual compilation. The *Boletín de Estadística Peruana* does much to keep this information up to date.

T. LYNN SMITH

Vanderbilt University.

Color and Conscience. By Buell G. Gallagher. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. ix + 244. \$2.50.

Following Myrdal in viewing the race problem as essentially that of a "moral dilemma," Gallagher, who is Professor of Christian Ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, makes a rather devastating attack upon the racial arrogance of white America. Although the author claims the writing was not done "in the accusative mood," the reader will probably feel both judged and exhorted. Perhaps that is the way it should be; maybe America's immediate and most pressing need in this regard is for ethical orientation and motivation, more than for information alone. *Color and Conscience* adds little new factual information; but, staying close to the facts, it does tend to disturb the Christian Conscience.

With pleasing diction and convincing logic, the author of this little book brings the major issues of Negro-white relations to a clear focus, exposing the stereotypes and fallacies found in our traditional ways of dealing with race, pointing out dangers imminent in the situation as it stands, and suggesting solutions. Chapter titles reveal something of both style and content: Dimensions, Despair, Defection, Defiance, Deception, Delineation, Decline, Deliverance, Decision, Declaration, and Deeds. Among Christian peoples the gap between profession and practice with regard to the race problem has been ever widening, producing a dilemma of conscience and a crisis in culture. "Historians of the future will look back upon this generation and record that the social tensions of racism with conscience became too great, and that Americans moved, for the second time within a century, toward an irrepressible conflict." Gallagher shows that the identification of white supremacy with Christianity was an unfortunate development in history, never intended

by Christ, and that it has resulted in uneasy compromises with conscience. He believes that the only way the Christian conscience can now be eased and open conflict be averted is by moving honestly and courageously in the direction of real racial equality, where verbal resolutions are activated into a brotherhood of deeds. This integrationist position, as Gallagher calls it, does not require amalgamation, but will permit it; it will require a widespread cultural assimilation, with neither restrictions nor advantages coming from color or the lack of it.

The book deserves attention. It is a distinct contribution to the literature of color caste.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN
DWIGHT W. CULVER

Purdue University.

Principles and Practice of Social Work. By Helen I. Clark. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xiv + 450. \$3.50.

This book is designed to give an over-all exposition of the field of social work, for the particular use of undergraduate students who are interested in the profession of social work. It admirably serves this purpose and thus becomes a valuable addition to the literature available to undergraduate students taking introductory social work courses, such as "The Field of Social Work" or "Social Work Methods." Social science and social work instructors will find it a useful reference to use with students who approach them for information about the areas and opportunities for service existing in the field of social work.

Professor Clark has written with such clarity and simplicity that the lay citizen can use the book to inform himself comprehensively about the field, a service that most social work writings do not render. The reviewer recently surveyed the literature in response to the request of two foreign social workers for recommendation of the one book that could tell them simply and validly about American social work and found that Professor Clark's book most nearly met the need. Perhaps it will serve

the rising international social work movement in ways such as that.

The writer has divided her book into two parts: the first deals with the methods of social work, such as social case work, group work, community organization. This part is introduced by a chapter entitled "What is Social Work?" in which Professor Clark makes her contribution to the definition and delimitation of the social work profession. She differs from those scholars who rather laboriously and rigidly define social work as a social institution. She gives it a broader interpretation as an organic set of activities for the purpose of securing resources and improving those in existence for the social welfare of individuals. In the second part of the book the author describes the services and facilities in which social work is practiced, such as services for economic security, services for juvenile and adult offenders, services and resources in the field of health and medical care, etc. The sections in both parts are based on balanced selections of significant literature and developments in the field of social work. Excellent problems and a bibliography are found at the end of each chapter and a usable author-subject index is included at the end of the book.

HOWELL V. WILLIAMS
University of Louisville.

Social Work Year Book 1947. Edited by Russell H. Kurtz. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. Pp. 714. \$3.50.

This is a superior publication as are other social work publications of the Russell Sage Foundation. It is a "must" book for all social workers who would keep up with their field. It should be available to all sociologists and others interested in the social science field.

The book is divided into two parts. Part One contains a series of seventy-nine articles on leading social welfare problems in the nation today, written and signed by a leading authority in the particular field of discussion. Such lively topics as personnel standards in social work, veterans benefits and services, volunteers in social work, old-age and survivors insurance, medical social

work, public relations and education in social welfare, research and statistics in social work, rural social programs, interracial and intercultural activities, labor and social work, labor standards, employment planning, foreign relief and rehabilitation, housing and city planning, juvenile and domestic relations courts, child labor and youth employment, consumer protection, education for social work, foundations and community trusts, guidance and counseling, adult education, etc. Three topics of international character are discussed: Canadian social work, foreign relief and rehabilitation, and international social work. In most instances the articles are written so a lay person can understand them. The book should be of value to lay adult educational groups interested in getting a broad view of the problems and field of social work. It also affords good source material for student projects, reports and collateral reading in sociology and rural sociology.

Part Two is a directory of national and international agencies of a social welfare. This is reference material of inestimable value to those interested in checking on the status or program of various agencies functioning in this country. It is of greater value to check and find that certain agencies are not listed in this directory. Because of many solicitations by many agencies through the mails and directly to business men, business men might well keep a copy of this directory for reference in regard to these agencies seeking funds.

DANIEL RUSSELL

Texas Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

The American Farmer. By Lee Fryer. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. x + 172. \$3.00.

In these days of fabulous food prices it is not easy to feel sorry for the American farmer. Yet, according to Lee Fryer, the lot of the farmer is not an enviable one. He receives only a fraction of the income that should accrue to him. He is forced by the peculiar organization of his economy to buy at retail and sell at wholesale prices. His

tenure is at all times shaky and dependent upon conditions beyond his control. He and his family often live in poor houses without modern conveniences and many are denied adequate community facilities such as schools, medical services, libraries and recreational centers.

Moreover, Mr. Fryer contends the immediate future is even more dismal. He warns that within five years there will occur simultaneously an Industrial Revolution and a Great Depression, both in agriculture. The war and subsequent inflation have not postponed this crisis. To the contrary, technological advance and change in the structure of agriculture were accelerated by the war and in turn have hastened the arrival of disaster.

It would be unfair to say that Fryer's message is one of doom. He believes that farm incomes can be raised, the tenure of farmers made secure, and the lives of farm families enriched. And these things can be accomplished within the framework of family-sized farms. The author sets forth "A Charter for Reconstruction of Rural Life in the United States" but he insists that "The task of rebuilding American farm life is primarily a community job." The future of rural life in this country depends upon the capacity of farm people to organize and take responsible action.

Lee Fryer in *The American Farmer* makes census data, research reports and public documents live and breathe. And when they come to life on his pages they have a story to tell, an image to create or an emotion to arouse. The illustrations by Lloyd Hoff are excellent and add much to the effectiveness of the presentation.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

The University of Connecticut.

Countryman's Companion. Collected and Arranged by David B. Greenberg. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1947. Pp. xviii + 412. \$3.00.

Countryman's Companion is an anthology on country living collected by one who believes farming is the most rewarding occupation on earth. The selections are de-

terminated by their bearing upon "the actual business of wresting a living from the land."

The materials are divided into four general categories: "The Husbandman," "The Drama of Nature," "Country Living as an Art," and "Farming as a Practical Way of Life." The roster of agricultural writers which the book introduces through interpretive articles or direct quotation is impressive. Writers of antiquity include Hesiod, Xenophon, Cato, Varro and Virgil. Robert Frost contributes "The Cow in Apple Time," Don West "Eighty Acres in Arkansas" and Homer Croy "Country Cured." There are quotations from Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, Henry David Thoreau, John Burroughs, G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, David Grayson and many others.

The subjects, seeds, land, erosion, earth worms, plant breeding, mowing, sheep, lambing, etc., are of timeless interest. Most of the writings are tested by time and have a literary merit. The collection has the quality of permanency. It is a good companion, not only to the countryman but to anyone who appreciates the things of the country.

MARK RICH

Baptist Mission Society.

Current Trends in Psychology. By Wayne Dennis, B. F. Skinner, Robert R. Sears, E. Lowell Kelly, Carl Rogers, John C. Flanagan, Clifford T. Morgan and Rensis Likert. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1947. Pp. vii + 225. \$3.50.

This book contains eight lectures given in the Department of Psychology of the University of Pittsburgh in 1947. They are on psychology as a profession (Dennis), experimental (Skinner), child (Sears), clinical (E. L. Kelly), and personnel psychology (Flanagan), psycho-therapy (Rogers), and human engineering (C. T. Morgan). The lecture which will be of most interest to social scientists is by Rensis Likert on the sample interview survey. It is accompanied by a bibliography of 41 items on sampling techniques. The lecture on clinical psychology is mostly concerned with the training of clinicians. Rogers' contribution under-

takes to show that the ideas of various groups of psychologists and even psychoanalysts are converging toward client-centered or non-directive psycho-therapy. Flanagan presents a twenty-year plan for the development of personnel psychology. Sears takes stock of recent developments in child psychology, and Morgan surveys a wide field of work on the design of instruments and machines, methods of work, methods of training and selection of workers, and related problems.

FRANK A. PATTIE

University of Kentucky.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Hospital Care in the United States. By the Commission on Hospital Care. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1947. Pp. xxiv + 631. \$4.50.

County Government in Virginia. By Albert Ogden Porter. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. 356. \$2.50.

Postwar Problems of Migration. Papers presented at the Round Table on Population Problems, 1946 Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund. October 29-30, 1946. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947. Pp. 173. \$1.00.

Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1946. By John M. Glenn, Lilian Brandt and F. Emerson Andrews. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. Volumes I-II. \$5.00.

Negro Year Book. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, Editor; Vera Chandler Foster and W. Hardin Hughes, Associate Editors. Alabama: The Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute. Pp. xv + 708. \$4.50.

Sequential Analysis. By Abraham Wald. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947. Pp. xii + 212. \$4.00.

Rural Parish. By Anna Laura Gebhard. New York: Abingdon-Cokesburg Press, 1947. Pp. 121. \$1.50.

The Place of Psychology in an Ideal University. The Report of the University Commission to Advise on the Future of Psychology at Harvard. Cambridge:

- Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. x + 42. \$1.50.
- Blue Cross and Medical Service Plans.* By Louis S. Reed. Washington, D. C.: Federal Security Agency, U. S. Public Health Service, 1947. Pp. vii + 323.
- Boletín de Estadística Peruana*, Año VII, No. 1. Lima, Peru: Dirección Nacional de Estadística, 1946. Pp. 47.
- La Vida Y Las Creencias De Los Indígenas Quiches De Guatemala.* By Dr. Leonard Schultze Jena. Guatemala, C. A.: Publicaciones Especiales Del Instituto Indigenista Nacional, No. 1. Pp. 85.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland B. Tate

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1948

President: Charles P. Loomis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan

Vice-President: Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Secretary-Treasurer: Leland B. Tate, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia, acting until successor appointed

Executive Committee Members:

Carle C. Zimmerman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Robin M. Williams, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Committee on Teaching:

C. E. Lively, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

Judson Landis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan

Harold T. Christensen, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

Committee on Research:

C. P. Loomis, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan

W. H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Olen E. Leonard, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Committee on Extension:

Nat T. Frame, Inwood, West Virginia

Gordon W. Blackwell, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

R. W. Roskelley, Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah

Editorial Board:

George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Rupert Vance, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Rockwell C. Smith, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois

C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina, State College, Raleigh, North Carolina

Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Managing Editor of the Journal, Rural

Sociology: C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina

Official Representative in the American Sociological Society: Edmund deS. Brunner, Columbia University, New York, New York

Election Results.—Charles P. Loomis of Michigan State College has been elected President of the Rural Sociological Society for 1948.

Other newly elected officers and officials are:

Gordon W. Blackwell, Vice-President

Robin M. Williams, Executive Committeeman

Harold T. Christensen, Teaching Committeeman

Olen E. Leonard, Research Committeeman

R. W. Roskelley, Extension Committeeman
Howard W. Beers, Member, Board of Editors

The full roster of officers and committees follows, with the chairman of each standing committee placed first in the list of members.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1947

<i>Balance on deposit, Dec. 5, 1946</i>	\$ 280.91
<i>Receipts</i>	
(1) From membership dues and contributions	1367.25
(2) From the American Sociological Society as part of 1946 registration fees	30.00
(3) From Manager of the Journal, <i>Rural Sociology</i> , as 1947 fund from sales of back issues	34.80
(4) From annual meeting Recreation Committee, as balance of unused contributions	10.90
Total balance and receipts	\$1723.86
<i>Expenditures</i>	
Subscriptions to the Journal, <i>Rural Sociology</i> , 1947 (78 @ \$2.00) (344 @ \$2.50)	\$1016.00
Late 1946 subscriptions (3 @ \$2.50)	7.50
Postage and supplies	69.11
Printing	13.00
Conference room for Chicago meeting, 1946	30.00
Clerical assistance	7.80
Insurance on back issues of journal	6.60
Bank deduction for returned check	2.00
Bank service charge	0.51
Total expenditures	\$1152.52
<i>Balance on deposit, December 15, 1947</i>	\$ 571.34

Note: Records of the Secretary-Treasurer and the National Bank of Blacksburg show the same cash balance, but figures as a whole are subject to correction and auditing.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE JOURNAL, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* 1947

By the Managing Editor

	<i>Receipts</i>	
Cash on Hand, January 1, 1947	\$ 2,379.77	
From R. S. S. on 1947 Business	1,023.50	
General Subscriptions and Sales	1,723.16 ¹	
Reprint Sales to Authors	261.97	
Sale of Back Numbers for the Society	43.50	
Advertising	45.00	
Subsidy from N. C. State College	250.00	
Total Income	\$ 5,726.90	
	<i>Expenditures</i>	
Printing <i>Journal</i>	\$ 1,697.62 ²	
Reprints	359.39	
Postage and Other Communications	119.50	
Stationery and Advertising	120.40	
Supplies and Equipment	8.22	
Travel	176.28	
Drayage	1.20	
Binding <i>Journal</i> Copies	5.85	
Educational Press Association Membership	10.00	
Refunds (Subscriptions, Youngblood, Vucinich)	13.80	
To Society on Memberships	13.00	
To Society for Sale of Back Numbers	34.80	
Labor	6.00	
Total Expenditures	\$2,566.06	
Total Income	\$ 5,726.90	
Total Expenditures	2,566.06	
Cash on Hand, December 20, 1947	\$ 3,160.84	

¹ Includes \$610 advance subscriptions.

² Next year our printing costs will exceed \$600 an issue.

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OFFICERS PRIOR TO 1948

Year	President	Vice-President	Secretary-Treasurer
1938	Dwight Sanderson	J. H. Kolb	T. Lynn Smith
1939	Carl C. Taylor	Raymond C. Smith	T. Lynn Smith
1940	J. H. Kolb	Charles E. Lively	T. Lynn Smith
1941	T. Lynn Smith	Edmund deS. Brunner	Robert A. Polson
1942-43	Charles E. Lively	Paul H. Landis	Robert A. Polson
1944	Lowry Nelson	W. A. Anderson	Robert A. Polson
1945	Edmund deS. Brunner	O. D. Duncan	Leland B. Tate
1946	Paul H. Landis	Robert A. Polson	Leland B. Tate
1947	W. A. Anderson	Howard W. Beers	Leland B. Tate

STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN PRIOR TO 1948

Year	Teaching Committee Chairman	Research Committee Chairman	Extension Committee Chairman
1938	Wilson Gee	C. Horace Hamilton	J. B. Schmidt
1939	O. D. Duncan	Harold Dorn	Mary E. Duthie
1940	C. R. Hoffer	Nathan Whetten	Theo. Vaughan
1941	J. L. Hypes	Geo. W. Hill	A. F. Wileden
1942-43	Paul H. Landis	Harold C. Hoffsommer	B. L. Hummel
1944	O. D. Duncan	Raymond Mangus	D. E. Lindstrom
1945	E. D. Tetreau	Gordon Blackwell	R. W. Kerns
1946	C. G. Gomillion	Robin Williams	Douglas Ensminger
1947	Judson Landis	T. Lynn Smith	W. H. Stacy

Compiled from back issues of *Rural Sociology* and records of the Rural Sociological Society.

EDITORS AND ASSOCIATE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL, RURAL SOCIOLOGY, PRIOR TO 1948

Year	Editor of Journal	Managing Editor	Associates
1936	Lowry Nelson	T. Lynn Smith	Kolb, Lively Sanderson, Zimmerman
1937	Lowry Nelson	T. Lynn Smith	Kolb, Lively Sanderson, Zimmerman
1938	Lowry Nelson	T. Lynn Smith	Kolb, Lively Sanderson, Zimmerman
1939	Lowry Nelson	T. Lynn Smith	Kolb, Lively Loomis, Zimmerman
1940	Lowry Nelson	T. Lynn Smith	Kolb, Lively Loomis, Zimmerman

1941	Carle C. Zimmerman	C. Horace Hamilton	Lively, Nelson Loomis, Woofter
1942	Carle C. Zimmerman	C. Horace Hamilton	Loomis, Nelson Woofter, Sanderson
1943	Charles P. Loomis	C. Horace Hamilton	Zimmerman, Nelson Woofter, Sanderson
1944	Charles P. Loomis	C. Horace Hamilton	Hill, Nelson Woofter, Sanderson
1945	Charles P. Loomis	C. Horace Hamilton	Hill, Nelson Woofter
1946	Charles P. Loomis	C. Horace Hamilton	Hill, Woofter Vance, Smith
1947	Charles P. Loomis	C. Horace Hamilton	Hill, Vance Smith, Hamilton

Compiled from back issues of *Rural Sociology* and records of the Rural Sociological Society.

Cornell University has announced the receipt of a grant of \$180,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to investigate the impact of modern agriculture, science, and industry on such areas as the Far East, India and Latin-America.

President Edmond E. Day said the fund will be used in a program of research and instruction in which cultural anthropologists and other scientists will study contemporary social problems in connection with technological change. Findings will be used at Cornell in special training courses to prepare interested American and foreign students for work in these regions.

"The program," Mr. Day said, "will attempt to link the work of Cornell's anthropologists with that of its scientists in agriculture, engineering and health who have long been concerned with problems of human welfare in foreign countries.

"The closer political, economic and social relations of the peoples of the world give great urgency to our responsibility for understanding the impact of technological advances in countries other than our own."

The Carnegie grant will be used over a five-year period to augment the staff in cultural anthropology, supplement library and research materials, provide a number of graduate fellowships and support related research and publications by members of the various Cornell departments.

Florida State University. The recent legislature made the Florida State College for Women coeducational and changed its name to the Florida State University. This is an interesting development as it marks the first time in American higher education that a leading institution for women was made coeducational. The prevailing pattern has been the reverse.

The separation of the Department of Social Work and the Department of Sociology was made effective with the academic year 1947-48. Sociology remains in the College of Arts and Sciences while Social Work has been placed in the recently created Division of Applied Social Sciences.

Several staff changes have occurred in the Department of Social Work. Professor Lester S. Pearl is on leave of absence. He is taking further graduate work at the University of North Carolina and teaching a course in Marriage Professor Edwin Hartz, formerly a research fellow at Duke University, was added to the staff September 1. Professor J. Benjamin Beyrer who recently took his Master's Degree in Social Work at the University of Chicago joined the staff July 1. Professor Frederick J. Hicks who holds degrees from the University of Pittsburgh and the University of Southern California came here last spring.

In the Department of Sociology a completely new staff was secured with the ex-

ception of the chairman. Dr. Coyle E. Moore and Professor Lester S. Pearl went with the Department of Social Work, Dr. Moore becoming the head of the department and Director of the Division of Applied Social Sciences.

Dr. Melvin J. Williams and Dr. Marcus W. Collins were appointed as associate professors. Dr. Williams has his degree from Duke University and was secured from Wesleyan College, and Dr. Collins took his degree at Harvard and came by way of Pennsylvania College for Women and St. Louis University. Mr. Milton Charles was made assistant professor. Mr. Charles has his master's degree from the University of California and has done additional work at Minnesota. Miss Lois Goldman and Mr. Hugh Edgar Murphy were appointed as instructors. Miss Goldman has a master's degree from Columbia and Mr. Murphy has a degree from the divinity school of Duke University and has also studied law.

University of Kentucky. A Department of Rural Sociology in the College of Agriculture and Home Economics was formed on January 1 from the Rural Sociology Section set up in 1939 in the Department of Farm Economics. Members of the staff of the new department are: Howard W. Beers (Head), Harold F. Kaufman, James S. Brown, Ralph J. Ramsey, Virlyn Boyd, Marie Mason, and Sybil Hutton. The curriculum in Rural Sociology has been expanded by the addition of new courses, and the elementary course in Rural Sociology has been made a requirement for students in the College of Agriculture and Home Economics.

The Departments of Sociology (College of Arts and Sciences) and Rural Sociology (College of Agriculture and Home Economics) have been instructed by the University's administration to operate as a unit in the conduct of graduate work. Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Head of the Department of Sociology, has been named Chairman of Graduate Study in Sociology.

At the request of the University administration the Social Research Consultation Service, an arm of the Department of So-

ciology, is preparing a report on opportunities in Kentucky for the location of displaced persons from Europe. The research facilities of the Sociology Department and the Rural Sociology Department are jointly involved in this enterprise.

Dr. C. Arnold Anderson is cooperating with the Bureau of School Service in the College of Education in a study of relationships between school and community at Barbourville, Kentucky. Graduate students have conducted a public opinion poll as part of this survey.

Dr. Irwin T. Sanders is preparing a bulletin on *Community Life in Kentucky* to be one of the series of special reports undertaken by the Committee for Kentucky in the course of its celebrated program to "Wake Up Kentucky."

Dr. Harold F. Kaufman has completed the manuscript for a booklet entitled *The Town and Country Church serving its Community*, currently being printed by the Department of Church Development and Evangelism, Disciples of Christ.

University of Louisville. Dr. John W. Taylor, President, has announced that the University will be the first in the country to offer an organized course of instruction in Rural Recreation. Plans to establish the course are an outcome of the reorganization of the Health and Physical Education Department at the University, engineered by John Heldman, Acting Director of Athletics and Physical Education. Professor Heldman said, "The course will be based upon the Rural Recreation Program conceived and put into practice by Jefferson (Ky.) County Playground and Recreation Board. This program has received wide national attention and we feel that we should be in a position to make available graduate instructors to communities who have expressed a desire to install the program as a part of their civic activities."

The course will be taught at the University of Louisville by Mr. Charles Vettiner, Director of Recreation for Jefferson County. Members of the National Playground Recreation Association have asked Mr. Vettiner

to address their groups and to outline the program initiated in Jefferson County. Among the cities interested in the plan are Duluth, Minnesota and Indianapolis, Indiana, in which cities Mr. Vettiner has already lectured. Mr. Vettiner stated:

"The Jefferson County Rural Recreation Program was originally designed to make available to small towns and villages a concerted recreation plan in which entire communities could participate. The program met with immediate success in the County and today there are in Jefferson County 26 full-time recreation centers in operation. The program, however, is flexible enough so that it can be applied to larger communities with equal success. At the recent National Recreation Congress, the Jefferson County Plan was entered in the minutes of that organization and I was closely questioned about the plan by representatives from just about every state in the nation. There is widespread interest in rural recreation. That interest is growing rapidly, and I think the University of Louisville is wise in offering a course of instruction that will supply trained instructors to interested communities. I am sure other educational institutions will follow the University's lead and include a similar course in their curricula."

Michigan State College (Social Research Service). As an outgrowth of the activities of the Joint Committee of the American Library Association and the Rural Sociological Society, a one day Workshop was held in Chicago, Wednesday, January 28th at the Edgewater Beach Hotel. The objectives of the Workshop were:

First, to permit an exchange of ideas and experiences between representatives of state library agencies and rural sociologists with regard to cooperative research activities designed to improve rural library services.

Second, to assist in the development of close cooperative relationships between state library officials and rural sociologists.

Third, in states or areas where cooperative relationships do not now exist, to inform state library officials of the types of assistance which can be rendered by rural

sociologists and to inform rural sociologists of the types of needs and research possibilities represented by the rural library programs now underway or being contemplated.

One of the circumstances which prompted both the creation of the Joint Committee and the Workshop was the fact that federal legislation has been considered, favorably acted upon by the Senate Committee, and passed by the Senate, but not yet enacted into law, which would provide funds to states for the development of demonstration library programs, especially in rural areas. Such legislation would also provide funds for intensive research to evaluate the effectiveness of the demonstration library programs. These funds would be provided in part on an outright grant basis, and in part on a state-matching basis, over a period of five years. Although there is no certainty of the passage of this legislation during the current session of Congress, the possibility of such a development underscores the desirability of strengthening the ties between those responsible for administering such action programs in rural areas and those in a position to develop appropriate research programs.

University of Wisconsin. Twenty-two rural sociology majors are studying for graduate degrees at Wisconsin and sixteen are currently in residence. Of those in residence, six are serving as research assistants. They include Margaret Bright, B.A., University of California and M.A., University of Missouri; LeRoy J. Day, B. A., University of Minnesota, M.A., University of Wisconsin and B.D., Colgate-Rochester Divinity School; Robert Endleman, B.A., University of Wisconsin; Harold A. Pedersen, B.A., New Mexico State College, M.A., Louisiana State; Woodrow W. Scott, B.S., Utah State Agricultural College; J. D. Tarver, B.S., Texas A & M; Wm. A. DeHart, B.S., Brigham Young University, and M.A., University of Minnesota is studying on a fellowship.

Dr Carl C. Tavlör, Chief of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. will be visiting professor of Rural Sociology during the coming summer session, June 28 to August 20. Dr. Taylor will offer two courses both of which will be open to advanced undergraduates and graduate students. The courses are: Rural Social Trends and Rural Cultural Regions.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Southern Sociological Society will hold its eleventh annual meeting at Knoxville, Tennessee on April 16-17th with headquarters at the Andrew Johnson Hotel. Section programs are as follows:

Sociology of the South, Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, Chairman
The Teaching of Sociology, W. B. Jones, Jr., University of Tennessee, Chairman

Social Work and Public Welfare, Laur. Smith Ebaugh, Furman University, Chairman

Problems of the South, Clarence E. Glick, Tulane University, Chairman

Research, C. Horace Hamilton, North Carolina State College, Chairman

Louisiana State University, Chairman
Marriage and the Family, Marion B. Smith, Round Table of Graduate Students, John O. Boynton, Duke University, Chairman

The Society is growing rapidly and has a membership of 289. The officers are: Clyde E. Moore, President, Florida State University; C. Horace Hamilton, First Vice-President, North Carolina State College; Laura Smith Ebaugh, Second Vice-President, Furman University; Morton B. King, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer, University of Mississippi; and H. C. Brearley, Representative to Executive Committee of American Sociological Society, Peabody College.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY



To

CHARLES JOSIAH GALPIN

Scholar, teacher and friend

Pioneer in rural sociology

Promoter of thought and research in rural life

Leader in the development of rural social science

This memorial issue is dedicated by his colleagues



CHARLES JOSIAH GALPIN

1864-1947

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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Galpin Undertakes the Study of Rural Life

By Henry C. Taylor†

Commencing his country life work as Headmaster of Union Academy, at Belleville, New York, Charles J. Galpin made of that opportunity much more than an ordinary job of teaching in the school room. He says of it, "The school I administered was the real nerve center of the farm community, . . . I was obliged to think and act on matters of community policy touching community behavior. It was here that I first learned about the potential scientific character of agriculture, and the importance to farmers and farming of a scientific point of view. So convinced was I of this truth that I took steps to establish in the Academy in the year 1901 a department of agriculture, the first in the United States in a school of the high school grade, so far as I have been able to learn."¹ Helping to build a rural community with unusual bonds of common purpose turned out to be preparation for his life career.

In the spring of 1911, Dean H. L. Russell, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin, had responded favorably to the suggestion that a person be added to the staff of the Department of Agricultural Economics who would devote his energies to research and teaching in the field

of country life. The chairman of the department was ready with an answer when the dean asked whom it should be. The answer was Charles J. Galpin.

Why was Galpin chosen for that position? It was not because there were no candidates in the ranks of graduate students in sociology who had an interest in rural life. Why, then, was a man 47 years of age, without formal training in sociology, selected? Did he suggest himself for the job? No, he did not think of himself in that capacity. He was chosen not just because he had shown an interest in rural life but because he had shown a spark of originality in his approach to the study of the subject. He had manifested the power to think. He could see the relations of things. He could see the significance of the commonplace. In his thinking he did not start with abstract or imaginary concepts and deduce conclusions from them. He started with elementary facts; he systematized the facts on the basis of known relations. He then viewed the facts in their original setting. In due course there came the flash and Galpin had a new idea.

It is easy to find people who can gather facts. It is easy to find people who can organize and tabulate facts in accordance with an established system. But persons who can plan fact-gathering and fact-organization

† Farm Foundation.

¹ Charles Josiah Galpin, *My Drift into Rural Sociology, Memoirs of Charles Josiah Galpin* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1938), p. 6.

in a manner to throw new light on an old subject are few and far between. Galpin was an explorer who, like the discoverers of the practical uses of irradiation and of penicillin, could grasp the significance of the unanticipated facts which intruded themselves into the picture when a working hypothesis was being tested.

The reader may say, "I recognize the truth of the above statements now that I look back upon Galpin's career, but how did the authorities at the University of Wisconsin know in advance that Galpin had those qualities?" That question can be answered by saying: We knew a few things that led us to believe in Galpin's potentialities. We knew of Galpin's purposeful interest in rural people. We knew of his scholarly approach to the subjects he studied. We knew of his persistence in accomplishing what he undertook. But we knew also that he had what is far more rare—a spark of originality. He "turned out" better than we could have anticipated.

As Chairman of the Department of Agricultural Economics, I was responsible for recommending a man to develop the country life work. I had been associated with Professor Ely for a dozen years. I had watched him select men for his faculty. I had noted that while he would consider only men of high purpose who knew how to concentrate their attention upon a subject and use scholarly methods in research, he sought men with one thing more—a spark of originality. He used to say that "an ounce of

originality is worth a pound of scholarship."

But how did we know Galpin had the ounce of originality as well as the pound of scholarship? That can, in some measure, be explained in terms of actual happenings. Through church connections I came to know and value Galpin as a "university pastor," in which capacity he served the Baptist Church of Madison for seven years. That was then something new at a state university. He said, "The job was so new I had to create the procedure."² As a member of his group meetings when his work was being planned, I noted that he did not seek old patterns to follow but sought, through group thinking, to develop a plan of work suited to the end in view. He swept the deck clean by saying that there was no pattern, but that we must study the needs and develop a pattern. In that way Galpin led his group to think, experiment, think again, and gradually work out an effective plan of work. In assisting with work on the church's finances Galpin showed great skill in recognizing the psychological and social aspects of the problem, as well as the business aspects.

In February 1910, interest in the social aspects of country life had been developed at the University of Wisconsin to the point where the thought of having a person in the College of Agriculture to work on the subject was being discussed in the inner circles. As a starting point in explor-

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

ing the field, I asked J. Clyde Marquis and L. C. Gray to join me in planning a series of group meetings to study the subject of rural life with the thought of orienting ourselves with respect to this new field. A graduate student in sociology was invited to join the group. Galpin was asked to attend and help in the group thinking. We did not have in mind that he might be the man to develop the work, but we thought he would be helpful to us in finding our way to a useful conclusion. Each member of the group led the discussion at one meeting. Charles J. Galpin was the last one of the group to lead. He brought with him that evening a sheet of cardboard, about 15 by 24 inches in size, on which he had sketched a map of the village of Belleville, New York, and the surrounding area,—the scene of a decade of community leadership. He had placed a tack in the cardboard for each farm home, and beside it he had placed a tack of a different color for each relation or contact which that home had with some social or economic agency in the area. When he showed us his chart we got a very definite impression of the extent to which each home was connected with the social agencies of the community, whether it was the academy, the church, the library, the Grange, the Masonic order, the Woman's Club, or any other organization. Galpin used this cardboard-tack chart to illustrate a method which he believed might be used in studying rural social forces in action. He later said of it, "I hoped that some new

kind of social meaning would be disclosed." This report of Galpin's is the only part of all the subject matter that was brought before the group that I can recall concretely.

After thinking the matter over I called Galpin in and encouraged him to proceed with the development of his method. During the next summer he secured more detailed information about the people in the village and the surrounding country of Belleville, New York, and the connections each farm family had with the different social and economic agencies. From this material Galpin revised his map. The area was drawn upon cardboard and little round stickers of assorted colors were used instead of tacks.

The First Wisconsin Country Life Conference, February, 1911

In what way the work of the Country Life Commission and our little group influenced the matter I am not sure, but in February, 1911, the first Wisconsin Country Life Conference was held. J. Clyde Marquis, the agricultural editor at the University of Wisconsin, was Secretary of this conference, and H. C. Taylor was Chairman. Dean Russell took great interest in the matter, signed the call, and gave an address at the opening of the conference in which he pictured clearly the life problems of rural areas. A few significant sentences from his address are quoted below:

An idea which has long been current is that the function of the agricultural college is largely material—to make two blades of

grass grow where but one grew before, or to make more money to buy more land, to grow more corn to feed more hogs to sell, and buy more land. This idea, however, of late years, is rapidly being superseded by one in which the element of service to other than the material sides of agriculture is being more and more emphasized.

Agricultural education should train for a type of living. While farming is a profession, a vocation, which embraces a larger percentage of workers of the world than any other single class, living is more than farming, and country living should mean the expression of the fullest possible life in the open country. . .

In order that the country shall continue to supply the city with brains, the virility of the original stock must be kept unimpaired, and to do this, we must have some of the best remain in the country. Only when the country supplies the wants and needs of man, social and intellectual, as well as physical and material, when the prizes of the game of life are awarded in proportionate measure to those outside urban walls, then, and then only will the call of the farm exert a sufficiently strong influence to hold a fair proportion of country youth. . .

[He emphasized the importance of] a close integration of the material and humanitarian sides of country life.

[He indicated that] Those interested in social and ethical questions too frequently lack contact with the material basis of country development. . . [and said] doubtless it will be better for all interests concerned to be merged for this brief time in the

consideration of all phases related to country progress. We are especially pleased to see the various types of country dwellers here represented, and particularly so in the number of country editors, bankers, ministers, and teachers. . .

It is my belief that much work of the agricultural college can give better training for the country minister than advanced work in Sanscrit or Hellenistic Greek. Rural sociology and economics are subjects which furnish a point of contact between the pulpit and the pew which would be of much value.³

These quotations show that Dean Russell was ready for the introduction of country life studies in the College of Agriculture at the University of Wisconsin.

At that conference Galpin presented the Belleville material in a paper entitled "The Social Agencies in a Rural Community."⁴ Two lantern slides were used. One showed the community social survey in the open country; the other, in the village.

Shortly after that conference Dean Russell said to me that he would consider a proposal to employ a person to begin the study of country life problems in Wisconsin. I told Dean Russell that Charles J. Galpin would undertake more useful research and do more stimulating teaching than

³ H. L. Russell, "Purpose of the Wisconsin Country Life Conference," in First Wisconsin Country Life Conference, February, 1911, *Proceedings*, University of Wisconsin Bulletin, Serial No. 472, General Series No 308 (Madison, 1911), pp. 8-12.

⁴ Charles Josiah Galpin, "The Social Agencies in a Rural Community," *Ibid.*, pp. 12-18.

anyone else I knew. Others were available who knew more sociology as then taught, but Galpin had shown a spark of originality in his approach to the subject. This was the deciding factor. In accordance with our conversation at that time Dean Russell sent the following letter to Dean E. A. Birge, then Acting President of the University of Wisconsin.

Madison, Wisconsin,
July 21, 1911.

Dean E. A. Birge,
Acting President

Dear Sir:

I desire to recommend the appointment of Mr. Chas. J. Galpin of this city, to the position of lecturer on country life problems at a compensation of \$600 for the present fiscal year, to be paid in tenths, this work to be assigned to the department of Agricultural Economics, of which Professor Taylor is Chairman.

This item is covered in my budget for the present fiscal year on the basis of \$800, but after due consideration, and a talk with President Van Hise, it has seemed preferable to begin this work by securing a portion of the time of Mr. Galpin, who, as you know, is Baptist University pastor for this state. It is our expectation that the amount of teaching work will be small at first, and that the larger portion of his time will be employed in research work on specific problems which we have in view. It is expected that the balance of the \$800 (\$200) will be available for student and temporary assistance under Mr. Galpin along these lines.

Respectfully submitted,

Signed: H. L. Russell, Dean.

The tentative character of the Dean's proposal to Galpin was indicated by the offer of \$600 for half-time services to the University during the year 1911-12. I remember saying to Galpin one day during that first year, when we were discussing the pioneering methods, "Galpin, you are a John the Baptist." He laughingly replied, "I hope that does not mean I will lose my head."

Galpin's procedure in making the Walworth County Survey of community relations, in studying churches in their relation to rural life, and in promoting in other ways the development of country life studies at Wisconsin is told in his articles in the journal, *Rural Sociology*,⁵ and also in the book entitled *My Drift into Rural Sociology*. The very title of that book shows that there has been a "drift" since the days when I was objecting to the word "sociology" and stressing the phase "rural life." Personally, I do not believe that Galpin drifted very far into sociology, but I do believe that sociologists "drifted" a long way into the Galpin type of country life studies. I have thought sometimes that the virility, the originality, and the usefulness of rural sociologists varies directly with their ability to follow the Galpin trail.

⁵ Charles Josiah Galpin, "The Story of My Drift into Rural Sociology," Pt. 1, "Scraps from my Log Book," *Rural Sociology*, II (June, 1937) 115-122; Pt. 2, "Beginnings of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin," *Ibid.*, II (September, 1937) 299-309; Pt. 3, "Fifteen Years in the U. S. Department of Agriculture," *Ibid.*, II (December, 1937) 415-428.

Galpin was always interested in learning, firsthand, how rural institutions function. One time Galpin and I went to visit a rural social center about 12 miles northwest of Madison. The center of the life of the community was a Catholic church and a parochial school. It was a German neighborhood. The priest had visited the farmers' short course, and from time to time had requested information for the farmers of his neighborhood who needed help in solving their problems. We had decided, therefore, to visit this priest in his local setting. We arrived at the center about two o'clock in the afternoon, called at the priest's residence, and were told by the housekeeper that he was "up the street." We walked west, past the church and past the parochial school, toward the crossroads, where we met the priest. He greeted us genially and responded generously to our inquiries about the work he was doing through the boy's club and otherwise, in helping the farmers of the community to get the latest scientific information relating to their problems. He showed us the reading room he had provided for the boys, in which we found a great variety of books and bulletins on various phases of farming. He explained how he had shown the boys how to use dynamite to prepare the subsoil for planting fruit trees.

Galpin's whole attention was absorbed in this example of a rural minister's bringing the work of the agricultural college to his community. The afternoon passed rapidly, and

when we had said good-bye to the priest and started toward home, Galpin turned to me and said, "You know, I should think work like this would be the salvation of a rural minister." I looked squarely at him and said, "Salvation?" He laughed and answered, "Yes, even the soap needs washing at times."

It was interesting to watch Galpin thread his way through the uncharted, uncultivated fields which he had been asked to develop. Galpin's procedures in research were relatively simple. In starting a piece of research his first step was to make a preliminary analysis of such data as he had in hand as the by-product of previous activities. That was the reason he chose the Belleville, New York, area for his first community study. In the same way, when he wanted to study rural life in a Wisconsin community he chose Walworth County because he had lived and worked there a few years before and knew the area and many of the people. He had the observational basis for a preliminary analysis which was to serve as a guide to the new undertaking. After going to Washington, one of his first projects was to go back to Belleville, New York, and make a more intensive study of that community and its influence in the life of the nation.

Charles J. Galpin did a great work at Wisconsin during the eight years from October 1, 1911, to June 30, 1919, and did it with an incredibly small outlay by the University. The total budgeted funds for country life work for the eight years were \$19,-

514.19 —an average of \$2,439.27 per year. The highest for any one year was \$3,288.88. But in addition to the budgeted items, Galpin received stenographic help from the pool, his bulletins were published at the expense of the general budget of the College, and the Extension Division of the College contributed toward the expenses of the County Country Life Conferences.⁶

During his eight years at the University of Wisconsin, in addition to writing numerous bulletins, circulars, addresses for the Country Life Conferences, magazine articles, etc., Galpin also wrote the book which he called *Rural Life*.⁷ Dean Russell said of that book, in a foreward, "Professor Galpin has been fortunate in opening a fresh vein of thought that bids fair to be a mine of increasing richness in that it offers a pertinent and tangible foundation for the molding of rural life, not on a basis of separate development where the city and the country are unrelated to each other, but where the two forms of expression are mutually dependent on each other."⁸

Galpin did not leave his findings in the office files until they were published, nor did he depend upon bulletins to carry the gospel of a better country life to the people of the State. He was indeed a crusader, but that was not all. He inspired others to

be crusaders. This is demonstrated by the success he had in stimulating local leaders to organize and hold county country life conferences.

An outline of Galpin's activities, with especial reference to his extension work, is appended to this article because I believe it should be available to those who are today endeavoring to improve and expand the work in this field. I believe that a careful study of Galpin's extension activities at Wisconsin from 1911 to 1918 will prove an excellent starting point for group thinking on this important subject. Furthermore, it gives an example of untiring activity which was effective as leaven in the communities where he worked with the people.

Galpin's Activities at Wisconsin

Samples of Galpin's reports to the Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics and of the reports of the Department Head to the Dean of the College of Agriculture gives the basis for constructing a pretty clear picture of the character of Galpin's work. His first report reads as follows:

Report of C. J. Galpin.

Oct. 1, 1911-Oct. 1, 1912.

- I. Ten addresses on Rural Life in seven counties in Wisconsin. 3,000 people.
- II. One hundred forty-two letters on rural social questions.
- III. Study of four community events at firsthand. Photographs.
- IV. Circular of Information 29, with census blanks for social surveys.

⁶ For a bibliography of bulletins and circulars published by the University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture, see the article by J. H. Kolb in this issue, pp. 130.

⁷ Charles Josiah Galpin, *Rural Life* (New York: The Century Co., 1918), p. 386.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

- V. Joint editing of Bulletin 472, General Series 308.
- VI. Joint editing of Bulletin 509, General Series 342.
- VII. Secretary for Second Wisconsin Country Life Conference.
- VIII. Agricultural Economics 12, lecture course, second semester.
- IX. Arranged for the taking of eleven social surveys of rural communities by residents, using the home census method. Two of these completed.
- X. Arranged for social survey of twelve communities in Walworth County by residents. Four communities completed.
- XI. Course of lectures on Rural Life at Graduate School of Agriculture, Michigan.
- XII. State Fair Exhibit, Honey Creek, Wisconsin. Social center of farmers reproduced in miniature models.

The report which the Head of the Department sent to the Dean regarding Galpin's work for the year 1912-13 reads as follows:

Activities of C. J. Galpin

Teaching.—Adviser during the year to six juniors and fourteen freshmen.

One lecture before Prof. Ross's class in Descriptive Sociology.

Series of four lectures to Short Course students on phases of rural life. Course 112, Rural Life, second semester, two periods a week, 24 students. 90 hours.

Research.—Editing and proof-reading Report of Third Wisconsin Country Life Conference, 130 p. 90 hours.

Gathering facts, photographs, etc., on rural social centers in Wisconsin; assembling materials

and preparing Ms. of bulletin on "Some Rural Social Centers in Wisconsin." 180 hours.

Direction of eight community social surveys in Walworth County, completed; charting results of thirteen surveys into eight colored maps; writing first draft of Ms. for bulletin on "Social Anatomy of a Rural Community," based on this survey. 270 hours.

Extension.—41 addresses on phases of rural life in 16 counties of Wisconsin, before 6500 people as follows:

- (a) In churches 12
- (b) In school-houses 4
- (c) Before Farmers' Clubs and Courses 13
- (d) At Farmers' Picnics 3
- (e) Before Civic and Commercial Clubs 4
- (f) At "Community Institutes" 5

Time away from Madison: 41 days.

Country Life Conference—Preparation of program; Details of Conference: 180 hours

Correspondence—511 letters. 100 hours

Interviews at State Fair (3 days)

Interviews in office—180 hours.

During the year 1913-14, Galpin continued the work, giving major attention to the social survey of Walworth County.

For the year 1914-15, the following report was found in the files in Galpin's handwriting:

Professor H. C. Taylor.

Dear Professor Taylor:

The following report of my activities for the year 1914-15 is respectfully submitted:

- (a) Teaching
Short Course, ten lectures about 200 students.
Course 112, Second Semester, 2 hours a week, 17 students.
Course 240, Second Semester, 1 hour a week, 1 student.
- (b) Research
Brought Cir. 51, 'Social Surveys of Rural School Districts' to completion during July.
Completed Research Bulletin 34, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community" during the first semester.
Studied the Danish Rural Schools at firsthand, and put same into stereopticon slides during August.
Studied the relation of women's clubs in Wisconsin to rural women, during the first semester.
- (c) Extension
 - (1) Staged complete program for the Fifth Country Life Conference (called off on account of foot and mouth disease) during first semester.
 - (2) Got out Bulletin No. 771; Gen. Series 515, "Report of Fourth Country Life Conference," and
 - (3) Got out a separate, No. 677; Gen. Series No. 487, "What One School Did," during first semester.
 - (4) Supervised three country life conferences and aided one other during first semester.
 - (5) Gave 23 extension addresses on country life

in 10 different counties of Wisconsin, to 4,000 people, during year.

- (d) Control
Adviser to 12 students.

Very truly,
C. J. Galpin

These reports regarding Galpin's research and teaching work are fairly typical of the years as they went by, so that detailed reports will not be given for all the years. But I wish to present the report of Galpin's Extension activities for the one year, 1915-16, and preface it by a brief statement prepared by Galpin about that time, which reads as follows:

✓ The Human Side of American Agriculture

- I. Colleges of Agriculture form a huge combination of money; brains; methods centered almost wholly, especially in extension phases, upon the technology of agriculture; production; markets; profits.
- II. No other agency, in anywhere near equal force, is influencing the farmer's cultural habits; no educational force; no religious force; no esthetic force; nothing on the side of expenditure of his new profits.
- III. Is there not danger that soon the Colleges of Agriculture will be water-logged with a technology which the farmer is incapable of appreciating or even comprehending, simply because he himself is still a "scrub" while he is expected to be interested.

for profit in all things
pure-bred?

- IV. If there is danger of a setback in agricultural propaganda as now organized, —is it not time now to "plow deeper"; time to set to work forces for general education among the farm population, especially perhaps in an adapted form of high school education; time to be interested in the broader cultural base of country life as a whole; such as social uses of government: time for *our* College of Agriculture to consider seriously what it can do for rural culture?

I think I foresee a laughing point when every county is fortified with a man and woman "county agent" choking down the farmer's throat concepts which the farmer is not prepared to understand.

The above statement will help the reader to understand the crusading spirit Galpin put into his extension work, a statement of which follows in the form of his own report to the Chairman of the Department for the year 1915-16:

County Country Life Conferences, July 1, 1915—July 1, 1916

Budget.

By agreement with Professor K. L. Hatch a budget of \$250 was apportioned to the Department of Agricultural Economics for the promotion of County Country Life Conferences for the year 1915-16, as a specific project under the provisions of the Smith-Lever Act.

County Conferences Held

Dane County (both districts jointly) Aug. 30-31, 1915.
Sauk County, Jan. 7-8, 1916.
Oconto County, Jan. 21, 1916.
Walworth County, Jan. 28-29, 1916.
La Crosse County, Feb. 4-5, 1916.
Tri-County (Grant, Iowa, Lafayette), Feb 17, 1916.
Waupaca County, March 17, 1916.

Dane County Conference *

Management.

The two county superintendents, Ames and Barclay, at the College of Agriculture. Combination of Teachers' Institute, School Boards Meeting, Country Life Conference.

Attendance.

Sessions ranged from 200 to 400 people. Largely rural school teachers the first day. The second day 200 farmers, members of school boards.

Results.

General satisfaction with the innovation. Decision to repeat the following year. Community meetings determined upon by superintendents and supervising teachers. During winter such meetings have been general over the county. Our office has assisted in 20 such meetings.

Walworth County Conference

Management.

The County Superintendent of Schools, Miss Helen Martin, the Walworth County Development Association represented by the

* Reports of the conferences in Sauk, Oconto, La Crosse, and Waupaca Counties and of the Tri-County Conference are omitted here. Their nature is illustrated by the reports for Dane and Walworth Counties.

County Agricultural Agent. Held at the Opera House, Delavan.

Attendance.

Sessions ran from 100 to 200 people. Rainy weather, bad roads. County well represented by farmers from different clubs.

Results.

Formation of new farmers' clubs. Rapid growth of clubs in membership. Township community houses built. Large membership of clubs a feature.

Aggregate Attendance:

2,450 different persons.

Aggregate Cost: \$170.53

Respectfully submitted,
March 25, 1916
(Signed) C. J. Galpin
Rural Life.

These materials are presented as records of the work of a pioneer. Doubtless, the scope and the scientific content of resident and extension teaching have made substantial growth since 1919. These samples of the reports are presented not so much for the specific content as to show the untiring energy which Galpin put into the pioneering of this field, and particularly to show how he inspired the country people to organize and study the ways and means of improving the community agencies which determine the quality of country life.

As an expression of my personal feelings toward Galpin, I desire to

close this article with a letter I wrote to him from Rome in 1935 at the time of his retirement from the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Rome, Italy

Dear Dr. Galpin.

In the first decade of this century, when I was a young professor of agricultural economics in the University of Wisconsin, you brought to me the impulse to see and understand the social side of rural life. Furthermore, you manifested that rare genius which enables a scholar to start with the simple elements of a problem in analyzing and comprehending the complex relations of human beings living in rural areas.

Due to your influence more than that of any other man in America, agricultural economics has ceased to be simply a farm economics, a marketing economics, a land tenure economics, all viewed from the standpoint of profits, and has found its center of interest in the standards of living, in the quality of the life and the cultural developments of the minds and the hearts of farm people in harmony with the purposes of the great personality that pervades the universe. You have indeed been a prophet of God in your own day to your own people and to all the world.

Sincerely yours,

Henry C. Taylor.

Dr. Galpin at Wisconsin

By J. H. Kolb†

The theme of life for Dr. Galpin at Wisconsin was the development of a science of rural society grounded in the life of rural people.

I.

He foresaw, first of all, the rising confluence of country and village or town relations—relations in social institutions and agencies, and in thought-ways. He called this the “rurban” attitude or point of view. The idea, if we would understand him fully, is much more important than any of the forms of its social organization. That he should have seen so clearly this trend in rural affairs and should have described its characteristics with such precision attests to the real genius of insight and inspection which he possessed and used to the full. I sometimes wonder as I reread those early statements of his, what the others of us have been doing in the meantime. Have we pushed beyond those frontiers of theory and analysis which he formed, as far and as vigorously as we should have? In Wisconsin, at least, farmers continue to stand on village streets which are not theirs, to send their sons and daughters to town and village schools in the determination of whose policies they have absolutely no legal voice. Confusion and embarrassment remain on both sides of the “rurban” equation. To complicate the situation, there has been a sharp rise in the

rural nonfarm, non-village contingent of our population.

With disarming and assumed naiveté Dr. Galpin told about going to Delavan, Walworth County, in August, 1911, renting a room in the hotel, and “without a note or new idea,” spending two days just thinking. By evening of the second day a schedule was drafted and the third day he had 3,000 copies printed. He had been in Walworth County before, in 1904, visiting farmers in the interest of a new-process dairy plant. But of greater significance, and orderly and inquisitive mind had stored away in theoretical and in map forms, the results of ten years of experience as principal of a New York rural academy by three generations of farmers. It was even considered unbecoming to die there without making a bequest toward the endowment fund of this school.

In that rural community situation Dr. Galpin had not simply observed but had experienced the rural life patterns which foreshadowed what was to be in Wisconsin, many of whose early settlers came from New York State. They brought with them not only the tools for farming and for family living, but the ideals and ideas as well as the forms for local government, general education, and social organizations. He had seen the boys and girls come to his academy, driving daily into the small

† University of Wisconsin.

village from farms three or four miles away. Not only had he seen his pupils in school, he had visited their homes and he had mapped what he called the social topography—the relationships which he discovered binding farmers and villagers into a true community.

He explained all this to the first Wisconsin Country Life Conference in February, 1911, even his technique for community map making. "Start out," he said, "from a village center on any road into the open country; you come to a home, and deep wear of the wheels out of the yard toward the village indicates that this home naturally goes to this village. . . the next home the same, and the next and the next, until by and by you come to a home where the ruts run the other way and grass grows a little, perhaps, in the turn toward this village, and you find that this home goes to the adjoining town for its major associations; between these two homes is the bounding line of the community." This is so characteristic of him; he did not approach "the home," i. e. his problem or his interview, empty-headed, without theory or hypotheses. He had his ideas but held them in abeyance. Then he observed—and he had time to observe, because he usually walked or rode a bicycle. Then he went in and found out "for sure."

After Galpin's report of observation and validation and after reports presented during the two full days, the following resolution was offered and unanimously adopted: "Believing that any movement having for its ob-

ject the improvement of the social, educational, moral, and financial considerations of rural life will do much to make this life increasingly attractive and wholesome. . . "Resolved: That there be and there hereby is formed The Wisconsin Country Life Conference Association."

The step from research report to group action was simple, direct, and immediate. Dr. Galpin was established as social scientist in the Wisconsin tradition, and in personal friendship and professional association with Henry C. Taylor, chairman of the newly-formed Department of Agricultural Economics (1908), and with Harry L. Russell, dean and director of the College of Agriculture, Experiment Station and Extension Service. There were still many things to do and many difficulties to overcome, but it was a good beginning.

II.

Back of this beginning were many years of preparation, not premeditated or directed to this end, to be sure, but nevertheless immediate in their influence. It was as though a series of accumulated forces had become focused on an objective which had long been sought. It is only by some such explanation that one can understand the amount and character of work accomplished in the relatively short time spent at the University. Dr. Galpin was identified with the University in its College of Agriculture for eight years, the first of these on a half-time basis, the other half being given to his work as Uni-

versity pastor in association with his brother who was pastor of a local church. He was 47 years of age, nine years older than his "chief," as he liked to call him, Dr. Taylor. One cannot trace all of those forces, but some of the more obvious ones should be enumerated here.

He was at home with agriculture by early family heritage, by study and teaching, and by direct experience. His father was the son of a Virginia farmer, his mother the daughter of a New York farmer, and "all his uncles and aunts, save one," he said, "were farmers." He lived his boyhood days in the family of a rural pastor; he attended country schools, and was part of a "rural milieu," as he expressed it. In the Belleville Academy, New York, he established the first courses in agriculture taught in a secondary school. In his six years struggle against insomnia in the marginal farming areas of Michigan (which he called "Skims"), he lived and worked in the open with marginal farm people. It was the human factor in agriculture which was always the locus of his attention.

He was at home with science, physical and social; at Colgate with geology and astronomy in undergraduate days; at Harvard and Clark in graduate work with Munsterberg, Royce and G. Stanley Hall, and in a thesis done with William James, necessitating familiarity not only with American but with English, French, and German sources.

He was at home with rural life abroad, his first trip to Europe hav-

ing been made in the summer of 1896 when he was 32 years old, the second in 1914 as the war was breaking forth, and the third in 1926 (after leaving Wisconsin), when he represented the U. S. Departments of State and Agriculture as delegate to the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture. Pictures taken in the Scandinavian countries on the second visit and made into slides lined the shelves on one wall in Room 318 of Agricultural Hall, a veritable arsenal from which to draw for his classes and extension work.

He was at home with students and faculty (administrative policies and procedures he learned "the hard way," he often remarked). The seven years of first-hand experience with the personal and guidance problems of students in a large university as student pastor increased greatly his native and developed sensitivity to the human relations in society. Associated with him in this student enterprise at the University, although affiliated with other church bodies, were such men as the Reverends Richard Edwards, Edward W. Blake-man, Mathew G. Allison, Howard Gold, Henry C. Hengell—names still remembered on the campus as being originally connected with this pioneer undertaking. His interest and participation in out-of-doors activities, particularly hiking and hunting, brought him into contact and friendship with faculty people, among many others, Russell, Taylor, Hopkins.

Apparently the full force of this preparation and this capacity did not

register with the University's "administration" until some time after he left the state, which he did in the spring of 1919. After eight years of service, his salary at the time of leaving was \$2250; his academic rank was that of associate professor. He began his work in Washington with a compensation twice that figure, and as head of a Division.

A conventional means for describing and evaluating Dr. Galpin's work at Wisconsin would be to follow the traditional headings: research, teaching, extension. To do so would be to miss one significant contribution which he made—a contribution which, unfortunately has not been fully recognized. Attempts to press the content of work, time and funds into these three arbitrary categories compels one to deal carelessly with truth and reality.

"I brought to my classroom all that I had dug up in the state—and virtually nothing more," he wrote later in reflective mood. What "more" should he have brought? Some scientific reference or framework and some sense of meanings, assuredly, but these must have been included in the "virtually" if the memory and the testimony of his students are to be trusted. In another connection he explained that he began his university teaching with some trepidation but that he attempted "to *explain* what was going on in rural life."

Fortunately for those of us who followed, there were no text books in this field at the time, so Dr. Galpin had to find other sources. One of the

thrills of his life came to him at this point. As he looked back at the experience he asked to be pardoned for "the excited delight" he felt "in creating something" to show his friend, Dr. Taylor. Then he explained how different this approach was from broaching an opinion or reciting the position of some writer. "This map," which he had made to show Dr. Taylor, he declared, "did a thing to me which came well nigh to making me burn my books and stop going to libraries." But it didn't, it sent him back again and again to those secondary sources for help and for better reference of the facts which he was discovering by first-hand contacts with social situations. They were direct experiences for him and prevented him from taking an impersonal view of his problem in hand.

There is still no substitute for personal contacts with one's materials, no better antidote for paralysis acquired from too-technical analysis than to sit down with the people from whom one secured the data or with whose help they were secured, and to try to explain what the findings mean and then to listen while the people tell what *they* think is meant. Emphasis on such direct approaches can be carried to extremes, of course, and Dr. Galpin was ready with his caution. The limits, to which he drew attention were sheer fatigue, incapacity to abstract, even "doubt of cognition itself," and finally, failure to reach the point of "imaginative ignition."

His role as teacher—expressed by

sharing experiences, findings and encouragements—did not alter as he met farm and village people in their own communities. He told them what others were doing. He showed them pictures of Wisconsin and European rural life at its best, carrying a gas tank in order to show lantern slides without electricity. He wrote bulletins and short popular circulars: *Rural Social Centers; Rural Clubs; Rural Community Fairs; Country Church, an Economic and Social Force; Rural Relations of High Schools*. He made friends and associates of other workers in rural society, county agents, county superintendents and supervisors of county schools, merchants and bankers in "farmers' towns." They helped him prepare and broadcast directions and inspiration for carrying out social surveys and play days in rural schools, for consolidating small schools, organizing cooperatives, bringing farmers and villagers together, for securing permissive state legislation to acquire land and erecting buildings for community purposes.

He traveled the state—everywhere. "No place was too remote, too small," he said. From these scattered places he brought back to the university problems both practical and theoretical, which should be discussed in the classroom, presented to extension leaders, and considered in plans for future research. This was also in good Wisconsin tradition for the "Wisconsin Idea" of the state as campus—education and/or service to the last

man, woman and child—and of the inter-service relations of state university and state government was then in ascendancy. Professors Commons, Ely, Ross, were Galpin's contemporaries and colleagues, and Charles R. Van Hise was president and vigorous leaders of the university. Dr. Galpin told later of the exhilaration he experienced when "the idea" was first presented to him by President Van Hise himself and in his own home. But he (Galpin) was ready for it in experience and in philosophy and entered into its service with enthusiasm.

III.

What, then, are the areas in which Dr. Galpin thought, worked, and taught at Wisconsin? 1. Human factors in agriculture. 2. Group relations in rural society. 3. Social institutions and organizations. 4. Farmers and their farms.

Human Factors

The point of view, amounting to a philosophy, which Dr. Galpin held and taught in regard to the human elements in American agriculture centered in the family and its home. He decried the arbitrary and academic divisions made in most agricultural colleges and extension services between "farm economy" and "household economy," pointing out that the two converge in "family economy." The family has not only legal status, but the ultimate outcome of the farming enterprise itself turns upon the cooperation, the mutual relations and decisions of the man and the woman in such things as protection of health,

education of children, use of leisure, consumption practices resulting in standards of living and those cultural values which really determine the personal quality of life. He put the question directly to the institutions concerned with agriculture when he declared that the farmer's problem is far from being solely one of prices for farm products or even of profits from agriculture. It is also a question of consumption in its broad sense and "for a college to leave this problem untouched and unsolved is to invite the situation in agriculture of farmers knowing how to make profits as farmers but not knowing how to spend their profits as consumers. Such an agriculture is neither stable nor prosperous nor well-paid."

Rather, the aim should be the establishment and development of a rural culture and rural civilization in thorough harmony with the life of the farmer as a "general type of human being" in a society whose "flower is the family." With such a premise skillfully laid, Dr. Galpin's class notes detail the arrangements within a rural environment which can be turned toward such an ideal. Among them are the geographic, direct contacts with a world of physical nature, of plants and animals; the residential, location of the home fixed in relation to the farming business and to neighbors; the occupational, farming a family undertaking; the property, private property in land for the farmer-operator. These environmental arrangements having to do with the personal qualities and the

social status of the family, he explained, furnish many varied sets of pressures, pleasures, stresses, and strains, with resulting mental, emotional, and social effects. "Here," he said, "are the beginnings for a psychology of farm life."

Then follow discussions of standards of living, the farm family's life cycle, taking modern science and technology into the home to relieve overstrain and fatigue and to help lead beyond mere money-making to human interests and satisfactions. The main issue, he said, lies between "fear based on inferiority and hope based on competency." In his discussion of the family cycle and the role of the child in the family, he anticipated positions taken more recently by some psychiatrists and some population experts, among the latter Gunnar Myrdal. He stated the idea very simply, "the child keeps the home together."

Group Relations

Class notes and outlines make it quite clear that Dr. Galpin thought and taught in terms of four major social groupings in rural society. Under a main caption, "How farmers are grouped," he enumerates and discusses the following: Home and family, country neighborhood, hamlet and village, community and socio-economic center. In the discussions of the family group are found descriptions of the inter-relations of man, woman, and child; of the relations of whole family with its farm and its land; and of the family with its neighbors and their social institutions and organi-

zations. Undergirding the whole family discussion is the central emphasis on the human values in agriculture, as briefly outlined in the previous section. Neighborhoods are described in terms of nationality factors, geographic factors—"the natural lay of the land," and family relations plus the accompanying social institutions of school and church.

Major attention is usually given the community composed of country and village or town center. In one course outline titled "The Agricultural Community," there are important chapters on the structure, the social characteristics, the institutions, the population, and a "theory based on democracy." The course outline begins with a description of European origins, the English village and the medieval town, and ends with the projected theory of "rurbanism"—the interdependence of country and small city or village. It is a "rational doctrine confessedly idealistic; it requires much readjustment; it . . . seeks to conserve the values of the farming class and the small city; it demands a square deal on the side of both parties; it is a large demand of farmers—responsibility in community life, a large demand from city-concession in all institutions to the country man; it makes the little city or village the center of the community."

The research work which gave content and conviction to such courses and to the point of view expressed on so many occasions is, of course, widely known. The idea of the rural community, the place of Walworth Coun-

ty, and the name of Charles J. Galpin are definitely tied together and will be for a long time. This was somewhat of a surprise to Dr. Galpin because he regarded the whole study as being fairly simple, and he was anxious to move along to something "difficult and important" by which to be remembered. What may not be quite so well known are (1) some of the background and thinking which went into the project at its early stages, (2) the emphasis given to the interaction and the inter-relations within the community boundaries and (3) some interpretations which Dr. Galpin himself gave to the findings.

The use of the many maps in the bulletin reporting the research findings attracted wide attention. They were of striking appearance, black against white, drawn by the expri-ment station artist, Miss Jennie Pitman, under the direction of the editor, Professor Andrew Hopkins. Questions of methodology and underlying assumptions were soon raised. Was Dr. Galpin an ecologist, or to what extent was he influenced by ecology in his approach. It will be recalled that Frederic E. Clements, professor of botany at the University of Minnesota published his *Plant Ecology* in 1907. Professor A. S. Pearse, then of the University of Wisconsin, wrote his *Animal Ecology* later, in 1926. Under the Clements terminology the Galpin group analysis could qualify in functional response as adjustment and structural response as adaptation. However, there was little if any recognition of the processes of in-

vasion, competition, or succession. Dr. Galpin himself did not recognize, if indeed it existed, any influence of this line of analysis. He was given great credit, however, by Dr. Robert E. Park of the University of Chicago at a Purnell meeting of rural sociologists held at Purdue University in 1927. Dr. Park indicated that the study of group relations in Walworth County had stimulated him to make his first studies of what he called the "ecological areas" in the Chicago region. Dr. Galpin confirmed in personal correspondence our extended conversations about this whole matter. He wrote in 1933:

The growth of the "trade area idea" so far as I see it now, was something like this: Belleville, a country village of 500 population, was a center of store trade since 1815. Farmers were constantly coming to town to buy and sell. In 1828, when the farmers established an academy—they wanted a convenient place for it. What was more natural than the place their roads led to, and to which they constantly drove? In 1870, when they established a Grange, what more natural than to have it head where they traded, schooled their high school children? In 1880 when they established a cooperative creamery (largest then in the U. S., I believe), what more natural than to place this also in Belleville. I observed the magnetic relation of trade, barter, buying, selling. I came to believe that trade was a primal relationship which determined many other relationships. And I always said that the Academy strengthened all these trade relation-

ships. Naturally the spatial element came to the fore, as the large majority of social contacts of the farmers radiated to one center.

Then he added for good measure:

In June, 1911, I believe, I became an instructor in the University of Wisconsin and had to get something to teach, so naturally, I resorted to my previous hypothesis and study in New York, and decided to try the hypothesis out in Walworth County for the whole county; for mark you, I had driven this county over during the year 1904, visiting the farmers in the interest of a new type of creamery at Delavan. And, on reflection, I became convinced that my hypothesis would hold in that county. So I framed the method, went to Delavan a week, and carried it out for that community myself. Then, I engaged field agents to do the rest according to instructions. Nothing in my reading prompted this study.

There have been criticisms through the years that too great dependence was placed on the trade function, that it is an economic and an impersonal sort of contact. Those who are familiar with farmer-villager experiences know very well that trading may be a primary social contact in the Cooley interpretation and that very often it is closely bound with other social relationships just as Dr. Galpin pointed out in the quotation cited.

Valid criticism could probably be made of the method for making the "trade" map and of the inference

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quently drawn but never explicitly stated, that the trade area was the community area. The trade map was made by "merging" the dry goods and grocery maps which "nearly coincided." But maps were drawn of a half dozen other "zones" most of which did not "nearly coincide" with the generalized trade area. They were for such services as banking, weekly newspaper, milk marketing, high school, church, library. Of the twelve centers studied, only eleven furnished banking, only seven newspaper service, and only four library service. However, Dr. Galpin never attempted, as some have credited or accused him, of claiming that the communities he found were self-sufficient or mutually exclusive, or even characteristically stable. Indeed he takes pains to point out that there is a belt from one to two miles in width of what he called "neutral or common" trade territory, and that some farmers living about half way between village centers have a double or even a triple trading opportunity. Finally, he states that the "actual" or "fundamental" community is a composite of many expanding and contracting "feature" communities possessing the characteristic "pulsating instability of all real life."

Again, the presence of so many maps has seemed to divert the attention of many readers from the interaction, inter-related phase of the study which is, after all, the crux of the contribution. There is ample evidence for this in the bulletin but perhaps it was not marshalled as effec-

tively as were the boundary or area characteristics of the communities. Dr. Galpin's conclusion is definite on the point, however. He states that it is difficult if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that about these rather complete agricultural centers a boundary is formed of an "actual" if not legal, community, "within which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of inter-relatedness." It is this process of *resolution* which needs emphasis as well as further study and analysis.

In the concluding paragraphs of the bulletin he re-emphasized this "mesh of inter-related social interests," uniting small-city dweller and farmer and questioned whether segregation of the farmer is even possible. The issue he raised, however, is whether the farmer shall be willing to assume this enlarged social responsibility from which he would gain very greatly and by which he might divest himself of many present social handicaps and maladjustments but "without loss of his native independence." He gave further emphasis to this matter of internal relations of communities in the foreword which he wrote for our first restudy of Walworth County in 1932-33.

Town and country . . . are joined together rather closely in the relations of ordinary life. How intricate these relations are . . . and how sensitive to changes . . . are little known. The scientific study of the relationships existing between

town and country will open the eyes of farmer and townsman alike . . .

The principle of inter-relatedness has its application in the matter of inter-group as well as intra-group relations. Dr. Galpin recognized this but was too deeply engaged at the time in getting the community concept accepted to give much emphasis. He does indicate even in the Walworth County report that the farmer need not abandon the small neighborhood in order to accept the larger-scale responsibility of the community. He puts it in terms of "enlarging his responsibility" beyond the neighborhood. He actually included among the centers for study one of the neighborhood type (Millard) and one of the small hamlet type (Honey Creek) just to be able to show contrasts. As indicated earlier, other groups and expressions of their inter-relationships are found in Dr. Galpin's class notes (1917). The land basis for an agricultural community, he urged, should be about 100 square miles, the equivalent of about three conventional townships. It should be composed of 750 to 1,000 families, farmers and villagers or small-city people taken together with their wealth and properties.

A fuller interpretation came later in an unpublished manuscript which he titled "My Rural Philosophy." In the second chapter on "Community" he calls for the reorganization of country schools and churches and of local government on the larger town-country community scope so that the

farmer can better find his place in the great society. Here he proposes a standard of 1,000 families. It will take this many people and this much of resources to carry on comfortably modern community enterprises, he claimed. About 200 families might carry on such an enterprise as an elementary school and its related social activities, he suggested, but for most other services such a group of families should also relate itself with others in the larger community. In Wisconsin today, excluding the northern counties, 1,000 families would mean about 4,000 people, and of that number about 275 would be of high school age. This estimate is surprisingly near the number considered essential for a first-class rural high school by a state committee presenting its recommendations in a publication called "Education for Rural Wisconsin's Tomorrow," Madison, August, 1946.

Thus in his scheme of related groups beside the family are to be found country neighborhoods, small village-country communities, and larger town or small-city-country communities. He does not enlarge the pattern of relationships to include large urban centers. It is a little difficult to understand why the influence of such urban centers as Milwaukee, Chicago, Janesville, and Beloit were not recognized more fully in the Walworth study.

Organizations and Institutions

The beginnings for work done at Wisconsin in this area also trace back

to the Belleville, New York, experiences and studies. The report of one study, presented to the first state Country Life Conference (1911), was called "The Social Agencies in a Rural Community." The village librarian, under Dr. Galpin's detailed directions, spent three months making a survey of all village and farm families. All organizations having the village for their meeting place were listed. Each organization was given a symbol and these symbols were attached on a map at the location of each home which contained one or more members of the organizations. It was found that twenty-seven organizations centered in the village. The resulting map represented an interesting social design. Beside some homes were what Dr. Galpin called "comet tails." The length of the tail indicated the number of organizations with which members of the family were associated; the variety of symbols showed the different kinds of associated interests. "The big discovery," he said, "was the fact of a real community" of interests. Contrary to some theory, he found farmers and villagers mixing quite generally in all the organizations of the community. However, membership identifications were unevenly distributed. One third of the farmers were tenants and the map disclosed that these tenant-homes had on the whole "little connection with the important associated life of this community." Likewise, homes on poor land and on the back roads were, "largely unsocialized." It was these social me-

chanisms which did much in the breeding and spreading of ideas, he pointed out. Then the home was the "cross breeder," because "back to the home come members from their organizational meetings to fertilize the minds of all the rest of the persons in the home with their associated contacts. Though only one person in the home should belong to a social group outside, this one would surely shake pollen over the others." The "cumulative" idea more fully developed later in the *Source Books* is also found here. It is not only the cumulating effects of many organizational connections within one home or one community which is stressed, but a "gained momentum from generation to generation."

It is a long catalog of activities, field work in the state, bulletins written, picture-taking and slide-making, articles and class notes, which stem from the conclusions of the Belleville study and includes the following subjects:

- Small-scale schools
- Large-scale schools
- Farmers' high schools
- Social centers
- Farmers', family, and community clubs
- Community events, fairs, and festivals
- Town-country cooperative efforts
- Play-days for rural schools
- School district self-surveys
- Cooperative enterprises
- Church interests in social improvement

Rural local government
Rural art and cultural activities
State and county country life
conferences

There are those who claim that such endeavors do not come within the purview of theory or research. Whatever personal preferences may be on this point, however, it was the first-hand contact and the participant—observation in these areas which keep Dr. Galpin so close to the thinking and the behaving of rural people. They provided materials that he used liberally for his campus classes. They gave him entre and welcome to a myriad of social organizations and to the lay and professional leaders of the state as well as to many county and very many local units. He sums the reasons or motives for time and energy spent thus as follows: "In popular terms, *increase of contacts* means larger life, broader outlook and horizon, responsibility for greater social affairs, maintenance of relations in life on a community scale exceeding the present home and neighborhood scale." (Class notes, 1917.)

No good purpose will be served in attempting details here. Some items may, however, be of interest. First, a place of central importance was given to the rural community high school. "The farmers' high school is an agency second to none in helping to solve the social problems of the country."

Second, the rural church should "back up scientific agriculture as ethical ideal."

Third, Professor Emeritus and former Dean W. A. Henry, from Allenhurst, Florida, March 30, 1914, offered \$300 to the first Wisconsin cooperative rural laundry. The offer was announced before the Fourth Country Life Conference in the early spring of that year.

Fourth, there is an interesting story of how a condensed life history of John Frederick Oberlin, country pastor, was included at the end of the "Country Church" bulletin after sufficient Wisconsin materials and pictures had removed the dean's fears that the College of Agriculture might be printing history or biography. Ten thousand copies of the bulletin were distributed and another 30,000 copies sold through Dr. Galpin's personal efforts. A reprint of the Oberlin story was made later for further distribution to country pastors, by the late Dr. Malcolm Dana of the Yale Divinity School.

Fifth, the roster of speakers and discussion leaders at the four state country life conferences is long and most interesting. It includes many local people, lay and professional—associated with many organizations and institutions—and the names of many leaders nationally known. Among the latter are found the following: the Reverend Charles O. Bemis, McClellandtown, Pa.; Mr. H. W. Collingwood, Editor of the Rural New Yorker; Professor Richard T. Ely, Chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin; Miss Jessie Field, Superintendent of Schools, Page County, Iowa; Profes-

sor William A. McKeever, Kansas State Agricultural College; Reverend M. B. McNutt, Plainfield, Illinois; the Most Reverend S. G. Messmer, Catholic Archbishop of Milwaukee; Professor Graham Taylor, Editor of *The Survey*; President C. R. Van Hise, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Presbyterian Church in America, New York; Professor G. A. Works, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin.

Sixth, was the central question of leadership—how to keep the professional leaders of the many social organizations and institutions in rural life alert, intelligent, and optimistic. It is still a real problem how trained leaders and “skilled ministrants,” as he called them, of rural sciences and culture are to maintain a hopeful, cheerful poise and point of view. Without these he counseled that they withdraw from the scene for the good of their agencies but more especially for the good of rural society. Dr. Galpin believed that hope comes because of something real and tangible. Therefore, he was always holding examples of success and devotion before such leaders. He called them beyond the humdrum of daily tasks to the ideals of the true scholar-leader, who never hoards his wisdom but freely gives it away.

Farmers and Farms

In September, 1918, Dr. Galpin, with the help of Miss Emily F. Hoag, assistant in agricultural economics at the University, made a field study of farm tenancy. The findings are re-

ported in Research Bulletin 44 of the Experiment Station. It was an analysis of the occupancy during a ten-year period, of 500 farms all lying within one village-country community area, Sun Prairie, Dane County, with a population of about 1200, being the community center. The study was made at the behest of a committee on Standardization of Research in Country Life which was appointed at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1917. The recommendations called for an investigation of the social aspects of tenancy and especially the shifting of farm tenants. This was the only state study completed following the committee's plan.

When reviewing the results of the study, Dr. Galpin related how he had set his research trap for the tenant but evidently it was not sufficiently discriminating because to his surprise he caught not only the farm tenant but the retired farmer as well. He described the ways the farmer begins his retreat from the farm, sometimes without realizing it. The process may occupy the course of several years and include a great variety of steps, such as dividing the home farm, renting a part of the farm to a neighbor, letting the farm to his son on shares, moving out of the old homestead to a smaller house on the same farm while still helping on the farm, buying a smaller farm nearby while a son works the home farm, moving into town but continuing to help on the home farm, moving into town and taking up some other line of business,

finally giving up all active farming. Seldom, however, does the retired farmer give up a keen interest in the transactions and events in his old farm neighborhood. Dr. Galpin drew from the study a decided opinion that the village or town is party to both the tenant problem and the problem of the retired farmer. He urged the town, therefore, to perceive more clearly the importance and the close relations of its farm land basis, to recognize the nearby farmer as an actual present citizen of the community, and to take measures to correct evils of farm tenancy and to reduce the many perplexities of the retired farmer.

At the other end of the "ladder" was the younger man advancing toward ownership of the farm. The study followed the so-called "related" tenant and found him in the majority of cases to be a son or son-in-law. (47% of the tenants were related to owners.) It was worth notice, he remarked, as "a piece of rural sagacity" in the climb up the agricultural ladder that 79 sons who purchased farms "kept close to their father as adviser or landlord and presumably received their fathers' material backing when it came to purchase."

What might be considered a forerunner of the Sun Prairie farm tenancy study was a "Sociological Survey of Verona Township," Dane County, made with the help of seven graduate students, December 26 to 30, 1910. Schedules were taken from 241 of the 300 households, including those in the village of Verona located

directly in the center of the township, the community center. Of all the farmers 73% were found to be owners and 27% tenants. A wide variety of information was gathered ranging from family composition, organizational and institutional relations and memberships to publications received, crops produced, sources of income, education, patronage of saloons and financial standing. While a complete analysis of the data was not made nor a manuscript prepared, one chief axis of interest was the tenure system and the social status of the tenant. It is of whimsical interest, at least, that 87% of the owners and 75% of the tenants had "church relations;" 65% of the owners and 58% of the tenants had "saloon relations."

A sort of sequel to the Sun Prairie study was an investigation into "Causes and Conditions of Retirement of 100 Retired Farmers Living in Mount Horeb," Dane County. It was done by Veda Larson Turner, Assistant Economic Analyst, United States Department of Agriculture, under Dr. Galpin's direction, in the year 1923, and covers the period of a generation. The situation discovered is well summarized in the following paragraph:

So far as one can judge there is no social line separating the retired farmers from the rest of the village group. This is largely due to the fact that they came from the immediate vicinity of Mount Horeb, so had social, church, and business contacts before they moved there, and to the fact, that most of the villagers

came from the surrounding farms as young people leaving home and starting out for themselves. Several farmers did feel that they were being exploited by the villagers in the matter of village improvement taxation. The complaint was that the new school building, the water system and the sewer system were all paid for by the retired farmers. Perhaps there was some basis for this feeling, inasmuch as nearly all the retired farmers were property owners, and therefore tax payers, while many of the villagers rented their homes, and so did not have to pay taxes, but could vote, and enjoyed the benefits of these improvements.

Thus, we have gone the full circle of Dr. Galpin's concerns—while at Wisconsin—with rural life and agriculture, that is: from farm family through communities, organizations, institutions to family farm—the farmer's relation to his land. It should probably be made plain that most of the materials were farm-family centered. Village, town, and other non-farm rural family relations lay beyond the threshold of his observations and investigations.

While he disclaimed that his contributions there were sociological, they are certainly "the stuff" from which sociology is made. He succeeded, as Dean Russell wrote in his foreword to Dr. Galpin's first book, *Rural Life* (Century Co., 1918):

In opening a fresh vein of thought that bids fair to be a mine of increasing richness in that it offers a pertinent and tangible foundation for the

moulding of rural life, not on a basis of separate development where the city and the country are unrelated to each other, but where the two forms of expression are mutually dependent on each other.

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Dr. Galpin at Washington

By Carl C. Taylor†

The two preceding articles have presented penetrating insights into the personal and professional characteristics and habits of Dr. Galpin. When he transferred to Washington and assumed the responsibilities of promoting and guiding rural social research on a nationwide basis, these characteristics continued to manifest themselves. In this new position he was for 15 years Dean of Rural Sociology in the whole country. His touch

of originality and straightforward approach to all situations proved themselves in the development of good methodology in sociological research. His keen insights, his use of group thinking in conceiving research projects and his cooperative method of carrying them through to completion did more to develop rural social research at colleges and state experiment stations and to develop young rural sociologists than everything combined which had transpired up to that time.

† Washington, D. C.

Because of his practice of stimulating many persons, at many institutions, to make a start in rural social research and his universal practice of encouraging creative thinking on the part of others, the research he stimulated sometimes seemed diverse and scattered. Furthermore, because he did not seek to retain tight control over the many persons and institutions with whom he cooperated, it was inevitable that not all his cooperative projects were satisfactorily completed. Rural social research was young and undeveloped at most colleges and universities and those who directed research at these institutions had diverse ideas about the most fruitful fields in which to invest their funds. It is, therefore, exceedingly doubtful that any method other than that which Galpin used would so successfully have threaded its way through this uncharted field. He utilized the relatively small funds at his disposal to plant rural sociological research leaven at as many institutions as possible, generally from \$400 to \$600 at each institution, to support a project which some rural sociologist was willing and anxious to undertake.

Galpin did not, however, start his work at Washington without a charter which he himself had participated in formulating. A group of 28 rural life leaders, appointed by Secretary of Agriculture Houston had met on May 1, 2 and 3, 1919, in Washington, "to consider the subject of farm life studies as one of the divisions of research work of the proposed Bureau

of Farm Management and Farm Economics." Dr. Galpin was a member of this committee, as was Dr. H. C. Taylor, the newly-appointed Chief of the new Bureau. A few sentences quoted from the Report of this Committee and a list of the fields of work which the Committee suggested will serve to describe the scope and the activities contemplated by the new Division:

For many years efforts have been made by cities to provide satisfactory houses, schools, churches, stores, hospitals, medical services, recreation, sanitation and other necessary modern improvements.

In many rural communities splendid results already have been achieved in providing the facilities of modern civilization and in organizing for the maintenance of a better social life. In other rural districts, little, if any, progress has been made. It is desirable to study the causes of failure and the conditions of success to determine the actual needs in different localities and develop plans and methods which will help farmers in their efforts to reach out for the better things of life.

The attitude of the farmer's wife, the boy, the girl, toward farm life is a matter of great importance, as is also their health and welfare.

The farm home has relations also to other homes in the neighborhood; to country villages, where most of the trading is done; to the township or town; to the county seat and the state capital; and finally, to the distant city where much of its products are sent. . . The relation

to these population groups deserves careful study.

Farm life is related also to many organizations without definite geographic boundaries. . . It is important to study these various organizations in relation to farm life and the causes of success and failure.

Farm tenancy is an economic problem, but it also has important social aspects.

The treatment of rural disability—the defectives, dependents, delinquents—is a social problem deserving immediate attention.

Finally, the social effects of local disasters due to natural causes appear worthy of consideration, and also the social benefits of thrift and of the agencies for promoting thrift, such as savings institutions, rural credit organizations, and the like.

Ten "Suggested Fields of Study" each with from 4 to 10 sub-projects, were outlined as follows:

- I. Rural home life.
- II. Opportunities for social contacts in typical rural communities.
- III. The relation of educational and religious institutions to farm life problems.
- IV. Problems relating to geographical population groups.
- V. Rural organizations (without definite geographical boundaries).
- VI. Social aspects of tenancy and landlordism.
- VII. Special aspects of various types of farm labor.

VIII. The relation of various forms of disability to farm-life problems.

IX. The social consequences of local disasters due to natural causes.

X. The social consequences of thrift and agencies for promoting thrift.¹

Galpin assumed the responsibility for developing the fields of research prescribed by this charter on May 14, 1919. His first budget, for the fiscal year 1919-20 was \$20,390. His staff consisted of 4 professionals and 1 clerk. The first publication of the Division, USDA Bulletin No. 825, by W. C. Nason and C. W. Thompson, entitled, "Rural Community Buildings in the United States" appeared in January, 1920. The second, "Plans of Rural Community Buildings" USDA Bulletin 1173, by W. C. Nason, appeared in January, 1921, and the third, "The Organization of Rural Community Buildings," Farmers' Bulletin No. 1192, by W. C. Nason, appeared in June, 1921. A footnote to the third of these publications stated, "that this series of bulletins was based on an intimate study of more than 200 community buildings in all parts of the country."

The first 3 bulletins were a part of a specific line of projects pursued by Mr. Nason and guided by Dr. Galpin.

¹ Circular 139—*Report of Committee Appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture to consider the Subject of Farm Life Studies as one of the Divisions of Research Work of the Proposed Bureau of Farm Management and Farm Economics, Washington, D. C., June, 1919.*

These projects included studies of rural recreation planning, rural village planning, rural hospitals, rural libraries, rural community fire departments and rural industries.

These studies of successful community enterprises were carried out because of Galpin's specific conviction that the best way "to study the causes of failure and the conditions of success" specified by the Committee which recommended the work of the Division, was to point out the good things in American rural life and tell the stories of how they were accomplished. This technique alone fitted Dr. Galpin's character and spirit, for as H. C. Taylor says, he was a "crusader;" and he could not drive himself to give much attention to things that failed. Other early studies, most of them in cooperation with colleges, which emphasized the good things and the successes in rural life, appeared in bulletins entitled, "Rural Life in Arkansas At Its Best" (July, 1923); "Examples of Community Enterprises in Louisiana" (October, 1923); "Rural Progress Day" (Michigan, 1926) and "Successful Farm Families in Colorado" (April, 1927). "The National Influence of a Single Farm Community" by Emily F. Hoag of the Washington staff, published as USDA Bulletin No. 984 in December, 1921 should be included in this list. It was a continuation of Galpin's own study of the Belleville Community in New York. It was in the foreword to this bulletin that Dr. Galpin recorded in writing the viewpoint which he continually expressed

to his professional colleagues. He said:

Searching out the defects of country life has already gone far beyond the point of usefulness. The mounting mass of petty frailties and peccadillos, accumulated by shortsighted methods of country-life exploration, has obscured the body of excellencies native to farm populations. The chronic publicity of rural shortcomings has created a psychological situation fostering widespread pessimism about farm life. This cloud of doubt, far from remedying the defects, has tended to cast upon country life itself a shadow for which no legitimate cause exists.

The cure for this unfortunate situation is a policy of inventorying the better things in country life and spreading their story far and wide. These better things, like seeds, will take root and displace the worst things. Hope and contentment will revive, and pride in the part which farm communities play in national life will stop the unreasonable panic over the status of farm life.

The first official cooperative project agreement which is on record was signed on February 12, 1920. It was with the State Agricultural Experiment Station of West Virginia where Nat T. Frame, one of Galpin's old students at Belleville Academy, was Director of Extension and through whom arrangement with the Experiment Station was made. Its objective was stated to be "to determine by community analysis what social factors are of the first order in the development of rural community life." The published bulletin of this study

appeared under the title "French Creek as a Rural Community." Six more cooperative projects were initiated during 1920; 3 were studies in the field of tenancy and 3 were listed under the title of "Primary Population Groups." The tenancy projects were in Missouri, Nebraska, and Iowa and the primary group projects were with State Experiment Stations in Wisconsin, New York, and Montana. Two other agreements for primary group studies were signed the next year with North Carolina and Missouri.²

During 1922 cooperative projects were started in three other fields: studies of villages, of institutions, and farmers' standards of living. By the end of 1924 studies had been initiated in the fields of trade centers (towns), population, and attitudes. The other basic lines of research initiated by Dr. Galpin during his 15 years as Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life were in the field of rural municipalities.

At the end of 10 years Dr. Galpin had this to say about the development of the work of the Division:

The Division has been influential in three directions: first, in farm population statistics, covering composition, migration, gain or loss on farms; second, farm population national groupings; third, farm population standards of living.³ When the Division started there were no farm population Census figures.

It has made strenuous efforts for such basic information in each Census schedule, and has succeeded in some measure. Nor was there ten years ago any considerable information on the nature of farmer groupings, so necessary in any effective organization of farmers for improved production and marketing. Now we know a good deal about the dynamics of the farm community's social structure. The farmer's standard of living was not even a matter of statistical discussion ten years ago. Now we have the basis for thinking upon this important subject due in part to the Division's role in this field.

The records so definitely indicate that Galpin's analysis at that time was correct that it is worth while to give a paragraph to the development which he sponsored in these three major fields.

In the field of farm population statistics his cooperative project with the Bureau of Census and with the Institute of Social and Religious Research was far more outstanding than is generally recognized. He initiated and planned a special tabulation of the farm population of 8 selected counties. This provided a volume of information not previously available. The 1920 Census report was the first to divide the rural population into rural farm and rural nonfarm classes. Dr. Galpin planned and carried through an analysis of the farm population of these 8 counties, classified by sex, age, race and nationality tenure groups, residence, illiteracy, school residence, marital conditions,

² Division file of cooperative agreements.

³ *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. III, No. 3., Sept., 1929.

etc. He also started the annual farm population estimates in 1920.

The second outstanding population study was a statistical analysis of 150 representative villages scattered widely throughout the United States. It was a cooperative study with the Institute of Social and Religious Research and the Bureau of the Census. The findings were published by the Institute in four volumes: *Village Analyses of Middle Atlantic, Southern, Midwestern and Far Western Villages*. These were statistical analyses. I think it is correct to say that practically no rural sociologist at that time had been very much concerned with population analysis. I know it is correct to say that Dr. Galpin, because of his great interest in people as personalities, has never been given due credit for initiating research in this exceedingly important statistical field.

"Farm population natural groupings" was Galpin's characterization of the second major line of projects. Again I doubt whether rural sociologists have given him due credit for this concept of "natural groupings"; most of them do not know that he is the person among us who coined that phrase. Dr. Kolb, in his preceding article, has described how and why Galpin saw the naturalness of the rural groups which he studied. Most outstanding among the studies of groups was the 5 study series of primary population groups. The objective of these studies was stated in the cooperative agreements as follows: "To determine by community analysis

the primary population groups and the fundamental characteristics of these groups in — — — — county." The instructions Dr. Galpin gave to those of us who participated in these studies were to discover and analyze those significant groupings, next above the family, of farm people. As all who have read the bulletins which resulted from these studies know, the analyses went beyond primary groups, in the direction of the study of service areas such as Galpin had studied in Walworth County, Wisconsin in his *Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*.

There were, however, studies of other groups; a number of them studies of institutions, a few of them studies of the trade centers as rural community service centers, and some village studies in addition to those referred to in the paragraph above.

A line of projects which undoubtedly grew directly out of Galpin's *Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* consisted of a number of similar and related projects. The first was a cooperative project with Tulane University, the agreement for which was signed in December, 1921. Its findings were published in a bulletin entitled, *Some Factors in Town and Country Relations*. Another early one was with the Experiment Station of Minnesota, the agreement signed in July, 1922. Three others were completed by 1924 after which this particular line of studies lost its relatively high emphasis. Some of the studies gave more emphasis to

trade services and less to the "rurban" community than Dr. Galpin had in his *Social Anatomy* and I suspect this may have been why work in this particular field declined. With its decline, however, a field of analysis more nearly following the significant things Galpin had covered in his Walworth County study was developed.

When Dr. Theodore Manny went to Hendrix College, Arkansas from the University of Wisconsin in 1923, he and Galpin immediately began an analysis of rural municipalities. The Project Agreement was signed between the Division and Hendrix College in January, 1924. The project was entitled, "Social Aspects of the Farmers' Local Municipalities in the United States." The Study was nation-wide and continued by Dr. Manny when he joined the Washington staff in 1927. This study was published as a book entitled, *Rural Municipalities* in 1930.

The study of rural municipalities and other governmental units was, so to speak, a study in structures; but another line of related projects pursued by Dr. Manny were functional studies having to do with farmers' participation in these larger structures and their opinions and attitudes concerning both the structures and their participation. These were pioneering studies in the fields of attitudes and opinions but at the same time were studies in "rurban" relationships. Four of them were carried out as cooperative projects with State Experiment Stations and three of them by Dr. Manny of the Washing-

ton office. Those with the Experiment Stations were "What Farmers Think About Farming" (South Dakota); "Social and Economic Relations of Farmers in Pickaway County" (Ohio); "Farmers' Opinions and Other Factors Influencing Cotton Production and Acreage Adjustment in the South" (Virginia); and "Marketing Attitudes of Farmers" (Minnesota). Dr. Manny's three studies were "Farmers' Experience and Opinions as Factors Influencing Cotton Marketing Methods"; "What Ohio Farmers Think of Farmer Owned Business Organizations"; and "Membership Relations in Community Organizations."

Dr. Manny was one of the two professional rural sociologists on Dr. Galpin's staff during his tenure in office. The other was Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick who joined the staff in 1922 and for a number of years pursued one of the major lines of analysis of the Division.

The studies of levels and standards of living constitute one of Galpin's most outstanding contributions. It has already been noted that he initiated a study in this field as early as 1922 in cooperation with Iowa State College of Agriculture. It was that year that he added Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick to his staff for specialized work in this field. Some of the studies were called "Cost of Living in Farm Homes" and some of them "The Living Conditions and Cost of Living in Farm Homes." Some of them were more detailed studies such as "Average Quantities and Costs of Clothing

Purchased by Farm Families;" "Average Expenditures for Household Furnishings and Equipment Purchased by Farm Families;" "Average Quantity, Cost and Nutritive Value of Food Consumed by Farm Families;" and "Sources and Uses of Income Among Farm Families." Twenty-three of these studies were published in mimeographed form from January, 1924 to August 1928.

Before we leave the analysis of the fields of work which Galpin stimulated and guided I want to record a thing which he said to me after his retirement and which, if he were living, he would probably not want me to quote. It was concerning his dropping out of the field of farm tenancy studies and gradually drifting out of the field of levels of living research. His statement was: "We gave up research in these fields because others seemed to feel that they should have a monopoly on them. I did not care to fight, and rationalized that if my mind was not fertile enough to develop other fields equally significant I was not worthy of my responsibility." This was a commentary upon the spirit of Dr. C. J. Galpin. The remainder of his statement is a commentary upon his judgement as a rural sociologist. He concluded by saying: "I was wrong in the whole matter, Carl, because farm tenancy and the farmer's level of living are fields to which rural sociologists should make their contributions and I hope you will find ways by which to again initiate work in these fields."

Galpin was not known as a severe

methodologist and because of this some of his contemporaries did not count him as a scientist. To him the significance of the problem or the situation was the really important thing and methodology only a tool to be used in studying and appraising these problems and situations. His *Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* was an outstanding creation in the field of methodology but to Galpin it seemed to be a simple, straightforward, commonsense way of analyzing an important set of social relationships. He was always interested in methods and believed thoroughly in using quantitative methods just as far as possible. In a seminar or what would now be called a "workshop" on the field of agricultural economics, held in Washington in 1922, and in which the outstanding agricultural economists of the nation participated, Galpin made the following statements:

The fact is that all too much hitherto have economic theorists set up a hypothetical, mythical, unstudied man factor to go along with the studied and fairly well understood land and capital factors. The resulting formulae have therefore been defective. Not until the man factor has received by all the College, State and Federal agencies the scientific study given to the other factors will the agricultural industry receive well-balanced formulae based upon thorough-going economic research.

To carry this matter a little further let me answer the question which is on your lips. "What are some of the blind spots in

our knowledge of farm population?" I am sure you are saying to me in your mind: If scientific knowledge of the farm population is absolutely needed in order to utilize our scientific data on land, cattle, plants, credits, and markets, you can tell us, if you are willing, in what respects the exact knowledge is needed. I will therefore enumerate some of these blind spots and indicate what, I believe, is hanging fire in the solution of farm economy.

... "the health of farm population groups," "stability of farm population groups," "migration from farm occupation and farm life," "the standards of a farm population."

Let me now answer the inquiry whether scientific research is feasible in regard to the *man* (farm population) factor.

First, let me remind you that the Federal Census Bureau issues a decennial report on Population—a report gained by scientific methods.

Second, let me recall to your mind that Roosevelt's Country Life Commission in 1908 urged in its report that scientific studies should be made of the life side, i.e., population side, of country life.

Third, it is quite possible, if necessary, to name certain college and Federal bulletins of a research character in regard to farm populations which have received recognition from eminent sociologists and economists as contributions to the science of farm economy.

Fourth, many statistical measures of population (characteristics and relations) have been worked out and are available for use in statistical study; the farm-

ers' standards of living are measurable; the farmers' major institutions are easily graded and scored; the farmers' local government is describable, measurable, and can be evaluated.

Fifth, experimentation, even, is possible under certain conditions, and within certain limits. For example, agreement can be made by a responsible agency like the college with a certain farm population group, for the introduction of some group practice, institution, or enterprise, calculated to react strongly on the group. The practice, institution or idea introduced will be under specification and control. The results and reactions may be noted and studied, as in a baby beef feeding experiment.

Galpin never had large appropriations or a large Washington staff in carrying out his work. His largest appropriation was \$33,825 and his largest staff was 5 full-time professionals in 1929-30. During his 15 years as Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, 217 research studies were made and published, 101 by the cooperating institutions in the different States, 21 bulletins and 95 mimeographed reports by the Division. As was said above, he promoted research and rural sociology by the leavening and stimulating process and accomplished exceedingly large results with exceedingly small expenditure of funds. He was continuously alert and active in developing rural sociology not only as a field of research but as a general field of useful knowledge. In addition to participation in all the sociological

scientific societies and conferences, he made many speeches before the Land-grant College Association, Farmers' Weeks, and other professional and public gatherings. He wrote many articles, directed at the general public, which he felt must understand the field if research in it was to develop. He saw to it that press releases were issued telling the story of effective research that had been accomplished.

In March, 1927, he began the publication of "Farm Population and Rural Life Activities," a review of current research and other related projects of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and institutions and agencies cooperating, and issued a quarterly publication. This publication, while primarily a house organ and newsletter of rural sociologists, was more than that. It was an instrument for the promotion of rural sociological research.

In this first issue Dr. Galpin wrote:

It is this inter-relatedness of the work of all sociologists of rural life that prompts the putting out of this quarterly mimeograph to present and future sociological research cooperators. Any information of a sociological character which shall directly sharpen the instruments of rural research,—and consequently sharpen rural teaching and rural extension—will be welcome and find a place here. It is hoped that this quarterly will prove able to knit together the efforts of rural sociologists. "The improvement of the rural home and rural life," to use the words of the Purnell Act, is nothing less

than a lofty national aim, in fact, well-nigh a great national cause or struggle, which has come to take its place alongside other historic American struggles.

The last issue of Farm Population and Rural Life Activities under Dr. Galpin's guidance, April, 1934, contained a signed, concise summary of the work of the Division during his period of tenure. It showed that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life had had cooperative studies with 4 other Divisions in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, with 7 other Bureaus of the United States Department of Agriculture, and with 4 Federal Agencies outside the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

It listed cooperation with 48 colleges and universities in 37 States, 37 of them with Land-grant Colleges and 11 with other institutions.

He listed 43 states in which studies had been conducted by the Division, not in cooperation with other institutions.

He named 32 states in which members of the Washington staff had given addresses at various institutions; 160 of these addresses were by himself and 31 by other members of the staff.

After his retirement June 30, 1934, Dr. Theodore B. Manny was Acting Head of the Division until September, 1935, when I assumed the responsibilities. From then until 1942 Galpin regularly came to the office once a week and occupied a desk in a room adjoining my office, the door always left open between the two

rooms. This arrangement was made in order that I might have his wise counsel and that he might not quickly sever his influence over the work which he had so faithfully and effectively guided for 15 years. A great deal of personal and personal-professional correspondence was directed to him for a number of years. We provided secretarial assistance by which he might handle this correspondence but he insisted that everything that had even the slightest tinge of official concern was my responsibility. It was in counseling with him about these matters and concerning the rapidly expanding work of the Division that I developed a deeper appreciation not only of his fertile mind but of his great sagacity. I doubt whether any other persons than the authors of these three articles know how wise he was because, of all men that I have ever known, he was the least a salesman of himself.

Galpin wrote only one systematic work after his retirement, his *My Drift into Rural Sociology*. However, he wrote a few articles and accepted invitations to deliver a number of addresses. One of the last of these and one which I suspect he himself would select for publication is included as one of the two of his articles

and speeches which are included in this Memorial Issue. The other is: "The Human Side of Farming," January 7, 1920.

This article has been far more a report than an appraisal. Let me therefore repeat sentences which appear earlier in the article, the significance of which the reader may not have grasped. They are:

He was, for 15 years, Dean of Rural Sociology in the whole country.

He utilized the relatively small funds at his disposal to plant rural sociological research leaven at as many institutions as possible.

To him the significance of the problem or the situation was the really important thing and methodology only a tool to be used in studying and appraising these problems and situations.

He was continuously alert and active in developing rural sociology not only as a field of research but as a general field of useful knowledge.

He said, "Not until the man factor has received by all the College, State and Federal agencies the scientific study given to the other factors will the agricultural industry receive well-balanced formulae based upon thorough-going economic research."

The Human Side of Farming*

By Charles Josiah Galpin

Introduction

Emerson was fond of preaching to his generation that behind every common event lurks a glorious meaning; within the work-a-day service of every occupation lies an ennobling virtue. Every worker in Emerson's philosophy was to be a real man. Every man and woman was to be a real thinker. Every American was to be an American scholar. The attorney was to be the man thinking law; the merchant was to be the man thinking in the store; the agriculturist was to be the man thinking on the farm. Emerson pointed out the danger that instead of being the man thinking in the law office, the attorney might come to be a mere lawyer; the merchant might turn out to be a mere storekeeper; the man thinking on the farm might drop into the ways of a mere farmer.

We need in this generation an Emerson who shall have faith in men and in the common tasks of American life; an Emerson who shall constantly challenge the worker in the lowliest occupation to open the door of hope into the world of thought and also challenge the thinker of high thoughts to hunt out the noble content of the common tasks of ordinary life.

Agriculture—farming, as we call

it—has been listed by the populace, I fear, among the occupations where manual labor strikes the key-note. We need an Emerson to reinterpret the spiritual values in this noble, wonderful occupation.

But our story to-day is not of agriculture, itself, but rather that of people and the life of the people engaged in agriculture. The human side of farming has received attention from everybody since 1908, when Roosevelt woke the nation with the call to give the farmer a larger share in the social dividends of life. Better living on the farm for man, woman and child has since then become the slogan of country life.

I.

The Roll of Country Life Workers

It may not be out of place to call a short roll of men and women who have added something to the idea of a better country living in America. First of all, Sir Horace Plunkett, that great Irish countryman, who helped to launch the Roosevelt Country Life movement; Dean Liberty H. Bailey, Dean for many years of the New York State College of Agriculture, Chairman of Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, the poet of farm life, the interpreter of the independent landsman, the idealist of the coming agriculture; President Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, member of the Roosevelt Commission and

* Address delivered at University of West Virginia, January 7, 1920, before the students and faculty of the University and the farmers of West Virginia.

constant caller of men to confer on matters of country living, getting all the forces of country life together; no man has been more persistent in his loyalty to a fuller life of the farm family and the upbuilding of the country community; Dr. Warren H. Wilson, Columbia University, clergyman and University professor; he has set the problems of the country church before the conscience of the nation; Professor John Gillette, of the University of North Dakota, who blazed the way toward a rural sociology; Miss Mabel Carney, Columbia University, teacher of country teachers, lover of country people; President Harold W. Foght, South Dakota Normal College, who has brought to us the lessons of Denmark, and her schools. Besides these, every state has its favorite sons and daughters who are known as country life enthusiasts, and a great number of farm men and women who have heard the call to a better country living, and are known as staunch country life leaders.

II.

Unorganized and Organized Community Life

This band of devoted workers for a high type of country life faced country conditions which had not been analyzed. Few problems of ten years ago had been separated from the mass of conditions. The observer and thinker had to go from community to community and note the likenesses and the differences, and come to a judgment of excellences and

short-comings and then go to a working hypothesis for a problem. For example, I go into a fine dairy country community, eighteen miles from a railroad. I get acquainted with a family and its family life and the community. This is what I find: Three boys and girls all in the little district school half a mile away. Three of them are approaching the time when the little school can offer no more to them. The father has prospered in his dairying—built a new house, a new barn, got a flock of sheep, a fine herd of cows, pigs, poultry. The mortgage is lifted from the farm, money is in the bank. The mother has a family history of education in another state. She wants, she insists that her children shall have higher education. There is no high school within eighteen miles. There is no regular church nearer. A periodic Sunday school, an occasional itinerant preaching service. No grange. No farmers' club. No women's clubs. In fact, no organized agency or activity, in a fertile well-to-do dairy country, to engage the families in a community life. A series of farmsteads. A series of households; but units unorganized together. The mother prevails finally, and the family moves to town for the high school. They rent the farm to a less experienced farmer. They buy a house in town and start in to besiege the high school and take it by force. The boys soon find that high school is not what they had thought. The girl takes to it like a duck to water. After a year, the boys are

ready to quit. The girl overworks, and suddenly falls victim to disease and dies. The shadows fall. Town life is expensive. Things are not as they had seemed. Friends have to be made anew. The capital of friendship, slow of growth, is gone. The family comes to a crisis, and drifts back to the farm with raw experience, but little solid education. Illusions gone, but no advance in giving better life to their community. The problem arises, therefore, how organize a community and provide it with institutions at the door step.

I go into another dairy country community in another state, six or seven miles from the railroad. I become a teacher there of country boys and girls. One farmer, one of my trustees, who had made with his own hands and brain his competence, shortly before he died, sent for me and gave me a message for his only son. "Tell my boy," said he, "not to work so hard when I am gone as I have done. Tell him I want him to become a more broadly read man, a more public man than I have been." This message I put off for months, but one day in haying time, when the young man is busy with mower and team, I seek him out. I find him in the field driving his mower furiously through the heavy meadow grass. He stops and sits in his seat. While the horses rest, I try crudely to tell this boy what his father wanted him to be. I try to get him to forecast twenty years. I try to tell him that he has money, prosperity, friends, and need not spend himself exclusively on

the economics of farming. I say, "Will, your father wanted you to become a man of influence in the affairs of the community, county, and state." I walk off over the mown grass carrying with me a sense of failure. He does not seem to comprehend why he should not work hard with his muscles when that is what he likes to do. Twenty years pass by. I find that boy supervisor of his township, member of the County Board, Chairman of a committee to build a county sanatorium for the tuberculous. I find that he takes his work seriously and visits tuberculosis hospitals all over the country.

He builds the sanatorium. I find him when war comes going as a farm volunteer to do tractor work in France, as an aid to the farmers of France. This last month the Dean of the College of Agriculture in his state called in a large group of farmers for advice to the College. This young man, a graduate of the short course, was one. Then I learn that this young man is made Chairman of the Executive Committee of this group of farmers to see that the plans decided upon for the expenditure of a \$2,000,000 budget go through. Will has made good to his father's wish and has become a public man. But the reason is not to be found in the father's wish, merely, or in a teacher's laying on of hands. Rather, the community has made the man. Not a land as fat as the prairie of Illinois. A prosperous land simply, but an organized community. Institutions were there with a history of close on to a hundred

years. A country high school, or as they called it, "an academy" had been founded in 1824 under the title of a Literary Society. This academy had thirty farmers for trustees. Its faculty members during the year came from all the prominent colleges and institutions and normal schools of the East. From the beginning the academy was coeducational. The boys and girls from the farms sat there together under the teaching of these men and women who had come from the dynamic centers of thinking.

Debating clubs for the young men and literary societies for the young women were always there. The community had two strong churches with permanent pastors. One of the oldest granges in the nation was established there, and still going strong. A large cooperative creamery was an economic feature. The Chautauqua movement engaged the women of the community. It led to several women's clubs, two of which became affiliated with the Federated Women's Clubs of America. The County Agent movement struck the community among the first. This will suffice to show the secret. Here is a community wherein the people are linked together by historic institutions. The families have stayed on the land. Each son and daughter has a family tradition behind him or her and an institutional tradition. Here is a fabric woven into a community pattern where all individual threads are tied, knotted, woven into a texture which holds them—not only from falling out of line but to a common purpose. The

problem of the organized community here finds one solution, and the justification of it is found in the farmer who wants his boy to become a public spirited farmer and in the boy who became the adviser to the state college of agriculture.

III.

The Reason for the Lack Of Rural Organization

Let us pause a moment to inquire why it is that so large a proportion of our farm population presents us with communities possessing no community-ness; groups of people, but no institutions; people enough to be organized, but no adequate rural organization?

The story is almost unbelievable. For decades the farmer and his family had been left out of account by everybody except the politicians and retail traders. The farmer was just negligible from a wide social point of view—till Roosevelt discovered the farmer as a social being. Then America found that the occupation of farming had for a century marooned the farmer and his family in a sea of open country and had shut off his world connections! What are institutions? Great libraries? Great schools? Great churches? Great clubs? They are people, specifically trained, specially prepared people; connected by a long line with other specially trained people leading back from institution to institution through the history of progress of the race. A great high school is a set of teachers, gathering up into themselves the wisdom, out-

look, insight of great colleges and universities. To have in a community such a high school is to bring to the community the best thought and inspiration that has come down to the world in the realm of science and knowledge. A great church is in dynamic touch with the churches of all Christendom. A great library brings the wealth of letters from the ends of the earth. To be institutionless, therefore, is almost to be cut off from the world of thought. This is to be out of the current of the great throbbing life of the time. No wonder a farmer who realized his loss in the wealth of life, if not too late, moves from an institutionless community into the stream of institutional life. Resigned to the idea that institutions belong to the town, the farmer naturally met the social deficiency in farm life by leaving farming if he craved institutions. It scarcely occurred to anybody in America prior to 1908 that farmers should have hospitals, either general or maternity; municipal electric power plants for barn and house; real libraries of a modern sort; high schools; great churches of nobility and distinction. Least of all did the general run of farmers believe these institutions possible for them while in country residence. But when farming came to be generally understood to deprive people of the social privileges, and it was found that a constant stream of successful farmers, right at the height of their success on the farm, were leaving the farming enterprise in order to have a chance at the in-

stitutional life of the world, then the American economist points out that agriculture and the whole movement toward scientific farming is being weakened by the withdrawal of the seasoned farmers from the land. The American economist, therefore, it is who takes up the cry and call of Roosevelt and raises the question how can the farm land be provided with humanizing institutions, so as to keep the farmer on the land and not weaken food production and American citizenship itself.

IV.

The Need of a Scientific Knowledge Of Country Life Conditions

This is a question that everybody wants answered. How can a farm community be endowed with community-ness? How can it be organized? How can it have institutions? How can it share in the rise of the human tide of knowledge? How can the farm population become like other folks? To answer this question requires a pretty thorough knowledge of the various conditions and limitations of country life. This means a need for scientific knowledge of the human side of the farm life even as we have eagerly sought a knowledge of farm crops and animals. Whatever the skepticism about the country community's surrendering its secrets to investigation, it may be stated with assurance that it is possible now to make a social analysis of a rural community with almost the same confidence that we can make chemical analysis of soils. We can separate all

the major human elements and factors. We can trace them. We can classify their effects. We can tell what a community lacks, or what surplus it has. Statistics will play a good part. But appreciation will play the leading role. Appreciation will interpret the statistical, and statistics will correct the impressions of appreciation.

V.

Principles of Organization of Rural Community Life

Although it is not yet possible to give a full answer to the question how to organize an unorganized farm population and bring the spiritual goods of the world to the farm door step just as the rural mail now delivers the daily newspaper, some principles of the process are certain beyond question.

In the first place it is now recognized that organizing a country population is not a surgical operation to be performed either crudely while the patient suffers the pain of an amputation nor while he is asleep under the influence of an opiate or anaesthetic! Rather the rural human situation is one of imperfect community nerve coordination. All the delicacy of a nerve specialist is required in a community adviser—one who knows his patient has plenty of social power and coordinating capacity, but who realizes that years of open country aloofness and isolation have wrought in the habit of a whole people institutional prostration. Timidity about community copartnership prevails. Strong in individual action and fami-

ly action, whole groups of farm folk feel unable to lace up and tie an institutional shoe-string.

Right here is where we need the hope, optimism, and idealism of an Emerson, who will first of all beget in farm life groups the belief in their own social ability, in their capacity to produce and maintain institutions as well as any American social group. The Emersonian message, "Trust thyself," "Courage," institutional courage needs to be conveyed, assumed, taken for granted—and so inspired.

In the second place, it is fairly plain that whatever organization shall be brought to pass will be brought about by farm people themselves. They will finally tie their own social shoe strings! Nobody else can do it for them. No outsider can perform this task for them. No college, no university, no governmental agency can actually carry this process on.

In the third place, the seeds of farmer institutions, farmer social life, will not be exotic, brought from afar, from a foreign land and clime. They will be native. They are to be sought among the farm people of America themselves.

The seeds exist. In every state we may be sure are the native beginnings of just what we seek and need. It was a long process which took the native corn of America and bred it up to a corn-belt corn, a high altitude corn, a high latitude corn. No one is seeking now a wholly new cereal to take the place of corn; a wholly new fiber to take the place of cotton; a wholly new animal to take the place of the

cow, the horse, the pig. The best is found as near as possible to the locality and the beginning of breeding up is made.

VI.

Search for the Best Social Achievements of Rural Communities

The significant out-standing guide-post to country life habilitation, therefore, is to find out the best beginnings of social life in every rural community, in every county, in every state, in the whole nation. The guide-post reads, "To country life organized, breed up the best you already have." As agriculture itself begins where the farmer stands, so a better farm life will begin where the particular farm community stands. What are the best things extant is the great question. We can get along very well without piling up the failures, the short-comings, the evils of farm life. It does not help the nervous patient who is confirmed in the belief that he cannot tie his own shoe string, to tell him the whole list of his weaknesses, incapacities and sins. No more will it encourage a farm population to recite to them their deficiencies. The best things they ever did and do—these are the things to inventory and bring to the front. Here is where the tiny country school district survey by school children comes in to count up the prideful achievements of the district—crops, yields, qualities, utilities.

From the point of view of a state, the state college, the state university, the paramount function here is to hunt out all the best social habits,

social institutions, social practices already indigenous among the farm population of that state. These "best things" should be carefully garnered, hung up in everybody's view, cured, and handed out for seed in the state.

VII.

A Type of Rural Art Which Will Interpret Scientific Agriculture

I cannot let this occasion go by without a protest against the prevailing type of art in America which perpetuates the hoe-man and peasant in picture, sculpture, poetry, and advertising. The American rural engineer, as a matter of fact, is displacing the plodding peasant. The rural dietician in the house is displacing the woman with the rake in the field. The pride of the modern farmer is in his product—not in his tool. No wonder people take for granted that farm life is impossible when art blazes abroad the woman bending in the potato field, the disheveled farmer with hoe and cradle in hand. Those responsible for art in America should throw their influence into the balance for a new country life, by giving us an art interpretation which shows the pride of the great types of wheat, corn, potatoes, cotton, animals!

I looked over recently a book entitled "The Landscape Beautiful." One leading picture was a potato field. The potatoes were dug and laid in long rows on the ground. A long figure was in the field, a woman in the very foreground, in the posture of picking these potatoes from the ground. The bushel basket was nearly

full A bag of potatoes stood in the background at the end of the row. Evidently the woman must lug this basket to the end of the field and empty into the bag. Beautiful? A stigma upon the American farm, American farming—yes, and upon the American College of Agriculture.

I recently saw an advertisement in one of our leading journals, boasting for a certain book as an aesthetic addition to our literature. A quotation was given from the book. Here is the substance of it: "We can boast in America of as picturesque a peasantry as Europe can show. The tattered happy Negro, his log cabin, his mule and plow, his barefoot children." Boast of a tattered Negro farmer! Picturesque peasantry, forsooth! If agriculture is to be stigmatized by city artists who unconsciously are living in the hoe age, then let's hunt up a counter current of artists who appreciate scientific farming and the possibilities of organized, satisfying country community life. Let's have some new symbols of rural art which will portray the inherent beauty of the beautiful products grown out of a wonderful soil under the eye of God.

VIII.

Shrines of Human Hope

And now lest I shall fail to reckon with the hard facts which the farmer community faces in this slow process of socializing country life, let me admit that the attempt to lace and tie the rural social shoestring is attended with ups and downs, failures, mistakes, depressions. What resource

shall the farmer, the extension worker, the county agent, the home demonstrator have in time of inevitable despair?

Let me be personal at this juncture, and tell you how I regain my rural hope out of the night of despondency. I sat a few years ago in a small room as one of a group of rural workers with Sir Horace Plunkett. A small, slight built, gray figure with kindly hopeful eyes. I said to him, "Sir Horace, was it easy to get cooperation started among your Irish farmers?" The little gray figure leaned alertly forward in his chair and said: "I visited fifty communities with all my plans and pleas before a single one accepted cooperation." When I am in despair I think of Sir Horace Plunkett and the first fifty Irish farm communities.

When the war broke on the world I was in Norway, on my way to Germany to study for the University of Wisconsin, the German farm village. I changed my plans and went to the farming communities of Denmark. There I saw the wonderful Danish country school, the Danish folk high school, the Danish peasants' high school. I saw whole communities of small farmers who got their surplus living off from three to seven acres of land, from rearing rabbits, bees, a cow, a sow—I saw them putting their little surpluses together into this wonderful peasants' high school for their children. I heard their master teacher tell with sublime religious ardor of how necessary it was that the farm boys and girls of Denmark

should be connected up, by living great Danes, with the great Danes of their whole wonderful history. "The living word" to living Danes should make them all links in the historical Danish chain. I came back to America and knew down in my heart of hearts that if the Danish peasant farmer in the course of fifty years could come to Danish community organization, the great farmers of America could do the same. When depressed in my own weakness, I think of little Denmark and rural hope for America once more glows anew.

But as an antidote for my deepest despair, when Plunkett's face fails to come back to me, and Denmark seems like a dream, I conjure up to my vivid memory the actual farm men and women of America I have known—men and women who have had faith and courage in farm life. I think of

the community of ordinary farmers in which I lived for thirteen years. I recall their masterful maintenance of institutions; the academy, the churches, the grange, the clubs, the cooperative creamery, college bred farmers and farm housewives. And I rise to my feet and say: "The seed is here. The soil is here. Rural organization in America will come." My hope burns anew.

Conclusion

In closing, may I ask you to read your Emerson again, and cheer your heart with faith in the common man and in the common task; faith in the farmer as a thinker and organizer; faith in the native seed of rural social life. And when dark days come and rural hope burns low, seek out some shrine where rural light breaks through and rural hope once more is kindled.

My Philosophy of Rural Life*

By Charles Josiah Galpin

Introduction

The title of this paper, "My Philosophy of Rural Life," may lead the hearer to anticipate a juicy morsel from the speaker's inner experience—something after the manner of De Quincy's *Confessions of an Opium Eater*; or, the avowal of an unpopular creed, like John Henry

Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (Defense of His Own Life); more likely, however, just another romance, like Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. As a matter of fact, I am not going to break the suspense by pleading guilty beforehand to any of these surmises. I do reserve the right to present a personal view of rural life—my view. I also claim the privilege of being serious. However much it is in vogue these days to ridicule phi-

* Address delivered at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, before the Institute of Rural Affairs, August 1, 1930

losophy, philosophy does still imply an attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff. If I give way to a strain of romantic sentiment about rural life, I claim some indulgence on the ground that I come of a long line of farmers who, since 1650 in the Colonies, both in Virginia and in other States, have lived the life we discuss today.

By way of further introduction, I wish to acquaint you with a peculiar repugnance of mine, which you will of course consider a bias and duly allow for in your final judgement. My special antipathy, to be perfectly candid with you, is, in the struggles of men, to see wealth, either public or private, made the great goal of living at the sacrifice of personality. I have an abhorrence of money-making, for example, at the expense of character; an abhorrence of the continued accumulation of family property, while the family is left intellectually impoverished. I hate to see a public regime under which wealth-getting stands in the fore-ground, and men, women, and children—their human values and character interests and satisfactions—stand in the background. To illustrate this antipathy a little further, in the field of agriculture, I look with a great deal of suspicion upon the demand for "corporation farming." The intellectual atmosphere out of which emanates this cry for "corporation farming," "large-scale farming" for "mass production" is highly charged I fear, with desire for the creation and amassing of wealth, without due respect to the

effect upon the personalities of the farmers involved. My inclination to question every profit-making scheme, put up to farmers on the plea of sound economics—question it, I say, until it is clear that the human beings involved in the venture will not suffer in mind, body, or soul is a cause of some embarrassment to me with economists, and it may prove an embarrassment to me with you today. Now let me jump into the middle of my theme.

I.

My General Formula for Rural Life

Agriculture is and has been the occupation of the yeoman type of man—the commoner, the ordinary run of men and women of normal, all-round instincts and abilities. Agriculture has always been, still is in fact, and probably always will be, an occupation of moderate economic reward. Manual labor in farming is mixed with intellectual effort. This will probably always be the case, in spite of the "machine age" appearing on the horizon of agriculture. My philosophy embraces all these normal, instinctive characteristics of farmers dressed in the costume of moderation. I see, therefore, in the farmer of the future, no great essential change in character, behavior, or satisfactions. Being just a run-of-the-mine man, a generic racial pattern, perhaps the most typical man any occupation produces, the farmer will live a life on the broadest base of experience that life presents. We may expect that the normal instincts of the race will ap-

pear fulfilled in him, in regard to variety and average intensity. Just because the farmer is a normal, generic, broad-based type, there are certain qualities which we shall hardly see fulfilled in the farmer, and the absence of these qualities must be included in my philosophy. Let me enumerate a few of these.

1. Farming will not be the occupation of those who aim at great wealth. The millionaire is an industrialist.

2. Farming is hardly compatible with the highly specialized aptitude of genius, whether of a scientific, artistic, or ethical nature. Robert Burns was a poor specimen of farmer; leaving the farm, he became a great poet.

3. Farming is not adapted to celibates, those who do not marry. Celibacy is an abnormality, or a specialty. Asceticism of any kind is not farm-bred. Neither is epicurism, on the other hand. The farmer takes his pleasure in small doses as he goes along in connection with his routine life. Moderation is the keynote of agriculture.

From the basic character of the farmer, I make a very important inference. I deem it folly to attempt to convert farm people into personalities that, for their inner satisfactions and contentments in life, depend upon the social activities of cities. The American city is the habitat of exceptional or specialized, and unnormalized individuals and is run in their interest. The city, in its institutional adjustment to city people, has built up varieties of recreational relief for its workers, varieties of edu-

cational and social activities, especially adapted to characteristics of city people. There are points of conflict between city and country behavior, and necessarily some points of difference in the facilities, appliances, and modes of activity utilized in each type of behavior. To urbanize the farmer in his own habitat is simply to take the first step to remove him from his natural setting, that is, to destroy him as a farmer. The values of farm life and labor are conditioned by a mode of experience and joy of living, which naturally dry up and wilt under ultra city ideals. If, for example, farm youth are taken with the glamour of the untrammelled unmarried life of many city men and women, they are so far unfitted for farm life. If the every-minute daintiness of city apparel haunts the farm girl, she so far becomes unfitted to take her part in a life where special daintiness can be only occasional. With this general statement of formula of my philosophy of rural life, let me consider the matter more particularly from several points of view.

II.

From the Point of View Of Professional Workers for Agriculture

My philosophy of rural life would restrain economists, extension workers, and other professionals in the fields of agriculture from carrying the economics of city industry over bodily to agriculture. The economics of the city factory is adapted to factory workers who are satisfied to do

each a special little part of a whole task. They are willing to do this small part of a joint task under control, differing little from military control; they get relatively a high wage; live their life out of work hours as independently as possible, to compensate for a very dependent, military obedience in work hours.

The farm and the factory differ essentially at the point of freedom. If the economist makes a factory out of land for crop and animal production, introducing military control with large-scale units, piece work, specifications, he destroys the peculiar character of the yeoman, the man who owns himself, directs himself, and has a judgment based upon independence.

Therefore, I would say, let the economist of agriculture begin his plans with a thorough consideration of the human factor, its limitations and ideals, and fit his economic schemes to the character of the farmer.

III.

From the Point of View of The Sociologist of Rural Life

My philosophy calls upon the sociologist of rural life to aim at the establishment and development of a rural culture and rural civilization which shall be in thorough harmony with the life of the yeoman, a very general type of human being who creates a society whose flower is the family. To socialize the farmer out of family life is to destroy the yeoman, and to substitute something again like another city type of civili-

zation for the most precious element of human living. I have no fear of this blunder on the part of the sociologist, if he gives due weight to the character of the farmer, as influenced by his contacts with land, sky, sweet air, sunshine, great spaces, love of growing things, love of animals—in fine, to the farmer's cooperation with nature. The sociologist will seek to give the farmer and his family such access to group life as will enrich, carry on to fulfillment, the life and behavior of the farmer, but in no sense tend to uproot the farmer, destroy his character, and adapt him to another habitat and mode of life. Great scope exists for social contacts in farm life, which however, hold the family securely at the center. The rural sociologist will be glad to see the farmer breathe his native country air; he will not attempt to make him over socially in order that he may breathe the air of cities, like one to the manner born.

IV.

From the Point of View of The Statesman

Statesmen must give rural life a chance for its own kind of life. Rural life is not to be exploited by statesmen either for mass production, or cheap food, or cheap labor. The right to a high point of development within his own medium of work and living is manifestly due the farmer from the statesman, wherever legislation touches the farmer. The statesman will admit a difference between farmer and city man, but not a difference

of inferiority for the farm and superiority for the city. I have never admitted that the farmer is an inferior human being. The worth of the farmer to the nation will be held in the mind of the statesman; not only his mechanical value as a food producer, but his intrinsic worth as the bulwark of the commoner, the independent thinker, the yeoman. Not only will the statesman recognize the farmer's value as an independent political conservative, but he will recognize his family ideal as the rock upon which the nation rests. The biological significance to the nation of the farmer's family, and the socio-psychic value of his family life will never desert the true statesman's judgment. If the city is doomed to destroy human beings in its processes, and not to produce them, as at present is the case in American cities, then the farmer becomes the father of his country, and the farm woman becomes the mother of the nation. There seems little remedy for doom to the city as a biological center of the nation. The very nature of the city—its work its high cost of space—dooms it as a birthplace. The father and mother of the nation live on the farm; and statesmen must recognize this fact or go wrong as leaders of national thought.

V.

From the Point of View of the Farmer

My philosophy of rural life envisages the farmer as a bitter-end resister to all attempts of benevolent

agencies to metamorphose him, a child of nature, into a creature of urban habits, under any plea, especially the plea of efficient mass production and a creator of more wealth. The farmer still instinctively holds precious his freedom in work and in life. He will be the first to doubt the sanity of giving up management of his little farm for the promise of high wages in an industrialized, militarized farm. He will be the first to see the demotion in being reduced to the level of a hired man, when asked to join the collective farming corporation. In fact, the farmer's slow acceptance of social reforms grows out of his determination to preserve his main qualities and live and work in character.

After watching for twenty years the resistance of the ordinary farmer to the benevolent attempts of many to make him a rich man, I am ready to be thankful for his slowness to give in to the schemers who besiege him in his own interest.

VI.

From the Point of View of the Farm Woman

I have called the farm woman the mother of the nation. My philosophy of rural life holds to that statement. It is not so much now that I call upon all to honor her for this; but it rather is that I call upon all to recognize this function of the farm woman, in order that this function be enriched, assisted, fulfilled, and not destroyed. If you persist in urbanizing the farm woman, you in reality are by so much

withdrawing from her her present proud distinction.

She cannot accept the lure of the city, its ideals, adaptations, limitations, and remain the bulwark of the family. Fill her mind with love of the treasures of art—the things made by man out of insensate materials—and she will wane in love of the treasures of living children; for where her treasure is, there will her heart be also. This is not to discredit art; but it is to say that a profound gulf lies between the art of things and the art, so to speak, of persons. Choose, the woman must—to be happy in helping create children, or to be happy in creating things. The genius of the farm is its relation to life; the genius of the city is its relation to things. The farm breathes of nature; the city sticks out with art. The farm woman is a nature woman; the city woman is an art woman. Each has her place and function. But the farm woman resists being made into a city woman. And well she may, for her part already is a noble one—mother of the nation.

Conclusion

I believe in the farmer, in the farm woman, and in the farm child. They are a base from which races spring, just as the earth is a base from which all things spring. I believe in the farm family, as a group out of which springs spontaneously the best we know in socialization. I believe in a rural culture of its own kind, designed to preserve the farmer and his family in their role. I believe in keeping the farmer liberty-loving, free,

independent, so far as may be consistent with a free cooperation by understanding and agreement with his fellows. I believe in a machine farming which does not destroy the farmer in creating production. I believe in many small farms, as well as many large farms; for I remember that the farmer of small circumstances wants a farm of his own, and many farm-minded, domestic men and women, even though they carry on an occupation outside of farming, cherish the small farm as a habitat for the family. I believe in a high standard of living for farmers, measured in terms of real comfort for man, woman and child, as well as in health, useful knowledge, and leisure. I believe in the American type of farmer, whose freedom is above that of the European peasant. The freedom of the American farm woman to develop the home rather than to be bound to the field and the stall is the best index that America has forever rejected peasantry. I believe in the education and schooling of farm children to a point as high as is consistent with their constructive role and function in the nation. I believe in farm science and homemaking for the farmer and his wife and children. I believe in a free play in agriculture and country life for human motives other than the profit-making motives—for motives of pure sentiment, family history, prestige and pride; for motives of patriotism, and love of locality, landscape, horizon; for motives of religion, and self-sacrificing duty to community. I believe in protecting

farmers from political and economic subjection. The cry for "cheap food" is a danger signal of exploitation. I believe in the farmer's understanding the social ways of men, how human society functions and how legislation and economic control come about among men in both city and country. So the farmer shall not be outwitted by sharpers in the name of politics, business, or patriotism.

When the fancy of men breaks out in screeds about the national waste that is present in the family type of farms and praises the economic glories of great corporation farming, I smile a smile of sympathy; for I, too, have indulged my fancy, in the matter of farming, anticipating the period some hundreds of years hence when crops shall be grown automatically under a roof, with artificial watering, artificial sunshine, and artificial feeding of plants with specialized plant soups made from soils; for soil is after all for plants only a bargain pile of semi-assorted food. It does seem anomalous to make the potato plant or the wheat plant go on hunts underground, pasturing for their food through rootlet mouths at the end of a tight root tether. The use of the soil to support the anchored plant may theoretically be done away, and then a system of feeding, forced feeding of plants under roofs, by

streams of soups flowing into their open mouths, would transform farming into an actual life factory.

This fancy of mine, when put into practice, to save the population of the world forsooth, will transform the farmer; but I am sure that you and I need not now figure out the changes to rural life under this fanciful regime. Nor need we take very seriously yet corporation farming, that other fanciful scheme of business thinkers. What we must take seriously is our own attempts to make something else out of the farmer than a farmer. I believe in the pride of a farmer at being a farmer. Let him have as good a single-family house as science can design, but don't set up apartment hotels and tenements in rows for farmers, as I have seen on certain great estates. Let him have his great consolidated school and high school; but train his children to habits of thought which support rural society. Don't let rural schools undermine the farm, and cause the farm woman to abandon the family ideal. My philosophy of rural life, in a nutshell, is this: The nation is always in sore need of a yeomanry, independent, generic, potent. Build up the farmer where he is on his yeoman base. In attempts to improve your yeoman, don't so metamorphose him that you destroy him.

Selected Letters To Galpin
Memorial Album
By Fellow Sociologists
PRESENTED TO
CHARLES JOSIAH GALPIN
BY
THE RURAL SECTION
OF
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
DECEMBER, 1935

The above is the title page of a book of which there exists but one copy in the world. It contains sixty-two letters, some of which are quoted below:

"I recall that you said, 'Anderson! when you get to China, keep your mind clearly focused upon your one purpose and do not let other side interests disturb or distract you.' Then you said, 'When a hunter goes into the swamps of North Carolina to shoot bear, even though his hand is covered with mosquitoes, he pays no attention to them. His attention is riveted clearly upon his one objective.'"

W. A. Anderson

"To have come under your influence was a significant and rewarding experience. Farm homes and farming communities are only beginning to feel the effects of your scholarly work, but the years ahead will undoubtedly see a kind of progress that

has been hastened by your interest in the human side of agriculture."

Lita Bane

"I am glad to have an excuse for paying tribute to your own immeasurable contributions in this field, as pioneer researcher, effective and beloved teacher, and eloquent spokesman."

Kenyon A. Butterfield

"Any of my students will tell you that one particular requirement has been made of them, viz., acquaintance with 'Rural Life' and many other of your books and writings. Indeed, I have made no apology for quoting you with great frequency and acknowledging that you were one of my 'patron saints' in things rural. . . Above and beyond this, I wish to tell you how much I have valued your personal friendship and the numberless courtesies received from your hands. I wish you many years more

leadership in the field dear to us both."

Malcolm Dana

"Your pioneering vision and scientific spirit have been an inspiration to me personally, and an invaluable contribution to the development of our field."

Perry P. Dunune

"Among the happiest memories of recent years are those that recall my informal and always informative conferences and visits with you in Washington and elsewhere about the American Country Life Association, the West Virginia Country Life Program, and other mutual interests. No other person has contributed so much to my philosophy of life—rural and otherwise—as have you. No words of mine can repay the debt of gratitude that I owe you."

Nat T. Frame

"To have a man of your vision and unquestioned ability and recognized leadership again and again champion the social needs of the family in clarion tones and scholarly language was indeed heartening to home economists. You and Doctor True were two never-to-be forgotten friends of the pioneer years in this new phase of education."

Grace E. Frysinger

"Your insistence that the human element in agriculture is after all the most important thing has been a most salutary corrective to the tendency to

over emphasize the more material aspects of farm life."

W. E. Garnett

"I congratulate you on the large service you have rendered to the study and scientific understanding of agricultural society in the United States. In my estimation, your greatest contribution is the leadership and stimulus you have exercised toward local, concrete survey studies in multitudes of communities throughout this country."

J. M. Gillette

"I recall distinctly the first time I saw and heard you. I was just getting started in the field of Rural Sociology. You came to Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, at the invitation of the county agent to speak at the annual meeting of the Blair County Extension Association.

"It was one of your characteristically stimulating talks and I departed with a whole fist full of notes tucked away in my pocket. You could not have known it, but in years following, the essence of that talk was carried throughout the state and presented to scores of meetings, lacking I grant you, the fine diction and effective presentation of the original but having some of the enthusiasm and optimism which you have always seemed able to pass on to others."

W. R. Gordon

"Your pioneer studies in Wisconsin provided the methodology and the incentive for similar studies in both

country and city. Since that time, by precept and example, in the capacity of University Professor and Government Official, you have encouraged a large number of other sociologists to carry on a varied program of practical researches cutting across many phases and interests of rural society. Along with this research, and as a part of it, there has also grown a rich literature that is widely used by various kinds of educational agencies. Thus, through the discovery of facts, the development of sound theory, and the general promotion of scientific thinking, public policy and programs of social action in Rural America have been guided, and thus Rural Sociology has been a real science and a handmaid to Rural Progress."

J. L. Hypes

"I have been greatly indebted to you for your inspiring lectures, helpful conversations, useful books, and general leadership in all phases of town and country work. It was largely through your inspiration that I found a new outlook for town and country churches and for rural community life, and I want to express my deep appreciation for all of these contributions which have meant so much to me. . . .

"Your philosophy of life has always struck fire with students, audiences and groups wherever it has been mentioned and discussed, and it has done much toward enlarging the 'small horizoned consciousness' of farm people which you used to talk about in your classes."

Albert Z. Mann

"Your ideals and methods in research and your portrayal of the strength and beauty of rural life will endure as sources of inspiration and guidance to the teachers and investigators in the field of rural sociology."

Eben Mumford

"You have become the foremost figure in the study and setting forth of living conditions among American farmers. Your leadership has stirred up an unusually able and energetic group of men to do the same thing. So that nowhere in the world perhaps have rural life conditions been examined with greater zeal and care than in this country."

Edward Alsworth Ross

"Your bulletin on the Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community appeared while I was a graduate student at the University of Chicago. I was trying to find some central thesis for a course in rural sociology and also for my own dissertation. Your method of mapping the rural community solved my problem and incited my subsequent studies in this field. It was the chief stimulus in developing the study of human ecology in this country and I regard it as a major discovery in sociological method.

"Great as has been our debt to you for your contributions to sociological method, I have valued even more your inspiring enthusiasm for country life, your belief in farm people and your insistence that human values are the essential basis of a sound rural policy.

The encouragement you have given many students for exploratory research in rural sociology has been largely responsible for the rapid advance in this field of knowledge in the past two decades. For these contributions and for the enrichment of my own life through your friendship I am grateful to you."

Dwight Sanderson

"Your term of service in Washington was epochal since during that period rural sociology came of age and entered upon a respectable career of its own in the academic world. Certainly that achievement was greatly facilitated by your paternal oversight. But such supervision was to be expected from one who had made so notable a contribution as you had in 'The Social Anatomy of the Agricultural Community.' That work gave a tremendous impetus which fortunately you were able to guide into proper channels from your high tower in the U. S. D. A."

Newell L. Sims

"Extension work in rural sociology has come late into the Extension program. Even now, it is established under the name in only a few States but is coming forward rapidly and promises to become an outstanding feature of Agricultural Extension work in years to come. We want to acknowledge our indebtedness to you for our first concept of what Extension work in rural sociology should be and particularly do we want to acknowledge your guiding influence

in our concept in development of our boys' and girls' 4-H club work, which now embraces over nine hundred and fifty thousand rural youth and approximately ninety thousand adult leaders of the work.

"You have enriched our thinking and helped us to see deeper and farther into the future in all this work, and I want you to know of our appreciation."

C. B. Smith

"I shall never forget the address you made to the extension rural sociologists at Cleveland in 1930. At that time you told something of the story of your life and of the history and development of Rural Sociology. To hear a pioneer in the field point to the future with such optimism as you displayed was an inspiration to me and to other younger men in the field."

R. C. Smith

"Your visit to the Minnesota Campus during 1928-1929 was one of the high lights of my school year. . . .

"At Louisiana State University your life and work have been a constant inspiration to me. I think of you as one of those rare individuals in whom sympathetic interest has neither lessened scientific insight nor scientific objectivity stifled sympathetic understanding."

T. Lynn Smith

"When I was in Russia I was fortunate to come across your 'Rural Life' which impressed me as a book written by a man whose heart was in rural

life and whose mind was fine enough to understand deeply the nature and values of the rural people. After my arrival in the United States of America I was fortunate enough to meet you personally and then later on to enter into still closer association with you as co-author of our 'Systematic Source Book.'

"It is needless to say that the more I study your works and the better I become acquainted with you the greater becomes my admiration and respect for you. It gives me sincere pleasure to join the group of your disciples and admirers and in this way pay deep tribute to you as the pioneer and founder of rural sociology in the United States."

P. A. Sorokin

"Those chats that we had in the rural communities of the six European countries into which you led our Country Life group in 1926 stand out as some of the richest experiences I have ever enjoyed."

W. H. Stacy

"I have been a close follower of your work. I have been greatly benefited and influenced by your insight into and evaluation of rural social and sociological problems. I often refer to you as the Dean of the Rural Sociologists with all the deepest and fullest meanings of that term. We other Rural Sociologists owe very much to you for the pattern of the clear, well-balanced and long-sighted thinking which you have set for the field and those working in it."

George H. Von Tungen

"I congratulate you upon your years of service as leader in the field of Rural Sociology, as organizer of research, and as prophet of Rural Life."

Warren H. Wilson

"More than twenty years have passed since I first visited you in your rural sociological study and laboratory in Agricultural Hall at the University of Wisconsin. . . . I remember vividly to this day the large maps on the walls of your study showing the social participation of farm families in community activities. That was the first time I ever knew that social life could be studied that way. . . . Today we pay you the tribute of getting rural sociology founded on a solid body of facts."

Fred R. Yoder

On April 21, 1947, Liberty Hyde Bailey wrote Dr. Galpin a letter which reads as follows:

"I actively remember our many meetings and the uplift I derived from them. You have made a real contribution to rural welfare in your governmental connections, your religious leadership, your stimulating writings, and your relationships abroad. It happens that my main work has been in other fields, and you are one of the men on whom I relied for the social and economic side. You deserve well, and your influence will continue."

At the bottom of this letter, in Galpin's own handwriting, are the words: "Written when 89 years old. C. J. G."

NOTES

Edited by Paul H. Landis

THE CHANGING ECOLOGICAL PATTERN IN RURAL LIFE*

It may be assumed without elaborate verification that the ecological approach has a definite place in sociological analysis. It deals with the spatial distribution of human beings and their institutions which results from influences of competition as they are modified by culture. The purpose of this paper is to show how certain cultural changes in recent decades have affected the ecological pattern (or patterns) generally recognized in rural life.

The work of C. J. Galpin in Walworth County, Wisconsin about 1915 may be taken as a base line for analyzing ecological changes in rural areas.¹ Galpin found that the trade area of a town constituted a community in the ecological sense. To use his own words, "It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone of one of the rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, in which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness."² The research of J. H. Kolb and others has made it clear that within the trade area of the rural community another ecological group, the neighborhood, frequently exists.³ A neighborhood usually consists of ten to twenty families that have certain common interests as a consequence of proximity of residence.

It seems clear from an examination of these and subsequent studies of an ecological nature that whenever people in a contiguous area have common activities and in-

terests as a result of living in that area, a community comes into existence. The importance and identity of the community increases with the number of such interests. On the other hand, a decrease in activities and interests contributes to a decline of the community. If a sufficient number of the local activities and interests disappears the community is reduced to a neighborhood status.

Since the researches referred to in the above paragraph appeared, inventions and improvements in transportation and communication have greatly affected rural life. The hard surfaced road, the automobile, the motor truck, the telephone, and the radio have come into general use. It is now possible for both the farmer and his family to leave their neighborhood and local community for business or pleasure with relative ease. The farmer also has a much greater choice in the marketing of his products.

Effects of Modern Means Of Communication and Transportation

What has been the effect of these developments so far as the ecological pattern is concerned? The outstanding result is a decline in the autonomy of the neighborhood and community. Now they must compete with other similar and larger groups in marketing, trade facilities, and in the services offered by institutions and organizations. Consequently some towns have declined both in population and in the number and variety of services which they offer. In true ecological fashion these changes did not occur regularly or uniformly throughout the country. Advantages of location, economic resources, and the aggressiveness of the people modified and continued to affect neighborhood and community relationships. In general such influences work to the advantage of the larger places. The

* Paper read at the meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, 1947.

¹ Charles J. Galpin, *Rural Life*. New York: The Century Company, 1918, pp. 70-87.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

³ J. H. Kolb, *Rural Primary Groups*. Research Bulletin 51, 1921, Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

services remaining in any particular locality must be of a type which, due to their proximity to a sufficient number of homes, can compete with other similar services. Those agencies of trade that sell "convenience goods" can exist at strategic points, which may sometimes be in the open country along a main highway. Perhaps the best illustration of this type of service is the gasoline station and a supply of groceries which it frequently has for sale. Several years ago in an article in *Social Forces*¹ the writer explained that three types of trade centers were developing in rural areas; namely, (1) the primary trade center, (2) the intermediate trade center (designated as a shopping center in the previous article), and (3) the terminal center. A primary center is the first or nearest trading place for the farm family. It may be a small hamlet with only a grocery store, gasoline station, and possibly a hardware establishment. The intermediate center ranks between the primary trade center and the terminal center. The town of a thousand population, surrounded by farms, would be typical. It has a limited number of specialty stores, such as shoes and jewelry. The terminal center is a larger place and has all the trade and service facilities that a family will be likely to need even on an intermittent basis. The equilibrium resulting from the inter-related influences of type of service, number of people needed to support it, and distance families must travel to reach a trade center determines if it will, or will not, have a particular agency of trade. Social trends in rural life have brought into sharper focus the existence of the three types of trade centers described in the previous article.

It follows from the foregoing statements that a family living near a primary trade center will patronize it for convenience goods. It may go to an intermediate center for certain other services and to a terminal trade center for others which are more specialized. Families living near a terminal

center will go to it for most of the services that they need. Thus the current ecological pattern represents sort of a stratified arrangement in which the trade area of the terminal center extends over that of the intermediate and the primary centers, while that of the intermediate center includes the primary center. This pattern may be contrasted with the previously existing one in which each trade center supplied almost all the services that a family needed. Figures 1 and 2 present a schematic arrangement of these relationships.

Changes similar to those which have been described for trade centers have been occurring also in varying degrees among other services. Public health and medical facilities, libraries, public schools, and social services have shifted wholly or in part to the county as the territorial unit for administration. The county has become much more than a political unit in recent years. It now has several characteristics of a true ecological community.

Changes Affecting The Neighborhood

Ecological factors which caused a change in the pattern of trade communities have affected neighborhoods also. Some neighborhoods have disappeared entirely. Others have continued to exist but remain relatively inactive. A certain proportion have continued to carry on their usual activities.²

Since proximity of residence and the common activities and interests which result from it determine the existence of neighborhoods, they do not increase markedly in size. If a neighborhood begins to support a variety of trade and service agencies it tends to lose its neighborhood status and becomes a small trade center community.

The functions of neighborhoods have been classified by Kolb and Marshall as economic, educational, religious, and social.³ These

¹ John H. Kolb and Douglas G. Marshall, *Neighborhood-Community Relationships in Rural Society*. Research Bulletin 154, Nov., 1944, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ C. R. Hoffer, "Services of Rural Trade Centers," *Social Forces*, X, 67-9.

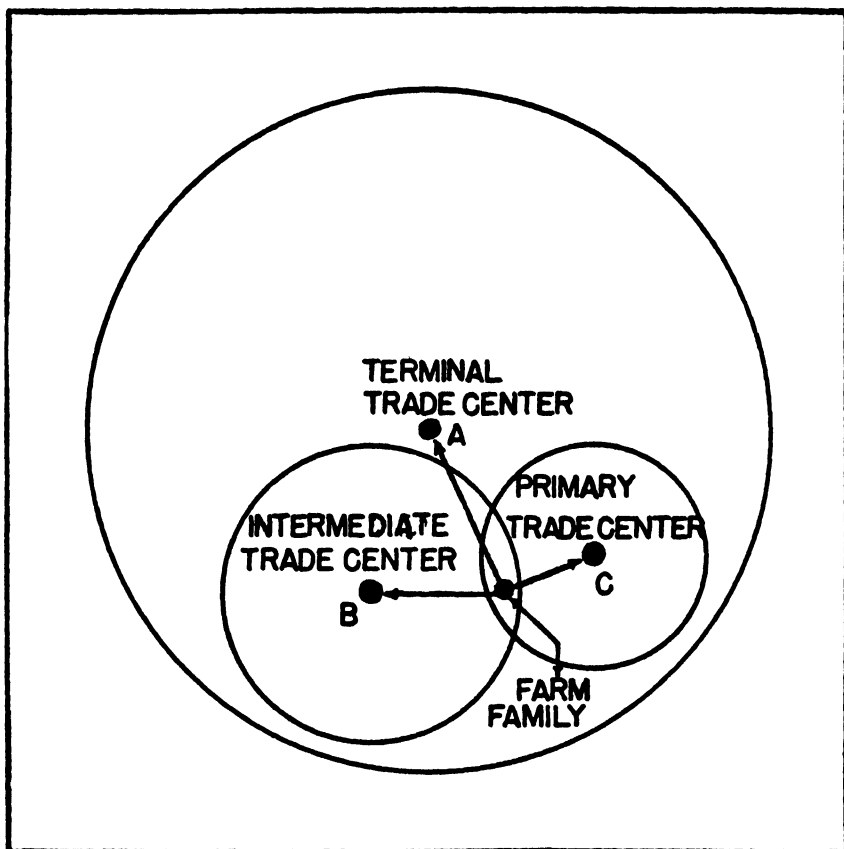


Figure 1. Schematic presentation of the contemporary pattern of rural trade areas. The solid lines from the farm family to the trade center suggest that on occasion the farm family trades at centers A, B, or C. Note that trade areas overlap.

activities occur in various combinations. In the study of Dane County, Wisconsin, the most frequent combination of functions was educational, economic, and social. In Eaton County, Michigan, an investigation regarding this matter showed that religious and educational functions outnumbered all others.¹

The distribution of neighborhoods has never conformed to a uniform or standardized pattern. They develop most frequently around a one-room school, an open country

in Relation to Agricultural Extension Service in Eaton County, Michigan. Special Bulletin 338, August, 1946, Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, p. 24.

¹ Charles R. Hoffer, *Social Organisation*

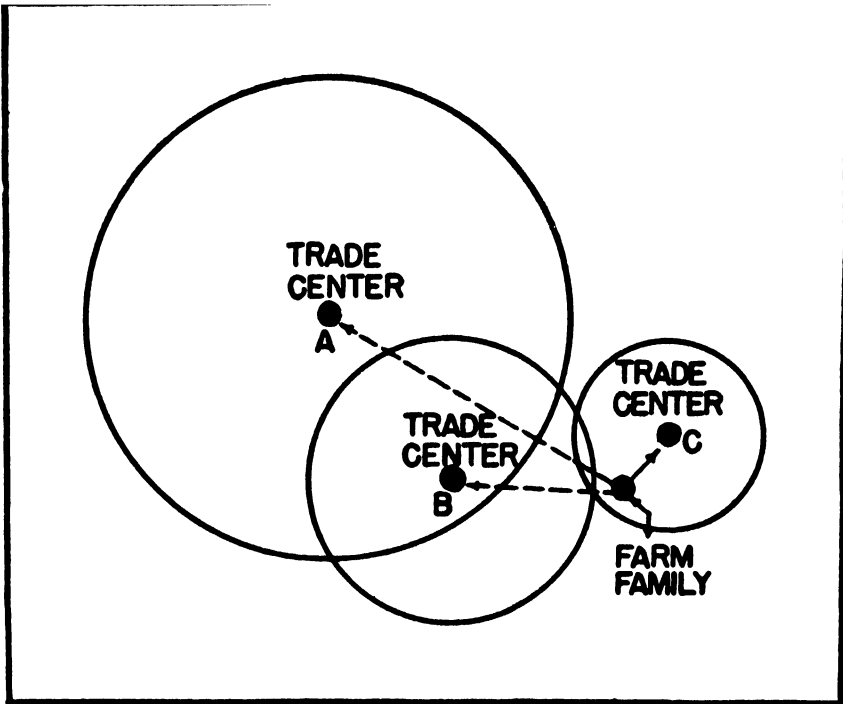


Figure 2. Schematic presentation of the former ecological pattern of rural trade communities. There was very little overlapping of trade areas. The broken lines suggest that the farm family went only infrequently to trade centers A and B.

church, or a cross-road store. If all of these institutions are present the possibilities of neighborhood activities are greatly enhanced. If they are absent the neighborhood is likely to be inactive or pass out of existence. Neighborhoods located near a community trade center tend to decline more frequently than those farther away from it. This fact was noticed in Dane County, Wisconsin, and in a study of social organization in Eaton County, Michigan. A similar trend was reported also in a detailed analysis of social groupings in Livingston County, Michigan.⁹ Neighborhoods farther away

from a trade center, however, may become inactive also if the school is closed or the church, club, or any other organization which gives a neighborhood coherence disappears.

The decline or actual disappearance of the neighborhood creates a problem in social organization for all institutions and organizations that need to come in contact frequently with a large proportion of the population in a local area. The Agricultural Extension Service, for instance, makes ex-

Social Groupings in Livingston County, Michigan, M. A. Thesis, 1946. Michigan State College. (Unpublished)

⁹ Paul A. Miller, *The Structure of Rural*

tensive use of the neighborhood, but if it ceases to be active how can the families that were formerly identified with it be reached? This is a problem created by the changing ecological pattern of neighborhood life.

The general conclusion derived from the foregoing analysis is that both the trade community and the neighborhood are less

stable than they were three decades ago. The services and facilities which either a neighborhood or a community can provide are becoming increasingly important in determining the existence of these ecological units.

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ABILITY TO PAY FOR DENTAL CARE

Prepared for the Illinois Dental Health Conference sponsored by the Illinois Dental Society Council on Dental Health and the Illinois Department of Public Health of Public Health Dentistry, Abraham Lincoln Hotel, Springfield, Illinois, November 7, 1947.

The shock which one gets when an otherwise attractive person opens his mouth and shows malformed or decayed teeth is not pleasant. When one finds a majority of our youth with such conditions, it becomes a matter of grave concern. We are told that malformed, decayed, or lost teeth come as a result of lack of proper dental care and diet, especially in youth. Such care should include regular visits to the dentist and, of course, such visits cost money. The fact that 71 percent of all village families in the middle Atlantic and north central regions of the United States included in the Consumer Purchases Study of the United States Department of Agriculture, published in 1941, incurred no dental bills, indicates either that they thought they did not need such care or that they could not afford it. The study reports that even in the income classes above \$2,000, more than one-fifth of the families had no expenditures for dental care; only 14 percent of those in the class of \$250-\$499 made outlays for care of teeth.¹ This was before World War II.

An earlier study by the Committee on the

Costs of Medical Care² came to the conclusion that adequate dental care could then be obtained only at a price beyond the reach of at least one-half of the population. More recently a study made in 1941 by the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture showed that farm families of low incomes (\$250 to \$500) spent about the same proportion of their medical dollar for dental care as those with incomes from \$2,000 to \$3,000, but that in each case it was not much more than 10 percent of the total dollar spent for physician's care, dental care, eye care, hospital care, medicines and drugs, and other medical needs.³ The Reed study showed the cost per family in 10 states should be \$44 for adequate dental care in 1929. This is less than half of what it would be today. Studies of actual farm family expenditures for medical care in Illinois, for example, showed that the total was \$63 per family in 1930, dropping to a low of \$41 in 1932, 1937, and 1938, and increasing to \$131 in 1946.⁴ The 1946 figure was more than twice as high as the 1930

¹ Louis S. Reed, "The Ability to Pay for Medical Care." Washington: The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, 910 Seventeenth Street, N. W., June 1933.

² "What Farm Families Spend for Medical Care." Washington: U. S. D. A. Misc. Pub. 561, 1942, p. 6.

³ Ruth Crawford Freeman and Irene Crouch, "Past Experiences Key to Future Planning." Urbana: Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, HEE-3409, 1947.

⁴ "Family Expenditures for Medical Care." Washington: U. S. D. A. Misc. Pub. No. 402, 1941, p. 20.

figure; without question costs for dental care increased in similar proportions.

The United States Department of Agriculture study showed that all middle-income farm families spent an average of but \$8; that those who had dental expense spent about \$20. This study showed, too, that those spending the *least* for medical care spent less than half as much for dental care as those spending *most* for medical care. Furthermore, middle-income farm families spent a larger share of their medical dollar for dental care than did village families but somewhat a smaller share than did urban families. They spent more for physician's care, medicine and drugs, and eye care than did families in towns and cities.

If we assume that dental care costs are 10 percent of the total medical care costs, then the Illinois farm families spent only \$6.30 per year in 1946 for dental care. The low income families (\$1,000 to \$1,499) spent \$3.10, compared with \$25.90 for the high income group (\$3,000 and over). If, as was shown by the Reed study, \$44 should have been spent by a family for adequate dental care in 1929, then it would have risen at least to \$80 in 1946. Thus the farm families in the highest income group (\$3,000 and over) in Illinois spent less than a third as much as was needed for adequate dental care in 1946. The low income groups spent less than five percent as much as needed for adequate care.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture study compares expenditures for medical care for farm, village, and city families for the various income groups. The amount spent for medical care was about \$30 for farm and \$25 for village, town and city families with incomes under \$500. Farm families in every income group except those receiving \$3,000 to \$5,000 spent more, though only a few dollars, than did the other types of families. Hence what is expended by farm families in income groups under \$3,000 is about the same as for similar income groups in villages, towns, and cities. However, we must recognize that in 1941 more than half of all farm families had incomes of less than \$1,000, whereas

fewer than half of the village and only a fourth of the town and city families had incomes lower than \$1,000. Even as late as 1945 one-third of the farm families had incomes of less than \$500.⁵ In 1941 only 40 percent of the farm families purchased dental care; and only 50 percent of the village, town, and city families purchased dental care, according to the USDA study.

That cost of medical (including dental) care was a deterrent to securing adequate care was shown by a Virginia study; 86 percent of 565 families spent an average of \$65; 15 percent spent an average of \$100. The yearly cost of medical and dental care in 1937 was computed to be at least \$112 per family under the most efficient means of preparing for medical costs and providing medical services; in 1947 it would probably be not less than \$200; hence many families in Virginia feel that high costs prevent them from obtaining all the medical and dental care needed.⁶

The need for dental care is greater, it seems, than can be taken care of, because there are not enough facilities or because people feel they cannot afford the cost. The Virginia study cited above showed that nearly 90 percent of 51,000 children examined had defective teeth, regardless of race or residence. Defective teeth was a major cause for rejection by selective service boards in World War II. A report of results from health examinations of school children in a suburb south of Chicago in 1947 showed eight out of ten children with defective teeth. A Missouri study showed that almost two-thirds of the male population among 4,131 Farm Security Administration clients of southeastern Missouri did not possess a full set of teeth; over one-third aged 15 to 24 had missing teeth.⁷ Moreover, 45.3 percent of 970 males

⁵ "The Farmer Goes to Town." *Fortune Magazine*. Vol. 36, No. 4, p. 89.

⁶ Leland B. Tate, "The Health and Medical Care Situation in Rural Virginia." Blacksburg: V. P. I. Bulletin 383, 1944.

⁷ C. E. Lively and Herbert F. Lionberger, "The Physical Status and Health of Farm Tenants and Farm Laborers in Southeast Missouri." Columbia: Mo. Agr. Exp. Sta., Preliminary Report No. 2, 1942.

examined possessed one or more dental caries; half the males under 45 years of age had dental caries. More than one-third had diseases of the gums; 55.4 percent over 45 years of age had diseased gums. A recent (1946) Michigan study of symptoms reported by 1,219 farm families showed that the most frequent symptom was toothache, accounting for 10.4 percent of all symptoms reported.^{*} The highest percent (68) reporting symptoms were in the low income (under \$1,000) group, yet 38.9 percent of those receiving incomes over \$3,500 reported symptoms.

What can we conclude from the above? Without question, many people, especially those in the low income groups, do not get adequate dental care. An alarmingly high percentage of our children have defective teeth. Probably a third of the youth in middle and low income families have already lost some teeth; probably half of those over 45 years of age have missing teeth; more than half have dental caries or diseased gums. Would there be these large proportions if our children, youth, and adults were getting adequate dental care?

The cost of adequate dental care seems to be prohibitive to many people. Even those in good financial circumstances spend only one-fourth as much as they should for adequate dental care; those in the lowest income brackets spend only five percent as much as they should.

Dental care is a thing that can be neglected in favor of more pressing needs; a doctor's call or the need for hospital care

will take precedence over the adequate care of teeth. Even toothache, which is a symptom of advanced tooth decay, will be assuaged by some forms of home medication rather than for the person to incur the cost of a filling or extraction. The number who put off dental care until the need presses hard, though probably decreasing, is still very large. The feeling of lack of means to pay the immediate cost is without question a major deterrent to seeking adequate dental care.

Professional dental care as a last resort is still far too prevalent. The cost of dental care could be cut considerably were people brought to accept regular dental examinations and to be willing to get corrections made as soon as defects are found. The present Illinois program for providing regular physical and dental examinations for school children is, therefore, an excellent program and should have professional and community support. The programs need to be conducted (1) so as to detect all defects early in the life of the child; (2) to induce parents to get defects corrected as soon as they are discovered; and (3) to make a practice of securing regular dental examinations. Thus the cost for dental care can be kept down so that most families can afford the service; prevention is far less costly than cure. Doubtless there will be some for whom the costs will continue to be prohibitive. We should, therefore, keep an open mind relative to and study the merits of group and tax supported dental and medical care plans.

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^{*} Charles R. Hoffer, "Medical Needs of the Rural Population in Michigan." *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, June 1946, p. 164.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH FONTANA VILLAGE, NORTH CAROLINA AUGUST, 1947

The report of this committee was limited to a discussion of the work of the Divisions of Farm Population and Rural Life, and the Division of Special Surveys. It was an out-

growth of the work of the Committee invited to Washington by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in June of 1947 to discuss the programs of these two Divisions.

This Committee remained in session from June 2 to 6. Since its membership overlapped that of the standing research committee of the Rural Sociological Society, the latter decided that the report of this special committee should be adopted as the research committee report to be given at the forthcoming Fontana meetings. In the absence of the Committee chairman, T. Lynn Smith, the report was presented by Harold Hoff-sommer. The other members of the special committee were: Howard Beers, Paul Landis, Charles Loomis, and Lowry Nelson.

As a preliminary to its work, the committee recommended that the name of the Division be changed to its original designation, that is, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.*

Three main questions were explored:

(1) Which among the many aspects of rural life should be singled out for attention by the Division in the immediate future;

(2) What additional fields of activity are the proper concern of the Division in considering future development of rural life studies; and,

* This change has since been officially made.

(3) How can the professional resources in the Federal service and in the states be most effectively applied to these questions?

The total report consists of seven pages. The outline is as follows:

- I. The Immediate Program
 - A. Population
 - B. Levels of Living
 - C. Farm Laborers
 - D. Rural Organizations and Institutions
- II. Additional Fields for Research
 - A. Locality Groups—Rural Neighborhoods and Communities
 - B. Farmers' Organizations
 - C. Rural-Urban Fringe and Part-time Farming
 - D. Town-Country Relations
 - E. Rural Schools, Churches and Other Institutions Serving Farmers
 - F. Farm Housing
 - G. Farmers' Health
 - H. The Rural Family
 - I. Social Aspects of Land Tenure
- III. Work of the Division of Special Surveys
- IV. Federal State Cooperation

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TEACHING

FONTANA VILLAGE, NORTH CAROLINA, AUGUST, 1947

PH.D. TRAINING FOR TEACHERS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

This paper gives some major results of a study of the training given to sociologists who were candidates for the Ph.D. and majored in the sociology of rural life. This study of training included five of the six universities which, in 1938-39, granted all of the fifteen Ph.D.'s granted during that year to candidates majoring in the sociology of rural life.

Dr. Schultz in 1941 forecast an annual need for from fifteen to twenty Ph.D.'s with a major in the sociology of rural life. At present the demand is strong and promises to increase to several times that number. However, this is not a study of job

opportunities. It does indicate the major kinds of jobs now held by rural Ph.D.'s and the kinds of graduate training received. It does attempt to bring together the essential facts concerning graduate training in rural sociology in the hope that they will form a basis for discussion, if not for common agreement. Perhaps what rural sociology now needs is less common agreement and more experimentation in its training programs, both undergraduate and graduate.

Some Pertinent Facts

This study included only the training programs for five of the six universities which granted all the Ph.D.'s in sociology earned

by rural majors in 1938-39. Three of the five were land-grant universities and two were privately operated. One had a separate department of rural sociology. One operated as a department within a school of education. Each of the other three has a department of sociology which includes rural training. In the major training institutions in the United States rural sociology is most characteristically organized as a major specialization within a department of sociology.

General information and insights were obtained from several other sources, including the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Michigan State College, and the North Carolina State University system. Data for the University of Chicago also were included because Chicago offered some points of distinction, such as high degree of specialization within the field of sociology, the possibility that a candidate may take all of his work for the Ph.D. within the Department of Sociology, and, finally, the fact that the Department does not train practitioners.

Information also was obtained from the transcripts of forty rural majors and twenty-five other majors in sociology who received their Ph.D. degrees during the period from 1930 to 1945. Most of this information described the graduate work taken by candidates at the university where the highest degree was obtained. Nearly all the candidates previously had obtained an M.A. or M.S. degree from some other institution. The broader implications of this general characteristic must be considered in planning an effective training program. Some of you have been on both the giving and the receiving ends of the sociology program at one or more of these universities. In a very real sense, then, this is a condensed summary of what you and your professional friends have done and contemplate doing to improve Ph.D. training in sociology. The broad setting for this study has been presented, but the data will neither be presented nor analyzed in their

entirety. Only those results are stressed which have some bearing on the teaching of rural sociology.

Jobs Held By Majors In Rural Sociology

Job information was available for most, but not all, of the 65 Ph.D.'s included in the sample. Some double counting resulted naturally in situations where one person held a position in which teaching and research were combined. Jobs were classified as: teaching in college or university, research in college or university, and all others. This last mentioned category included commercial and governmental positions, armed forces, social work, missionary work, and agricultural extension. The armed forces category was used seldom and only at last resort. Most of those still in the armed forces in the spring of 1946 were committed to some professional civilian job, and that job, if known, was recorded in this classification.

JOBS HELD BY SOCIOLOGISTS STUDIED

Student group	Job Classification			
	Teaching	Research	Other	Total
Rural majors	21	17	13	51
Other majors	8	4	3	15
Total in this study	29	21	16	66
Univ. of Chicago*	34	28	24	86

* This includes all Ph.D.'s granted at the University of Chicago whose occupation was known at the time of this survey.

Teaching is first among occupations for Ph.D.'s in sociology, whether rural or other. When extension teaching is included, the proportion that is teaching increases to nearly half. Perhaps the most striking fact is that more than one-fourth of the Ph.D.'s in sociology are in some occupation other than college or university teaching or research. This relatively new development is in line with the trend out of academic work noted by Hollis, who says that persons with Ph.D. degrees are shifting into non-academic pursuits at a rate approximating one percent per year, or from eighty percent

academic in 1927 to sixty-five percent in 1944.¹

It is not unusual for sociologists to work in two job areas. Half of the thirty-four rural majors for whom job information was obtained reported working in two areas concurrently. Nearly all of these were a combination of teaching and research, but in a few instances college or university teaching was combined with some other occupation. Combination of teaching and research was less common in general sociology, where only one-fourth reported working in two job areas concurrently.

The general distribution of jobs for rural majors and other sociologists is much the same. Teaching is first for both groups, followed closely by research and by other positions in the order mentioned. That this is not a function of the small sample is shown by the job distribution of Ph.D.'s in sociology from the University of Chicago. The high proportion in the teaching profession was surprising to some.

Major Course Requirements

Two major fields of concentration were required for Ph.D.'s with a major in rural sociology in all the universities studied. These major fields are (1) sociological theory and history of theory, and (2) research methods and statistics. Next in order among course requirements were social organization and institutions, social psychology and social processes, anthropology, and the family. Requirements in all of these courses combined constituted a third group only slightly smaller than the course requirements either in theory or in research methods. Optional subfields in sociology and required minors outside the department of sociology taken together constituted a fourth group of studies nearly as important as any of the three major divisions already mentioned.

Minor Course Work Taken by Rural Majors

Provision for two minors outside of the field of sociology has been a standard re-

quirement for rural majors. Agricultural economics and education have been the most popular minor fields, and they alone accounted for more than a third of all minors. These are followed by sociological theory, anthropology, psychology, and research methods, which accounted for another third, while the remainder included such diverse subjects as social organization, the family, dramatics and population.

In contrast to rural majors, other sociology majors seldom minored in economics or in education. The minor chosen most frequently by non-rural majors was social theory. When those minoring in research methods, mathematics, and statistics were combined they equalled the number that chose theory as a minor. Anthropology and psychology were more likely to be the minor choices of non-rural majors. Rural sociology ranked on a par with anthropology and psychology as a minor subject for non-rural majors in sociology.

The choice of a minor varied greatly from one university to another. So much did it vary that the choice of the minor or minors must be considered one of the most characteristic and distinctive parts of the training program. In general, rural majors much more frequently selected minors outside of sociology than did other sociology majors. Specifically, while one school stressed research methods, another stressed education, another stressed theory, while another school featured agricultural economics as a minor subject.

Rural majors were much more likely to minor in education and more of them took additional courses in education than did other sociology majors. While a third of the rural majors also had a minor in sociology and two-fifths had one or more courses in education, only one in ten of the other sociology majors had taken one or more education courses. This superiority in educational training results from two circumstances: (1) the fact that rural majors in Columbia University are trained in Teachers College and (2) the fact that rural education is a popular minor at Cornell. The others, whether rural or other,

¹ Hollis, Ernest V., *Toward Improving Ph.D. Programs*. Washington, D. C., American Council of Education, 1945.

MINOR FIELDS CHOSEN BY RURAL AND OTHER PH.D'S IN SOCIOLOGY, 1930-1945

Minor field	Number of times chosen by	
	Rural majors	Other majors
Economics (Gen'l. or Agr'l.)	19	3
Education	13	0
Sociological theory	12	8
Anthropology	6	5
Psychology (Incl. Social)	6	6
Research methods	5	4
Social organization (Incl. Inst.)	4	1
Sociology of the family	3	0
Population	3	0
Rural sociology	—	6
Mathematics and statistics	0	5
Other	11	9
Total	82	47

do not stress courses in education. Relatively few candidates have undergraduate or graduate training in education previous to their Ph.D. training in sociology. The record indicates that a larger proportion of rural majors take education courses, while a larger proportion of other majors are in the teaching profession.

The obvious conclusion from this analysis is that jobs held by Ph.D.'s in sociology had a somewhat different emphasis than that provided by their training. While the major job emphasis was upon teaching, the major training emphasis was upon research. Most sociologists teach and most of our problems are teaching problems. This calls for broader training and for more training in teaching at a time when increasing specialization within sociology is the order of the day.

The Importance of Teaching In Rural Sociology

The emphasis among rural sociologists is upon research *and* teaching, which together constitute a major professional dichotomy for the rural sociologist. Extension sociology must be included because extension work is an essential and major part of the land-grant college program. As extension programs in rural sociology grow and multiply, an increasing emphasis is placed upon practitioners in sociology and an increasing place is found for extension and research combinations. In conclusion, jobs in rural sociology are not in teaching or research or extension. Rural majors must be trained to do at least two of the three. Characteristically, the most frequent combination has been teaching and research. The

GRADUATE TRAINING IN EDUCATION OF PH.D'S IN SOCIOLOGY, 1930-1945

University	Rural majors			Other majors		
	Training in education			Training in education		
	Number of Persons	Minor	1 or more courses	Number of Persons	Minor	1 or more courses
Chicago	—	—	—	8	0	1
Minnesota	5	0	0	4	0	0
Columbia	10	10	0	5	0	1
Cornell	10	3	3	—	—	—
Harvard	9	0	0	4	0	0
Wisconsin	6	0	0	4	0	0
Total	40	13	3	25	0	2

rural sociologist must now function in two fields, research and either resident or extension teaching. Even government positions available to sociologists are coming to include not only research duties but also public relations.

Combination jobs require combination training, and this central fact, more than any other, precludes the possibility of a lone specialization either in research training or in teacher training at those schools which train rural majors. Neither can a mastery of sociological theory be substituted for teacher training. Thorough training in sociological theory is an essential part of the equipment of rural sociologists, but it cannot be substituted successfully for training either in research or in teaching.

The Improvement of Teaching

Research and teaching are always with us, but most rural sociologists are teachers. While research furnishes the life blood of our science, teaching is a means by which we inject that life blood into the lives of others. Just how successful we have been can be judged by some comments of graduate students. One stated, "My graduate training spoiled me for teaching." Another commented, "We have six major staff members, only two of whom know how to teach. The others just dish it out." Another said, "The head of our department is a grand person, and all of us like him, but he is no teacher."

A professor stated, "My students feel so keenly the need for more content in sociology that they begrudge the time spent in learning to teach. . . Our education people teach students *about* teaching, instead of training them to teach. . . Some time near the end of a term I always try to take one of my courses apart and attempt to show the students how I taught it."

On the other side of the ledger, one said, "I would say that by all means they rank teaching first at the University of Blank, and I might also add that in my training at Blank State, when it became known that I intended to teach in a college or university, I was encouraged to take a number of edu-

cation courses, particularly those pertaining to techniques of teaching."

Good teaching is compounded of variable amounts of a number of different kinds of experience in training situations.

1. Basic among these is study under and observation of professors who are good teachers. Most students are exposed to one or more good teachers—men who know not only what to teach but also how to teach, who enjoy students and like to see them develop, who take the time and pains necessary to do a good job of teaching.

2. Most used of all methods is trial and error. We need teaching help. We throw a section at the advanced, or sometimes at beginning graduate students; the student tries to teach it; and everybody hopes he will not make too many errors. But some give teaching assistants so little responsibility for the course or control them so rigidly that the amount of teaching training is limited.

3. A variation of the trial and error method is for the young Ph.D. to take a teaching position for a year or two so he can learn to teach.

4. Directed or supervised practice is a very useful device which sometimes replaces the pure trial and error process. It should replace it oftener and more completely. Out of such situations come some of our best teachers.

5. Formal training in education is not widely used in training rural sociologists. Understanding and mastery of the principles and the techniques of good teaching cannot be accomplished in the subject matter classroom. Principles of teaching must be applied to sociological materials. Techniques must be practiced in life situations, both classroom and extension. Not all professors of education are good teachers but education courses are useful in the opinion of many persons who have taken them. However, few professors and fewer departments get to the point of teaching their graduate students how to effectively teach prospective teachers to teach. We need more help from our educators to solve this problem in training

rural sociologists who will train tomorrow's teachers.

The goal of effective teaching will not be attained by the use of any one of the devices mentioned, nor by sporadic use of all good methods for teacher training. Improvement in teaching will come when we place resident and extension teaching on a par with research. Improvement will come from a combined approach and a well sustained campaign for improvement in teaching and for the training of teachers of sociology in the rural field.

Rural sociologists have good reasons for leading in this campaign. *Teaching and research* is the major job combination in rural sociology. Rural sociologists already have an advantage from the standpoint of teacher training, and they will do well to increase that advantage. By so doing they will perform an essential but neglected service to students and rural leaders. Furthermore, they will also contribute mightily to the

public acceptance and the advancement of the science of sociology.

In closing, it is recommended that the Rural Sociological Society go on record as favoring the development of a comprehensive program for improvement of teaching and of teacher training. Such a program might be developed by means of (a) a conference on teacher training, (b) a workshop on teaching problems, and (c) a rigorous research program on the effective uses of various teaching techniques in resident and extension teaching situations and with various types of sociological subject matter. Such a program would make use of the best work of our education specialists, many of whom would be willing and eager to work with sociologists on such a program.

Committee on Teaching
C. E. Lively
Judson Landis
Ray Wakeley, Chairman.

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN LIBRARY
ASSOCIATION AND THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY TO THE
AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION COUNCIL, JANUARY 31, 1948,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

One of the circumstances which prompted the creation of the Joint Committee was the fact that Congress has been considering Federal legislation that would provide funds to the states for the development of demonstration library programs, especially in rural areas. Funds would also be provided for intensive research to evaluate the effectiveness of the demonstration library programs.

As a result of this legislation, communication took place between Mr. Paul Howard of the American Library Association, and Dr. Edgar A. Schuler of the Rural Sociological Society. At the December, 1946 meeting of the Society, Paul Howard was invited to present a paper suggesting closer cooperation between librarians and sociologists in the light of this legislation. Shortly there-

after this Joint Committee came into existence.

The function of the Joint Committee as set forth by both organizations was to aid the cooperation of rural sociologists and librarians in studying their common problems in relation to demonstrations of library service. The Joint Committee was also asked to devise means of helping the state agencies plan the demonstrations so as to become integral parts of rural community activities.

As suitable point of departure for the Committee's activities, the attached questionnaire and letters were distributed to the various state library agencies, and to the rural sociology departments of the State Land Grant Colleges.

A preliminary tabulation of results has been prepared and is attached with this

report. The summarization of this tabulation is shown below:

	Yes	No	No Reply
Has There Been Research in Communications?			
State Library Agencies	12	28	8
Rural Sociologists	17	22	9
Has There Been Research in Library Service?			
State Library Agencies	17	23	8
Rural Sociologists	12	26	10
Has There Been Cooperative Activities?			
State Library Agencies	22	18	8
Rural Sociologists	13	25	10
Is There Interest In Developing Closer Working Relationships?			
State Library Agencies	36	6	6
Rural Sociologists	35	2	11

At the meetings here it was decided to go back for replies from both State Library agencies and Rural Sociologists not responding.

As an outgrowth of this questionnaire and other activities in various states a one-day workshop was held Wednesday, January 28, 1948, immediately prior to the Conference of the American Library Association in Chicago. The objectives of this Workshop may be stated as follows:

First, to permit an exchange of ideas and experiences between representatives of state library agencies, other extension librarians, and rural sociologists with regard to cooperative research activities designed to improve rural library services;

Second, to assist in the development of close cooperative relationships between state library officials and rural sociologists;

Third, in states or areas where cooperative relationships do not now exist, to inform state library officials as well as other extension libraries of the types of assistance which can be rendered by rural sociologists, and to inform rural sociologists of the types of needs and

research possibilities represented by the rural library programs now under way, or being contemplated.

Informal discussions rather than prepared papers were the pattern of the Workshop. In order to achieve the greatest participation, exchange of experiences, and solutions of common problems, the technique of small discussion group reports to the total group were employed.

Mr. Don Phillips, who is Assistant Director of Extension Service at Michigan State College, and in charge of the Adult Education Program, acted as moderator and chairman for the day.

Dr. Robert D. Leigh, Director of the Public Library Inquiry, participated in the day's discussion and presented an evaluation and summary at its conclusion. A program of the day's activities is attached to this report. A mimeographed report of the proceedings will be forthcoming.

The spirit of the Workshop can best be indicated by presenting this list of projects submitted by the Workshop participants for future activities of the Joint Committee:

1. That the Joint Committee propose to state and regional library associations meeting this year, that conferences similar to this one be held in conjunction with their meetings.

2. That the Rural Sociological Society be contacted to investigate possibilities of holding a conference of librarians and rural sociologists preceding their national meeting.

3. That the Joint Committee consider setting in motion plans for a conference to be held preceding the 1949 annual A.L.A. Conference.

4. That the Joint Committee function as a clearing house for library and community surveys.

5. That the Joint Committee make available a manual of techniques on how to hold a workshop for rural sociologists and librarians on a local or state basis.

6. That the Joint Committee investigate the possibilities of having a rural sociologist as a consultant at A. L. A. headquarters.

7. That the Joint Committee define and describe the difference between library experiments and library demonstrations, and furthermore, that the Joint Committee establish criteria for evaluating such services.

8. That a report of the workshop be sent all state library agencies who will transmit the information to area and local groups for application in their meetings.

9. That a list of rural sociologists be furnished state library agencies.

10. That the Joint Committee consider carrying on an activity directed toward the better understanding of the possibilities of rural library demonstrations.

11. That a survey of the action taken on the regional, state and local levels as a result of this conference be made and the findings made available at either the June or December conference.

12. That, as demonstrations developed, rural sociologists would observe the workings and the Joint Committee would channel information to the sociologists and see that they were attentive to the demonstration through its trial period.

13. That the Joint Committee through the various professional journals and bulletins aid in the publicizing of local, state or regional action programs in which

libraries and other agencies are working for the improvement of living.

14. That the Joint Committee investigate means of helping to ascertain the best administrative unit for service programs in a given area and what is the library's place in this unit.

Respectfully submitted,
Edgar A. Schuler.

For the Rural Sociological Society:

Harold Hoffsommer, Head, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

W. F. Kumlien, Head, Department of Sociology, South Dakota College of Agriculture, Brookings, South Dakota.

Edgar A. Schuler, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan—Co-Chairman.

For the American Library Association:

C. Ernestine Grafton, Head, Extension Division, State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

Kathryn P. Mier, State Librarian, State Library, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Irving Lieberman, Head, Extension Division, State Library, Lansing, Michigan—Co-Chairman.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Publications Received

(*Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

1. Alexander, Sidney S. *The Marshall Plan*. National Planning Association. 68 pp. Washington, D. C., Feb. 1948. 50 cents.
- *2. Beegle, J. Allan. *Michigan Population—Composition and Change*. Michigan State College Agric. Exp. Sta. Special Bulletin 342. 123 pp. East Lansing, Nov. 1947.
3. Bote, George S. and Stephens, Dorothy C. *Roddy the Rat*. University of Florida Sloan Proj. in Applied Economics, Gainesville; Florida State Board of Health and Florida Tuberculosis and Health Assoc., Jacksonville. 68 pp. Gainesville, 1946.
4. Cranston, Mildred Welch. *What Can We Expect of Rural Schools*. The Woman's Press. 48 pp. New York, 1948. 35 cents.
- *5. Dade, Emil B. *Migration of Kansas Population, 1930 to 1945*. Kansas University Industrial Relations Research Service Series 6. 28 pp. Lawrence, 1946.
- *6. Galloway, Robert E. *The Level of Living of Farm Operators in Washington Counties, 1940 to 1945*. Agric. Exp. Sta., Inst. of Agric. Sciences and State College of Washington. Sta. Circular No. 57. 9 pp. Pullman, Oct. 1947.
- *7. Gregory, C. L., Bankert, Zetta E., McDowell, Aleta, and Lively, C. E. *The Health of Low-Income Farm Families in Southeast Missouri*. Missouri Agric. Exp. Sta. Res. Bulletin 410, in cooperation with the Farm Security Administration. 44 pp. Columbia, Aug. 1947.
- *8. Gutheim, Frederick. *Houses for Family Living*. The Woman's Foundation, Inc. 52 pp. New York, 1948. 35 cents.
- *9. Landis, Judson T. *Marriage and Family Relations*. Extension Service, Michigan State College Bulletin 286. 11 pp. East Lansing, June 1947.
10. Lockridge, Frances. *Adopting a Child*. Reader Service. 40 pp. New York, 1948. 25 cents.
- *11. McKain, Walter C. and Flagg, Grace L. *Differences Between Rural and Urban Levels of Living. Part. I. Nationwide Comparisons*. Bureau of Agric. Econ., U.S.D.A. 17 pp. Washington, D. C., Jan. 1948.
- *12. McVay, Francis E. *Factory Meets Farm in North Carolina*. North Carolina Agric. Exp. Sta. Tech. Bulletin 83. 22 pp. Raleigh, Oct. 1947.
13. Meyer, Agnes E. *The Farm Labor Program*. The Washington Post. 23 pp. Washington, D. C., 1948. 10 cents.
14. Mixon, John L. and Hiltner, Seward. *Community Help on Pastoral Problems*. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. 47 pp. New York, Feb. 1948. 25 cents.
- *15. Motherall, Joe R. and Rosenquist, Carl M. *An Experiment in Research Planning*. Texas Agric. Exp. Sta. Misc. Pub. No. 12. 18 pp. College Station, Nov. 1947.
- *16. National Committee on Immigration Policy. *Immigration and Population Policy*. 56 pp. New York, 1947.
17. National Education Association of the United States. *Farm Leaders and Teachers Plan Together*. 35 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947.
- *18. National Planning Association. *Good Health is Good Business*. Joint Subcommittee on Health. National Planning Association. 44 pp. Washington, D. C., Feb. 1948. 25 cents.
- *19. New Mexico University. *The Popula-*

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

- tion of New Mexico. Dept. of Government. Division of Research. Pub. No. 10. 38 pp. Albuquerque, June 1947.
20. New York State Legislature. Health Preparedness Commission. *Planning for the Care of the Chronically Ill In New York State—Some Medical-Social and Institutional Aspects*. Legislative Document (1946) No. 66A. 131 pp. Albany, 1947.
 - *21. Niederfrank, E. J. *The Coordination of Agencies in Ascension Parish, Louisiana*. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Division of Agricultural Extension. 35 pp. Baton Rouge, 1947.
 22. Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations *Better Intergovernmental Relations*. 50 pp. San Jose, Calif., 1947.
 23. Slusher, Melvin W. and Osgood, Otis T. *The Organization and Income of Owner and Tenant Farms in Boone County*. Arkansas Agric. Exp. Sta. Bulletin 472. 55 pp. Fayetteville, Dec. 1947.
 - *24. Smith, T. Lynn and Kemp, Louise. *The Educational Status of Louisiana's Farm Population*. Louisiana Agric. Exp. Sta. Bulletin 424. 26 pp. Baton Rouge, Dec. 1947.
 25. Social Science Research Council. *Public Reaction to the Atomic Bomb and World Affairs*. Cornell University. 310 pp. Ithaca, April 1947.
 26. Stafford, Frank S. *State Administration of School Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*. Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1947, No. 13. 33 pp. Washington, D. C. 1947.
 27. Texas A and M College Extension Service. *Farm Labor Program in Texas, 1943-1947*. 31 pp. College Station, Dec. 1947.
 - *28. U. S. Department of Agriculture. Extension Service and Bureau of Agric. Econ. *The Extension Service in Vermont. Part Two: Farm Women and the Extension Service*. 119 pp. Washington, D. C., Nov. 1947.
 29. U. S. Department of Agriculture. Library. *Farm Migration, 1940-1945*. Library List No. 38. 51 pp. Washington, D. C., Sept. 1947.
 - *30. U. S. Dept. of the Interior. *Pattern of Rural Settlement*. Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, Problem 10. Bureau of Reclamation. 49 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947.
 - *31. U. S. Selective Service System. *Agricultural Deferment*. Special Monograph No. 7. 375 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947.
 - *32. Wakeley, Ray E. *Changes in Iowa Population*. Iowa State Agric. Exp. Sta. Res. Bulletin 356. 142 pp. Ames, Nov. 1947.
 33. Wrigley, P. I. *Father and Son Farm Business Agreements*. Pennsylvania Agric. Exp. Sta. Bulletin 492. 40 pp. State College, Jan. 1948.
 34. Yahraes, Herbert. *Planning Your Family*. Public Affairs Committee, Inc. 32 pp. New York, 1945.

Population

[32] *Changes in Iowa Population* are analyzed in a recent bulletin. There has been a net outward movement of more than a million people since 1900; before that date there had been a net migration into Iowa of a million people. Changes in the composition and residence of the population are described and attention is given to expected shifts in the future. Population numbers and composition affect the rates of commitment to various state institutions. They also influence the number of clients in the different state welfare programs. These changes are plotted in the bulletin and probable future trends are discussed.

[5] An analysis of the *Migration of Kansas Population, 1930-1945* shows that the depression and war caused decided changes in the age and sex composition of the population. In agricultural counties the decrease in population between 1930 and 1940 was due largely to the drought. By 1943 great numbers had migrated to military camps and war industries. Some of the counties

with war plants and large urban centers increased in population, but the civilian population of the State as a whole decreased from 1940 to 1945. A large proportion of the out-migrants were in the younger age groups while there was a gain in the number of people over 45 years of age. More young men migrated than in previous decades, but older women returned to the towns and cities in large numbers. The increase in farm age was due largely to the loss of young people by migration and the reduced birth rate, while the urban age increase was the result of gaining older persons. Maps, graphs, and tables based on Census data supplement the text.

[2] A study of *Michigan Population: Composition and Change* indicates the major trends in population between 1890 and 1940. A trend toward urbanization continued until 1930 after which the proportion of rural residents increased slightly. The majority of new rural residents live in the fringes of the large cities. Although Michigan is usually considered an urban State, three-fourths of the counties contain more rural than urban persons. Most of the farmers are located in the southern half of the State in the areas surrounding the large cities. The rural-farm population has large proportions of young and old with the productive-aged persons located primarily in urban areas.

The trend has been toward a balance between the sexes; for the State as a whole the sex ratio dropped from 109 in 1890 to 105 in 1940. The same trend applies to each racial and nativity group. During the past 50 years the proportion of married persons has been increasing in the State. The urban and rural-nonfarm groups have higher educational status than the rural-farm population, but an increasingly larger proportion of each residence and racial group is in school. The text is supplemented with 54 figures and 18 tables based on Census data.

[24] *The Educational Status of Louisiana's Farm Population* (1) analyzes the amount

of formal schooling received by the people of the State, (2) compares these attainments with those of the population of other States, (3) examines the variations between groups and places within the State, and (4) studies the nature and direction of changes and trends. The neglect of the education of Louisiana's white rural-farm population is largely responsible for the State's very poor educational showing. The amount of training given to young white persons in rural-nonfarm areas compares favorably with similar groups in other States, but that given its white farm population is the lowest in the nation. The people living in the northwestern part of the State have the highest average amount of schooling, and those living in the French-speaking sections of the south have the lowest. The educational status of white farmers has improved slowly in recent decades but still compares very unfavorably with that of other resident groups. The amount of schooling of Negroes in both urban and rural areas remains exceedingly low.

[19] Part of *The Population of New Mexico* is written by Paul Walter, Jr., who analyzes some "Population Trends in New Mexico;" the other part is written by Ross Calvin who describes some of the characteristics of "The People of New Mexico." Population figures are based on Census data to 1940 and on estimates, based largely on school enrollment, to 1960. The three north central counties (Bernalillo, Santa Fe, and San Miguel) contain only 7 percent of the State's area, but nearly one-fourth of its population. While the urban and rural populations are both increasing; urban growth is much more rapid than rural. The population of New Mexico consists of three separate strands—the Anglos, Indians, and native Spanish-speaking people, who (inaccurately, the author believes) are called Mexicans. Since the people continue to be drawn from many sources, they have never become amalgamated. The author points out that the population is as varied as its environment and that there is "a very remarkable percentage of those who found

here what they had missed in their homeland—beauty, adventure, sport, quaintness, health, recreation.”

[15] *An Experiment in Research Planning* is an abstract of the Texas Conference on Population Research held at College Station on May 1-2, 1947. Plans for a comprehensive study of Texas population were made in 1946 by the Agricultural and Mechanical College and the University of Texas with financial assistance from the General Education Board. The conference sought to direct this study in its early stages so that the data obtained could be related to other regions and would be useful in the future development of the State. Through the use of tested methods of sampling, analysis, and presentation of data, the study will aid in solving problems of education, health, welfare, old-age security, city planning, future labor supply for industry, and rural-urban migration.

[16] *Immigration and Population Policy* is the second in a series of studies issued by the National Committee on Immigration Policy. This committee was organized in 1945 “to study the conditions and facts relating to immigration in the post-war period; to examine the relationship between present policy, the social and economic needs of the United States, and the basic ideals of American democracy; and to educate the public so that the question of post-war immigration can be dealt with in a spirit of objectivity, rather than of bias and fear.” The first report dealt with the economic aspects of immigration. This report describes national origins, trends, and characteristics of our population. Twenty-four tables, six graphs, and a bibliography are included.

Levels of Living

[11] *The Differences Between Rural and Urban Levels of Living* are shown with respect to incomes, expenditures, nutrition, material possessions, education, health, the availability of business establishments, and local government services. Some of the information is based on a sample of 372 coun-

ties chosen to represent varying degrees of rurality. Families living in urban sections of the United States are more amply supplied with most elements in the level of living than families living in rural areas. Regional differences and historical trends in the differences will be included in later reports.

[8] Changes have taken place in the structure and functioning of the American family but alterations in the dwelling and community have not kept pace. *Houses for Family Living* demonstrates that the four major periods in the individual family's history, the early years, the crowded years, the peak years, and the later years, should be considered in the design of a home. The specific recommendations are based on the findings of committees that drew upon the services of sociologists, psychologists, home economists, architects, builders, safety engineers and other experts.

[6] The Hagood index is used to compare *The Level of Living of Farm Operators in Washington Counties, 1940 and 1945*. Most counties ranked well above the national average in 1940 and in 1945. Substantial increases are noted for 1945. Counties in the same type of farming areas tend to have similar index numbers; the Palouse wheat area boasts the highest county averages.

Rural Health

[7] An analysis of *The Health of Low-Income Farm Families in Southeast Missouri* shows that a large proportion of the families are handicapped in their efforts to earn an adequate living because of physical illnesses and defects, many of which could be corrected with proper medical care. Physical and dental examinations of 4,124 members of 843 farm laborer and renter families were made in the spring of 1941 under the direction of the regional F. S. A. medical advisor. All of the families had borrowed funds through the Farm Security Administration (now called Farmers Home Administration). The group examined included 2,079 males and 2,045 females; 2,644 were

whites and 1,480 Negroes. A total of 14,700 diseases and defects were diagnosed—an average of 3.8 for each individual. The average number of defects increased sharply with age. About 5 percent of all persons were free from defect. Negroes and whites were about equally defective, but differed considerably in type of defect. Dietary deficiencies were much more prevalent among Negroes. The authors emphasize the need of (1) improvement of rural and medical health facilities in the areas, and (2) health education particularly with respect to nutrition and the formation of better dietary and health habits.

[18] Agriculture, labor, and business have just begun to realize that good health is essential to an expanding, prosperous, productive economy. Tuberculosis, hospitals, deaths at childbirth, sanitation, and pasteurized milk are among the topics discussed in *Good Health is Good Business*. Some of the unmet health needs in industry and on the farm are analyzed and the progress that has been made to date is reviewed.

Rural Organization

[28] The second part of *The Extension Service in Vermont* deals with the work of the Extension Service among farm women. The survey is based on interviews obtained in the summer of 1946 with 357 wives or homemakers of farmers who spent at least two-thirds of their working days during 1945 on the farm or who had derived at least one-half of the gross cash family income in 1945 directly from the farm.

The three major aspects of Extension work studied were (1) the media through which women receive information about homemaking practices, (2) the changes in homemaking practices which have been made, and (3) the opinions farm women have regarding the Extension Service and its local agents. Various Extension Service contacts were the usual sources of information for one-third of the women, farm papers and magazines for another third. Almost two-thirds of the women reported changes in their homemaking practices

along the lines advocated by the Extension Service. In general, women 30 to 44 years of age and those in the upper income and educational groups are most likely to follow recommended practices. Women who are native-born, middle-aged, with relatively high income, or who have college training are more likely to have had contacts with a home demonstration agent or to be members of home demonstration clubs.

[21] Various individuals and organizations in Ascension Parish are cooperating in a health and nutrition program which has proved successful. *The Coordination of Agencies in Ascension Parish, Louisiana* describes the origin and development of the program and lists the accomplishments that have been recorded to date. It also contains a number of suggestions for improving and broadening the program.

Farm Labor

[12] *Factory Meets Farm* is a study of the impact of industrialization upon agriculture in two North Carolina counties—Gaston and Davidson. The study is based on records of 1943 operations from 128 farms, of which more than half reported off-farm work. The family head worked fewer months off the farm than other family members; in general the women worked more off the farm than the men. The individual worker tended to work full-time either on or off the farm. Work off the farm reduced the under-employment of farm family labor and increased family incomes in spite of some reduction in acreage of cash crops, particularly cotton. The chief industry, cotton textile manufacturing, offered year-round employment while the labor required for the main farm crops, cotton and tobacco, is highly seasonal. The author points out that increased opportunities for off-farm employment would make possible a more efficient use of the agricultural resources in the area.

Miscellaneous

[31] *Agricultural Deferment* is one of a series of eighteen monographs being prepared to cover important phases of the

operation of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940. This study gives special attention to the laws, regulations, and administrative procedures applicable to agricultural deferments in World War II and relates deferment policies and legislation affecting agriculture to the constantly changing socio-economic conditions attending war. "In addition, the problems encountered in administering the agricultural deferment program are pointed out as a permanent record of experience to facilitate the development of effective national defense in event of future need." A comprehensive bibliography follows the main report. The appendices, 248 pages in length, contain legislation, memoranda to State and local directors, statistics, forms and instructions, and other miscellaneous data.

[9] *Marriage and Family Relations* is a bibliography of selected readings, classi-

fied according to the age and family role of the reader. A revised edition is planned for 1948.

[30] A committee under the leadership of Carl C. Taylor was directed to make recommendations relative to the *Pattern of Rural Settlement* for the Columbia Basin. The history, merits, and disadvantages of four settlement patterns were discussed: scattered, crossroads, village and line. Empirical evidence was drawn from a variety of settlement experiences in other irrigated sections of the West. Economics inherent in the different patterns of settlement were demonstrated and the social effects of each type were mentioned. The final recommendations favored a line settlement but permitted considerable latitude on the part of settlers, acting either individually or collectively.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis Durant Duncan

NOTE FROM THE BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Having been selected for this job late in the quarter, it has been necessary for me to work frantically in order to make the deadline. My local colleagues helped generously, as did most everyone else called upon. But for this cooperation the Book Review Department in the current issue would have been blank. My gratitude is due everyone.

My predecessor, Howard W. Beers, maintained high standards, and I have only praise for his work. He now has a larger task, that of editor. I hope the Book Review Department can approximate its past standards and that it will not suffer in the future by comparison with the general quality of the magazine.

Reviewers can materially aid in this work by following a few simple rules: (1) Be prompt in all correspondence; (2) *please* observe the standard form to the last punctuation mark; (3) be sparing with useless words and be crisp, concise, and brief; (4) appraise, analyze, and evaluate with candor the work of an author, as negative criticism is more valuable than perfunctory praise; and (5) when requesting an assignment, reviewers can help by stating if they have copies of books they desire to review. All of us are busy and time is precious; it takes from four to six communications to procure one review from lazy reviewers. Please help reduce this burden of correspondence.

Sincerely,

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Book Review Editor.

Rural Sociology. By Lowry Nelson. New York: The American Book Company, 1948. Pp. xvi + 567. \$4.25.

In recent years there have been several notable additions to the list of text books in rural sociology. These have been notable primarily because they have demonstrated that rural sociology as a discipline has finally achieved enough maturity and enough knowledge about rural life to enable it to produce texts whose orientation is essentially sociological rather than economic and whose tone is scientific rather than reformist. Professor Nelson's book continues this trend.

It is devoted to an objective description of American rural society, with major attention given to rural population, the physical environment and spatial pattern of rural life, the social processes, and rural social institutions. It gives somewhat more emphasis to the relationship of physical environment to group life than do most recent texts but this discussion is by no means out of place in a book of this type. Rural population at first glance would seem to receive

less discussion than is customary but on examination most of the population data which are not treated in the one chapter on rural population or the one on migration turn up in the chapters on social institutions where they are effectively used in describing basic trends. Considerably more treatment is given to the processes of social stratification and social mobility than has been common in the past. Most of the materials for these chapters grow out of recent studies, indicating the increased concern of rural sociologists with basic sociological subject matter. There is extensive treatment of rural social institutions, differing from previous books mainly in the scope of rural social institutions covered. Chapters are devoted not only to the family, religion, education, government, welfare agencies and health agencies but also to property in land and farming systems. The chapters on property in land and farming systems are a demonstration of the fundamentally social and cultural nature of these important aspects of rural society. Through-

out the book proper attention is given to the basic trends of urbanization, commercialism, technology and secularization which have had such a profound influence on both rural and urban life in Western society.

Perhaps the greatest single weakness of Professor Nelson's book is that its sociological orientation is not complete enough or possibly not explicit enough, in that it lacks the nice integration of sociological theory and fact which one might hope for at this stage in the development of rural sociology. This is not to say that sociological theory is avoided. Actually at the beginning of each division and each chapter within each division a paragraph or two is devoted to fundamental theoretical considerations, but in the reviewer's opinion this is all too brief a theoretical matrix against which to project the array of description presented. The book would have been improved with greater development of the theoretical portions or preferably from a more systematic attempt to show how the data integrate about basic sociological constructs.

Professor Nelson's book is clearly written, is logically organized, is inclusive in its coverage, and is attractively illustrated and printed. It should prove to be a very usable text for beginning students in rural sociology.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

University of Wisconsin.

Outline of Cultural Rural Sociology. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Mass.: The Phillips Book Store (mimeographed), 1948. Pp. iv + 87. \$2.75.

As a revised enlargement of the *Outline of American Rural Sociology*, this version is a definite improvement. It purports to be a cultural guide for an understanding of American agrarianism and rural life, a system of rural sociology viewing rural life as an integrated part of western social life inquiring into its reasons for existence as a separate social science. The American scene is emphasized in relation to its Old World backgrounds. It combines history, economics, politics, and anthropology with the main characteristics and the physical basis of

rural life, interpreting sociological changes in relation to physical changes and the emerging demands of an atomic age. Almost half of the space is devoted to a review of American history in which the content is more political and economic than sociological.

The sociological portion of the outline is found in nine appendices which discuss rural population problems, the nature of rural man and the rural mind, rural health, economic factors in "progress," land uses, and the functions of cultural rural sociology. The impression is conveyed that cultural rural sociology is largely a basis for action programs and policies. This approach is distinguished from that of "social problems," "social interaction," "ecology," and "social relations" as represented by Taylor, Sorokin and Zimmerman, Sims, Kolb and Brunner, and Smith, respectively.

Zimmerman says, "The present suggested Rural Sociology . . . does not consider rural life as a separate system but as a changing part of a larger universe, the totality of the main social life. . . . Rural sociology belongs to general knowledge and not to the agricultural college or the rural mind. . . . It [Rural Sociology] is not *per se* a descriptive science . . . it is a science of social control." These are largely straw man issues. Rural sociology has never been in danger of becoming a pure science. True, it has not gone as far as agricultural economics toward becoming a farmers' lobby, an apology for agrarianism, a refuge for intellectual bankrupts, or a retreat for quack reformers. Yet it has been often enough a host for such parasites. The agricultural college would be the first to want the subject extended beyond its realm, and rural sociologists generally would be disappointed if their studies are not found useful.

The most distinctive contributions of the *Outline* are (1) its interpretation of history sociologically, always a difficult task, and one accomplished only partially here; (2) the interpretation of the rural mind, perhaps the first such attempt to get beyond the level of nostalgic reminiscence; and

(3) the development of "Cultural Rural Sociology" as an organized approach, which operationally is ancient but substantively is a new conceptualization.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Experimental Designs in Sociological Research. By F. Stuart Chapin. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. xii + 206. \$3.00.

Research workers and students in advanced method courses will find this work a handy summary of nine experiments conducted "in the normal community situation." Much of the material is drawn from previous writings of the author and his students, i.e., the studies on the social effects of public housing, WPA work relief, the Boy Scouts program, and high school education. There are also digests of Dodd's experiment on rural hygiene in Syria, Hill's study of the effects of extra-curricular activities on student adjustment, and Schulman's and Barer's analyses, respectively, of the effects of a controlled activity program and good housing on juvenile delinquency. A hitherto unpublished study of tuberculosis rates and rentals, by health areas in New York City, suggests the extension of experimental analysis to problems in human ecology.

Two salient features of the designs advocated by Chapin are (1) holding extraneous factors constant by matching experimental and control groups, with elimination of unmatched cases, and (2) extensive use of standardized sociometric scales as measures of control factors and criteria of effect. In practice, precise matching involves a serious loss of cases, and hence is applicable only where the initial groups are quite large. The composition of terminal groups is not uniquely determined by the matching procedure, which seems to require considerable discretion on the experimenter's part. This non-random character of the controlled samples prejudices the use of conventional significance tests, a difficulty which the author discusses at some length, arriving at

a pragmatic rather than a fully analytic solution. Some attention should have been given to Westergaard's method of expected cases and other statistical devices for holding factors constant without the loss of a large proportion of the data.

Chapter VI provides a useful classification and inventory of available sociometric scales. Rural sociologists will note that most of these scales were developed on urban populations, and probably require extensive revision and restandardization before they can be employed in the rural situation.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN.

University of Chicago.

A Study of Child Welfare in a Rural New York County. By Abd-el-hamid Zaki. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947. Pp xii + 225. \$2.90.

"In the American welfare system the community process is as significant as the case process." With these words Robert Lansdale, Commissioner of Social Welfare, State of New York, introduces the book. *A Study of Child Welfare in a Rural New York County*, written by Abd-el-hamid Zaki. After a survey of the existing records of child welfare work in Rockland County during the decade, 1930-1940, Dr. Zaki selected 175 cases for his study of the nature and efficacy of organized child welfare. While these cases are not presented as such, they are drawn upon as illustrative material in a penetrating analysis of the present limitations and failures in giving children-in-difficulty a real chance. The appendix contains statistical tables and other materials for the orientation of the reader. The book would have been improved by an index and by a more considered use of the term, *philosophy*, where *policy*, *position*, *perspective*, *practice*, or even *traditional structure* would have better served.

Insistently Dr. Zaki calls attention to the needs and fulfillment of the child as the determinants of work programs in place of institutionalized regulations set up for the work, such as *kinds* of relief to be given, or eligibility for aid. His plea, almost elo-

quent at times, is for the recognition of the "sovereignty of the individual . . . based on his own dynamic power of action and persuasion," and necessarily voiced through organized groups.

But Dr. Zaki goes further than this. He emphasizes the little-regarded truth that *community processes* lie both behind and ahead of each particular case. He points out some of the more effective of these favoring and deterrent. He shows how futile is even the most skillful case study if it is not made, and the ensuing treatment given, in terms of the conditions and resources existent in the *actual community living of the child*. Particularly important are the values accepted by the community and their resultant attitudes.

Since Dr. Zaki has summarized the history of child welfare in this country as well as discussed its nature and efficacy in one fairly representative county, this volume constitutes a revealing and critical orientation in this field.

REGINA H. WESTCOTT.

University of Arkansas.

The Sociology of Child Development. By James H. S. Bossard. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. Pp. x + 790. \$4.50.

This volume is a comprehensive sociological account of child development in the United States. The situational approach is employed; that is, the dynamics of social interaction as they affect child behavior are consistently kept to the forefront. Although this point of view has been used by a few sociologists and social psychologists, it has never been systematically followed in a thorough study of child development. Usually the study of socialization of children has been done by psychologists, psychiatrists, and educators who reflect the emphasis of their respective disciplines.

Among the social situations which Bossard examines are the family, kinship and peer groups, neighborhoods, schools, ethnic groups, classes, and the larger world. In these and other group situations the author analyzes the development of the child from

infancy through adolescence. Both normal and problem settings are considered, but the former are emphasized much more than the latter. The book is introduced with a discussion of contemporary thought on child development and of the approach used in the volume; and it is concluded with an examination of the changing status of childhood in the United States and of issues relating thereto.

This study is divided into 29 chapters which are integrated into seven major divisions. Sources of data include case histories, autobiographical materials, U. S. Census reports, and a long array of books, articles, etc. Each chapter is carefully summarized. Included in the study is an excellent bibliography containing nearly 800 items.

This book is timely and significant. Its point of view, broad scope of coverage, clarity of presentation, and careful documentation, easily make it a thorough sociological account of child development. Nevertheless, it does have some limitations, perhaps the most glaring of which is an urban regional bias. Sharp differentials with respect to minority groups and to rural-urban contrasts are usually ignored or otherwise passed over lightly. The discussion of "The Role of the Guest" (Ch. XI) is definitely overdone. Parenthetically, one wonders why a chapter on the role of the child as a guest was not included. Finally, the book would have been improved if the scattered methodological notes had been expanded and presented as a whole.

This work would be an excellent text for a course in sociology addressed to child development, and highly useful in connection with courses in social psychology, home economics, and education. Psychiatrists and welfare workers would profit by at least skimming the material.

JAMES E. MONTGOMERY.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

Hospital Care in the United States. Commission on Hospital Care. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1947. Pp. xxiv + 631. \$4.50.

This volume is intended to serve as a guide to the future development of hospital care. A valuable addition to the expanding literature in medical economics, *Hospital Care in the United States* represents the report of the Commission on Hospital Care. The Commission was established in October 1944 by the American Hospital Association to survey hospital facilities and blueprint a coordinated national plan for the future development of hospital service. For the purpose of defining its assignment more specifically, the Commission adopted intermediate objectives to guide its study staff. Accordingly, the work of the Commission was envisioned to proceed by logical steps as follows: (1) to obtain a census of present hospital and public health center facilities and to appraise their capacity for service. (2) to settle upon standards for judging physical facilities, organization, and management of hospitals, (3) to determine the overall need for additional facilities and service, and (4) to develop a coordinated national plan for hospital service along with methods by which the plan could be realized.

The report considers the historical development and current problems of the general hospital principally and, faced with limitations of time and money, confines its detailed analysis to a single state. Nevertheless the materials presented for Michigan will have useful application elsewhere and may well be considered a model for the conduct of similar studies in other states.

The book is timely. Its presentation to the public comes at a time when many states and localities, stimulated by the financial assistance available through the Federal Hospital Survey and Construction Act, are facing the problem of developing an integrated hospital system. With a lucidity not often found in methodological work, the report sets forth the basic considerations for the development of a state hospital plan and describes a method of delineation of hospital service areas; of selection of logical hospital centers; and of determination of bed needs.

Rural sociologists should be particularly

interested in a new method devised to measure the need for hospital facilities. The "bed-death ratio" is one of the many fine contributions of the Commission report. As the authors put it, the "formula represents a significant departure from conventional methods of estimating need for general and allied special hospital beds. The formula is unique in that 1) it places the emphasis entirely on need rather than on some combination of need and demand, and 2) it is based on vital statistics rather than population. The method is not just a new way of getting approximately the same results which could be obtained by older and simpler methods. It is of value in differentiating the need for beds in different areas within a state."

The book is arranged in eight major sections and an index. The first section outlines the organization of the Commission, the objectives, purpose, and method of study. The second section summarizes the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission. The report proper is embodied in the remaining six sections.

This book can serve as an excellent guide for state hospital planning programs, even though it has limited usefulness for those hospital planners who must face knotty problems in community organization. A very large part of the volume is an able demonstration of how techniques familiar to rural sociologists can be applied to a specific problem in the general field of health and medical care.

ROBERT L. McNAMARA.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

Blue Cross and Medical Service Plans. By Louis S. Reed. Washington, D. C.: Federal Security Agency, U. S. Public Health Service, 1947. Pp. vii + 323. (No price given.)

The Blue Cross movement has surged from small beginnings two decades ago to 81 approved plans with over 24 million participants on January 1, 1947. Medical Service Plans, sponsored by the medical profession and/or affiliated with a Blue Cross

Plan, have a more recent growth and by the beginning of 1947 had a total enrollment of about 4½ million in 44 plans organized to serve all or parts of 30 states. The growth of these plans and the widespread interest in the group health movement led the U. S. Public Health Service to undertake a study to obtain "an informed opinion of the present and potential usefulness of existing methods of distributing medical and hospital care." Attention is confined primarily to Blue Cross and medical society plans, most of which were visited in the past three years, and the results of the inquiry are offered in the present volume.

The author, Dr. Louis Reed, has had a long experience as health economist for the U. S. Public Health Service and earlier served as a study-staff member for the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. For this report he has done a prodigious amount of work in assembling a detailed account of hospital and medical service plans: their history and growth; their enrollment policies, administrative organization; legal and financial problems; relations with hospitals, medical profession and the general public; inter-plan relationships; and national coordination.

This book should be of value to students of social organization and has special meaning to sociologists engaged in rural health research. The difficulty of reaching rural people through group enrollment procedures is discussed and the experience with individual enrollment is cited. Techniques of community enrollment in rural areas are shown to be somewhat promising. But in the final analysis, the hope for large numbers of rural participants appears dim despite the author's studious care in pointing out the progress made by the Plans in rural areas. Careful reading of the report impresses one with the fact that the growth of the plans is associated with urbanization, industrialization, presence of health personnel and facilities, and income. Sufficient material is found in the text to provide the basis for a more extensive separate treatment of the rural situation

and prospects with respect to hospital and medical service plans.

The report is divided into four parts: 1) hospital plans, 2) medical plans, 3) some problems of hospital and medical care, and 4) conclusions. The extensive and very useful appendices include directories of Blue Cross and Medical Service Plans; a model law to enable the formation of such plans; and the American Medical Association's standards of acceptance for medical care plans. The book is well-documented, is amply supported with statistical tables and charts. Dealing competently with an important subject, this book should be acquired and read by all rural sociologists.

ROBERT L. MCNAMARA.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. By Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomroy, and Clyde E. Martin. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948. Pp. xv + 804. \$6.50.

This is a "progress report" of the currently much-discussed long-term research project on the sexual behavior of human beings which will either make Kinsey, its originator, or break him. One must pay tribute to the courage of a man who, with a comfortable reputation in the snug and non-controversial world of gall wasps, dares to make such extensive inquiries in a field so dangerously beset with prejudices, bans, mores, and neurotics. It is difficult research to perform, difficult to report upon, and it is also difficult to review the report.

Dr. Kinsey's book (we shall refer to it so, as the writing is obviously his although Pomeroy and Martin have worked upon collection and analysis of the data) is interesting reading. He feels that he has brought objective science into human affairs for almost the first time. He is proud of that feat, but bewildered by the number of objections to scientific study of this particular aspect of human life. He is also quite critical of those who have made previous forays and excursions, and at some pains

to argue for the soundness of his own techniques.

After all, the first toe dabblers in the forbidden waters were neither nincompoops nor cowards in their own right, and Johnnies-come-lately might be more respectful to the pioneers without the benefit of generous Rockefeller Foundation grants. Part of his attitude may probably be forgiven as the natural reaction of a competent biological scientist to his experiences in a new kind of social laboratory where the temperature fluctuates, the visitors feed the animals, and the white rats yell for the police. A reasonable amount of self-confidence is a necessity under such conditions.

The purpose of the research is to determine the patterns of human sex behavior and the factors that influence them. The method is direct personal interview, the information being coded by his own intricate code. ("The care with which confidences have been guarded in the present study has probably never been surpassed in any other project dealing with human material"—page 44.) The data are then transferred to Hollerith cards, machine sorted, and tabulated. Some 12,000 personal histories have already been collected and the aim is to make it 100,000 in the next twenty years.

His interviews are rather aggressive, and there has been some objection by other scientists to this; but he is an aggressive man, and in the case of some of his underworld characters aggressive techniques may be needed. He puts the burden of denial upon the person interviewed; not, "Have you had pre-marital intercourse?" but, "How old were you when you first had pre-marital intercourse?" Social case workers will arch their eyebrows at this, but will discover that he does some arching in their direction too.

Most of his interviews to date are with college students and inmates of corrective institutions. They are young. They are largely single. They are largely male. They are overwhelmingly from the region east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. (This book deals only with the males, due to the scarcity of female interviews.) They are

not representative of the population in general, and Kinsey therefore adjusts his raw data by a Census-derived formula to provide estimates for the whole United States. His work might be better statistically if he had resisted the temptation to project such generalizations which perforce ignore regional differences in folkways and mores.

Another technique which might be questioned is his method of making each record count several times in rather unusual fashion. That is, in handling data on 20-year-olds he uses not only 20-year-olds but the 20-year-old data in the history of every older male. Thus the 80-year-old man appears in the tables not only as an 80-year-old but also as a 20-year-old. Whether 20-year-olds of 60 years ago should be classified with 20-year-olds of today is moot, in spite of the impressive chapter on the persistence of sexual behavior patterns.

One feature of the research is relatively novel, and that is his attempt to get histories from everyone in a group, in order to make the data representative by being complete. That is, he tries to get all members of a fraternity, of a penal institution, of a service club, and the like. This helps to reduce the skewness that may come from getting data from only those individuals in a group who for some reason volunteer. This principle is excellent, but he found it difficult to practice, and only 62 groups representing 3104 individuals, 26 per cent of those in the present study, have been 100 per cent completed. Forty-two of these are college and professional groups. One wonders what kind of group is meant by that listed as "Hitch-hikers (over a 3-year period)" on page 95.

In this connection it should be noted that a problem in his study, which he partially recognizes, is that of why certain people are more approachable for histories than others (pages 35-36). He states that two types of histories are difficult to get: those that are "restrained" and those that have some items that would bring strong social censure if known. He half senses that he may be overloaded with slightly neurotic

contributors or persons momentarily upset, yet he makes no attempt to distinguish between "those whom the psychiatrist would consider sexually well-adjusted persons and those whom he would regard as neurotic, psychotic, or at least psychopathic" (pages 7, 8) on the ground that these categories are not adequately understood and may "reflect evaluations that have no scientific origin." Well, that may be. But failure to do that throws further doubt upon the validity of his extension of his findings to all the population. And for one so devoted to science as most objectively defined, the chapter on the technique of interviewing is surprising writing.

All of this aside, however, Kinsey has made a great contribution to our socio-sexual knowledge.

For all of us he has shown that there is a wide variance between what society decrees as a group and practices as persons.

To the criminologist he has demonstrated that confinement does not change the habits of a sex criminal.

To the general sociologist he has shown that sexual habits are closely associated with economic, educational, and social class—that there is a wide difference between the sex life of the poor and little-educated and that of the well-heeled and well-educated.

For the anthropologist he has given proof that the Negro legends of sexuality are not matters of race but of socio-economic status.

He establishes for the school teacher that sex habits are largely formed by the age of 16 and are rarely changed thereafter.

The religionist will learn that sexual activity varies inversely with religious activity, and that within or between religious faiths the socio-economic status is still more determinant than religious devoutness.

The rural sociologist will be surprised at the loose way in which "rural" is defined—it seems to mean farm life (see pages 79 and 461) but interested to learn that the total sexual outlets are slightly lower for rural persons as compared to urban, and that there is more petting, considerably more premarital intercourse, more patron-

age of prostitutes, more homosexual intercourse, and even more frequent marital intercourse among urban males than among rural males. The rural male seems to have, however, almost a monopoly upon intercourse with animals.

Dr. Kinsey should by all means continue his project to its ambitious end, bearing in mind its present weaknesses. The more serious of these can be corrected by more attention to the distribution of his subjects both geographically and socially. As in the case of his gall wasps, he must go where the specimens are under various conditions, and not be confined so much to the Northeastern United States. For that matter, why confine it to the United States? The homo sapiens has a wide range of habitat.

WILLIAM G. MATHER.

The Pennsylvania State College.

A Critical Review of Research in Land Economics. By Leonard A. Salter, Jr. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1948. Pp. 258. \$4.00.

When the LaSalle Hotel fire snuffed out the life of Leonard Salter, land economics and the social sciences lost a brilliant, critical mind. This volume, a moderately edited version of Salter's doctoral thesis, provides ample evidence of his potentialities, and it underlines the great loss his death brought to a field of study that sorely needed him.

Salter was a young man who would never have been content with things as they are. Hence, the methodological vulnerability of past research in land economics furnished him with the raw material for an incisive and devastating critique. Ranging over 40 years of history and some 500 research reports, Salter found a dearth of material that met his own rigorous standards for social inquiry. His treatment of those analyses that failed to measure up is at all times forthright, and sometimes contemptuous.

Thus far, all research in land economics has failed on one or more counts, many from the initial statement of the problematic situation straight through to the final test, which Salter defines as "the unity between purposes sought and consequences

experienced when the recommended action is taken." In particular "... one of the greatest obstacles to effective research is the persistent failure to pose a problem or a hypothesis . . ." according to the Dewey formula for natural sciences.

Some of the most telling blows in the *Review* are struck at the aimless cross-classifications and averages that embellish so many studies at the expense of cause-effect analysis. Salter's insistence upon purposefulness in research, upon flexibility in problem formulation, upon holding together a chain of related items through time, and upon the fundamentals of experimental testing probably constitute the most constructive aspects of his inquiry.

He is sympathetic in treating of Wisconsin's prodigious contributions to agricultural economics (including his own). He is least tolerant of the Pearsonian-Cornellian mass statistical techniques: "Instead of asking what action can be taken that will be consistent with this purpose, these studies ask: What is the quantitative relationship between this set of figures and that?"

If Salter's stimulating appraisal may be successfully questioned in its entirety, it would perhaps have to be done in terms of the author's impatience with an immature area of study. Forty years, after all, is hardly a leaf in the history of the natural sciences to which he turns for guidance in methodology. Moreover, he underestimates the practical values of much of the frankly descriptive literature which, in any science, invariably sets the stage for research of a more analytical sort.

Finally, when he hints of "living" with the subject of inquiry through all its major processes of growth and change, he is departing from an otherwise realistic evaluation. The researcher lives within the narrow confines of such tangibles as budgets and administrative demands upon his time. This, to a far greater extent than individual ineptitude, accounts for the unsatisfactory quality of the research product of the agricultural experiment stations and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The systematic arrangement of an enormous volume of published material alone makes this book worthwhile. Its straightforward assault upon the failures of land economics research will challenge any thoughtful reader who has shared in those failures.

JOE R. MOTHERAL.

Agricultural and Mechanical
College of Texas.

Land, Men and Credit. By Leo E. Manion.
New York: Island Press, 1947. Pp. 67.
Cloth \$2.00; Paper \$1.00.

This little book tells the story of the cooperative credit system established in 1916 by the Federal government to assist farmers. The author, an Iowa boy now first Vice-President of the Omaha Land Bank, tells the story from the point of view of his bank which serves Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota and Wyoming, but by this means also succeeds in telling the story of the national enterprise as well. How the system, regarded skeptically by farmers at first, succeeded in weathering the post-war financial crisis of 1920 and the great depression following 1929, with the aid of a broadened organization structure provided by Congress, is a tribute to the soundness of the plan. How farmers were not only helped to retain their land, but were often encouraged to do so, is a tribute to the loyalty and intelligence of the Bank's leadership. It is no small achievement that today it may be said that farmers own the system, pay only 4 per cent for their loans with no service fees, and receive dividends through their local Loan Association.

The story is simply and effectively told in 9 chapters of about 6 pages each. The book provides a chapter in the history of government-sponsored cooperative effort in agriculture. In addition, the sound advice on the purchasing of farm land suggests that the book should be in the hands of every local Farm Loan Association and perhaps in every rural high school.

C. E. LIVELY.

University of Missouri.

Depression Decade. By Broadus Mitchell.
New York: Rinehart and Co. Inc., 1947.
Pp. xviii + 462. \$4.00.

Depression Decade is Volume IX of the *Economic History of the United States*. While not so narrowly statistical as some economic histories, this book contains a vast amount of statistical data skillfully woven into the narrative. Except for an opening chapter devoted to connecting the worldwide economic dislocations due to the first World War with the later period, the "decade" covered is from the depression in 1929 through the New Deal and National Defense to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Perhaps it is symptomatic of what has happened to our economy that an economic historian should devote his discussion very largely to a central theme of government policy and action, while the economic changes and developments which are related to private enterprise serve primarily as explanations for political action.

Dr. Mitchell places the New Deal policies in historical perspective by showing their origin in the Hoover administration, or earlier. The more important aspects of the New Deal are discussed under the traditional divisions of relief, banking and currency crisis and reform, agriculture, NRA, labor, public works and TVA. In a final chapter on "War to the Rescue," he attempts to pin down concepts which are mentioned earlier several times, that the Depression was a major cause of World War II, and that only the preparation for war succeeded in bringing about full employment and recovery.

While his sympathies are definitely with what he considers to be the social purposes of the Roosevelt legislation, Dr. Mitchell freely criticizes many aspects of the New Deal because of its contradictions and the failure of the policies to accomplish their economic goals. The author implies in many instances that our system of private enterprise will never attain the social ends he believes an economic system should provide. The following quotations, though lifted from their context, probably do not distort his bias unduly.

With respect to Raymond Moley's defense of the methods used to save the banks in 1933, the author comments (p. 136): "One may be allowed to fear that an economic system which had come so near to self-destruction was scarcely worth the passionate loyalty expressed." On page 164, in referring to the evidence unearthed by the Pecora investigation, he observes:

The boom itself, which nourished these fungi, was not an unhappy accident, but the result of accepted forces. The individual who had betrayed a trust or recklessly imperiled the public welfare was the minor criminal compared to the economic system under which he operated. It is hard to conceive a comprehensive review of a debacle more calculated to disillusion the candid mind with the private profit motive as a means to social health.

And on page 180, after a brief introduction to the agricultural policy of creating scarcity to raise prices while millions were hungry and naked, the author states: "It nowhere seemed to occur to them that an economy which, for its correction and preservation, demanded such violence to reason, had better be abandoned than revived. Though current thought was not so bold, was there ever a time when avowal of production for use, rather than for private profit, was more appropriate?" Other examples in the same vein could be cited.

It requires no extensive knowledge of economics to perceive the inconsistencies and contradictions in the capitalistic system, particularly in a depression period. But isn't the economist (regardless of how narrowly he defines his field) who favors a distribution of income which is socially just obligated to give some consideration to the effects upon our institutions of the methods used to achieve such distribution? Perhaps government through extending its activities may achieve such a goal, but at what expense to other aspects of American life would appear to be a vital question which may partially be answered by experiences abroad and in this country under the New Deal. Dr. Mitchell might have given at least a modicum of attention to the broader ef-

fects of a government ever growing in size and increasing its control over or actively competing with private enterprise, with the resulting tendency of pressure groups to trade favors in order to obtain grants and concessions from the state. In this reviewer's opinion, the inevitable result is the creation of a monstrosity which in time will destroy the basic concepts of human liberties. If it be contended that such considerations lie outside the scope of economic history, then it might be argued that much of this volume is not economic history.

Perhaps the author is not concerned primarily with economic history, but with government economic policies and their effects upon giving to the lower income groups and labor more of the fruits of production. At least, in summing up the effects of the New Deal, he states (p. 368), that though the tangible accomplishments were excellent in themselves, these "were not as significant as the hope, indeed self-confidence, which the New Deal had aroused in the nation. The New Deal proclaimed, and went a distance to prove, that we need not be frustrated by inscrutable misfortune, but could be masters of our future. This mental candor and moral lift formed the true contribution, and for them all praise is due." While agreeing that the kindling of hope was an important phase of the early years of the New Deal, this reviewer would require much more proof before agreeing that, collectively or individually and irrespective of the type of economic system established, we "could be masters of our future," except to a limited degree.

While *Depression Decade* is an interesting and well-written account, and a convenient reference work for social scientists who have need of a one-volume book on the New Deal period, it illustrates the well-known fact that neither perspective nor final judgment can be attained on matters so nearly contemporary. Much of the spirit of the times has been recaptured in these pages, a feat which may not be achieved by those who later may write a definitive history of this decade without having lived through the period. The index is limited largely to ob-

vious items. An extensive bibliography and an appendix of statistical tables are useful reference aids.

O. A. HILTON.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

The Missouri Valley—Land of Drought, Flood and Promise. By Rufus Terral. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 274. \$3.75.

AN adopted son depicted the characteristics of the Northern Great Plains Region as seen from a mythical mountain-top in Colorado. For many years this relief map was on display in one of the regional offices of the Department of Agriculture at Lincoln, Nebraska. This was a measure of the honor accorded the work.

Since then there have been many noteworthy studies of the Plains Region; some dealing with segments, others with the whole. Terral adds new life and blood to this study of the Northern Great Plains, under the title *The Missouri Valley—Land of Drought, Flood and Promise*. From the standpoint of geography, the Northern Great Plains Region is larger than the Upper Missouri Valley. The Lower Missouri Valley extends beyond the semi-arid Northern Plains, into the humid Midwest and South. Thus the Missouri River is symbolic of the interdependence of regions and demonstrates the need for cooperation between strikingly different areas. Mr. Terral has accomplished this in the following description: "The Missouri is really three rivers—one of water, one of silt, and one of sediment" (p. 91).

This book is "must" reading for anyone wishing to understand the Missouri and the Northern Plains—its history, its present problems and its future needs and potentials. The author introduces the reader effectively to the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area. His history is accurate and bears pointedly on the problems of the region. He demonstrates the need for change in farm and ranch management theory and practice, indicating the economic and social forces in operation in

the area. The author's description of bureaucracy at work is bold and accurate. The exploitation and expropriation of the region by Midwestern and Eastern business can hardly be overcome if Government itself is a party to such appropriation.

The book is a challenge to both the natural and the social sciences to get their houses in order; to begin working with concepts and tools large and vital enough to cover multiple purpose construction and operation of natural resources; to relate these to people and adapted ways of living. The business, industrial, economic, population and social potentials in the Missouri Basin can be used to "build" the area or to enslave it to the "outside" for a long time. This is well illustrated by the following single proposal. One of the contemplated projects in the Upper reaches of the Valley provides for the construction of "four dams within a distance of 20 miles. The head of water they would produce . . . would be very great. Thief Creek Dam would form a head of 1,250 feet, Sunlight Creek, 1,825 feet, or three times that of Boulder Dam. Thief Creek, on the Clark Fork, and Yellowtail, on the Big Horn, would be the heaviest individual producers in the Reclamation Bureau's proposed system" (p. 185). The question is, should this power potential be utilized inside the area or outside it?

The chapters entitled "Trouble at the 98 Meridian," "Hullabaloo," and "The Fake M. V. A." are accurate descriptions of events as this reviewer is acquainted with them. There are those who will say that these three chapters have weakened the book. That is a matter of opinion. These chapters deal with the issues that are at the core of whether the people of the Upper Missouri River Basin will continue in colonial status.

The Missouri Valley belongs in the research and reading library of those interested in problems of regional development, especially of the semi-arid West, along with Webb's *The Great Plains* and the earlier reports of Major J. W. Powell.

CARL F. KRAENZEL.

Montana State College.

Small Town. By Granville Hicks. New York: MacMillan, 1947. Pp. + 276. \$3.50.

Granville Hicks has woven three long essays into a single close-knit tract. The major theme—and that most useful to us professionally—is the portrayal of the dynamic intimacy of village life. More original and definitely autobiographical is his incisive exploration of the role of intellectuals in American folk life. Finally, there are scattered excursions into the problem of urban vs. rural communities in the total life of the nation—about which we shall omit comment in this review. The data underpinning Hicks' analysis relate to a village near Troy, New York during the years 1932 to 1946. The separation of the three threads in the pattern of the book is hindered, alas, by the absence of an index. One chapter supplies a cursory history of the town.

Both the fine writing in this volume—which permits an incisiveness and clarity lacking in more professional books—and the discussion of the intellectual's place in society are products of the author's high place among American literary men. Hicks' commentary on the place of the man of thought reflects his own drift into Marxism during the depression and his revulsion from the party duplicity of late. He sees the contribution of the "thinker," however, not in a new party, the recourse of many politically minded scholars, but in the discipline of learning to share the problems and responsibilities of the non-intellectual people. And it is refreshing to find a reformed reformer who exalts the intellect, however much he hedges in its sphere, above his previous estimate into irrationalism.

The principle appeal of "*Small Town*" to the sociologist lies in its profound insight, beautifully articulate, into the meaning of the web of human relationships in the village. This major stress of the volume embraces several distinct topics. There are some brief comments on the class structure, including explicit comparison with Plainville. The areas of knowledge of the countryman are lined out, all the time keeping

in mind the contrasting thought ways of the intellectual and the urbanite. A few pointed comments about the varieties of provincialism lead to a discussion of the diffusion of urban prejudices (e. g., anti-semitism) into the attitudes of people lacking relevant empirical contacts. The persistence of folklore among people habituated to the turret-lathe and the auto is made clear in a few pages.

Two other familiar topics are treated so neatly that we may expect quotations in forthcoming elementary texts. One is the role of conversation in primary groups, its projective and ritual character, its function in articulating both the mores and the anxieties or conflicts within a group, the necessity of giving conversation its head rather than cutting it off for the sake of "efficiency." Second, Hicks explores the meaning of "the link of locality" in a mobile and specialized society and assays its strength against vocational and other impersonal ties.

We found Hicks' documentation of the wholeness of village life most useful to our own tentative formulations. For example (p. 109): "A feud may start in one of the churches, spread to the PTA, involve a whole section of the town, and ultimately emerge as a political factor."

The following pat synopsis of our professional platitudes does scant justice to the appropriateness of Hicks' extended discussion (p. 13): "In the small town you know everybody or nearly everybody, and, what is more, you know a considerable number of persons in a considerable number of ways." Finally, when Hicks points out that "In a small town functions often overlap, and as a result one can do two or three strokes of business in a single call" he has put his finger on a neglected factor in the reigning explanations of the attrition of the sense of community in modern urban life.

This book is not science, though on many topics it is more scientific than sociologists' writings. Hicks claims only that he is giving us a personal statement. Except in passing, the book has no evidence on how frequently

such and such occurs in what kind of villages. Still, we who have lived in villages or studied them will recognize familiar or verisimilar patterns of living.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON.

University of Kentucky.

Rural Parish. By Anna Laura Gebhard.

New York and Nashville: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1947. Pp. 121. \$1.50.

Every rural minister and his wife and others interested in rural life will want to read this delightful little "gem" about the rural church. *Rural Parish* is sure to find its way into their hearts and a place in their library alongside Hewitt's *Highland Shepherd*, *The Shepherdess*, and Smith's, *The Church in Our Town*.

Mrs. Gebhard is a master artisan at making language describe the country-side and life and work among the people in their three country parishes. After a few pages of *Rural Parish*, you forget you are reading and begin to "live." This human story of the rural church full of the warmth, the headache, and the happiness of a full life plucks your heart strings from overflowing joy to deepest and unexpressible pathos.

Rural Parish brings a dignity to the rural church that is sure to command a new respect for the man of God and his helpmate who labor there. "Can any good come out of such little out-of-the-way communities—Gorman, Fairhaven and Gold Valley?" You will want to read *Rural Parish* and see.

RAYMOND A. SCHONDELMAYER.

Marion, Kentucky.

Decentralize For Liberty. By Thomas Hewes. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1947. Pp. 238. \$3.00.

Reclamation of Independence. By Willis D. Nutting. Nevada City, California: Berlinger & Lanigan, Publishers, 1947. Pp. 198. (Price not available).

Industrialization drains the population of the countryside and of the small town into large cities and metropolitan areas and turns the nation into a mass of dependent wage earners. This lopsidedness of our eco-

nomic and social structure spells destruction for liberty. The individual becomes the helpless victim of trends and developments which he can not understand, over which he has no control, and from which he can not extricate himself. Gradually the "sweet land of liberty" becomes a country in which a "benevolent state" has to regulate more and more of the activities of the individual and of the group, till some day in the not so distant future the last trace of freedom of action will be lost, dictatorship or not. This is the thesis on which both books build their argument. As far as the analysis of the situation is concerned they are companion volumes. They even seem to be alike in respect to the cure which they prescribe so that the freedom of the individual might be regained and safeguarded. It is expressed in a word which unfortunately is quickly becoming a catch-all for rather different movements and policies: decentralization. But here the similarity ends. To Hewes decentralization is a method by which we can change the present trend sufficiently to insure all the material gains that society has made over the last hundred and fifty years without having to pay for it with the loss of liberty. To Nutting decentralization is a way in which to build a society not quite so rich in terms of standards of living but secure in enabling man to live free and unencumbered by the forces that are closing in on him from all sides.

Hewes approaches the problem in what seems to be a very "realistic" way: Strengthen the community, especially the small one; establish and effectively protect a small business—individual, partnership or co-operative; enable the worker to have a home of his own and, if so desired, an acre or two to help him through times when jobs are not plentiful; control and, if possible, abolish the large enterprise with absentee-ownership; cut back the federal government; and you are on your way to a society built upon strong, small communities which can run their own affairs without constant recourse to Washington, and upon a more wieldy form of economic enterprise than

can effectively be controlled by those who own it or who work in it. Hewes, who is an old hand in the affairs of government (he has served both in Connecticut and in the Federal government for many years and in different capacities) offers plans for a legislation which would prune bureaucracy—he loathes its self-perpetuation and its cancerous growth—and which would set up the necessary framework for a plan of decentralization of industry and population on the basis of what might be called natural regionalism. All this seems practical and realistic enough. Still, this reviewer wonders whether we have not reached a stage in the development of modern society where such a reform would be insufficient to stem the tide of the development towards a completely regulated society, a development equally fostered by totalitarian forces and by a private enterprise system that through concentration is destroying the very basis on which it has been founded: free competition.

Nutting seems to be much less "realistic," but he goes more to the roots of the problem. Modern industrial production and distribution have become so intricate and so interdependent that, if something goes wrong in one place, the whole of society is vitally affected. That means loss of liberty for the individual. He has exchanged his liberty for the highest standard of living which can be achieved only through perfection of the aforementioned economic interdependence. Therefore, the individual has to choose between high standard of living at the cost of dependence and independence and its consequences. The consequences consist in an organization of society in keeping with the requirements for freedom. Nutting envisages such a society "based on the free man, not on mass production; on the family, home, neighborhood, not the class; on morality, not on competition." Such a society is possible only if the level of organization is not higher than the small community, small enough for the average man to feel at home in. This limits the possibilities of production and of exchange, the chances of specialization with its ensuing differentia-

tion of production and of services as we have them today. "If we choose the future of growing independence we will have fewer comforts, less variety in food, less professional entertainment. We will have to work harder, give less attention to our looks and perhaps even to our health, and suffer for our own mistakes. We might even die sooner. But we will have the chance of being free in the sense that our forefathers wished to be free. We will be responsible human beings, standing and falling by our own merits. We will be men as distinct from comfortable and well fed animals."

To achieve this rugged free society Nutting does not propose any legislation. He sets store in an individual and collective gradual "withdrawal" from the present system of dependence by replacing buying things and services with producing or performing them at home or in the community, by turning hours of aimless recreation (golf) into hours of purposeful producing and creating.

Both authors underestimate the difficulties of changing our system, be it in part or basically. They underrate the violence with which the vested interests—both private and public—would fight back if they should come to regard decentralization as a dangerous opposition to the established order. They both do not judge all economic and social and psychological problems involved correctly. That is natural, and the shortcomings of their analyses and plans should not be made the main points of criticism. It is easy to dispose of any plan for reform by pointing out the errors and inconsistencies. But our dilemma is too great for us not to listen to people who, instead of another utopia, offer a practical plan for a peaceful change and for a positive reconstruction of our society within the framework of our traditional moral values, though with different emphasis in practical respect. In this sense both books are welcome contributions to the discussion of the problem of economic, social and political freedom in our society.

In the scheme of things in both books a sound and vigorous rural population plays

an important role. So does that group of people who are now living in that social no-mans-land which is known as the fringe, a group which in both plans will be changed into purposefully constructed neighborhoods and communities. This aspect should make the books especially interesting to the rural sociologist.

WERNER A. BOHNSTEDT.
Michigan State College.

County Government in Virginia: A Legislative History, 1607-1904. By Albert Ogden Porter. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. v + 356. \$2.50.

Sociologists, rural sociologists, and other social scientists will welcome this excellent monograph on the history of the legislative development of county government in Virginia. The author has done a creditable job in tracing the history of one of the most important rural institutions in this country as the author states:—"so far there has been no attempt to trace these institutions through their three and a half centuries of growth and change" (p. 5). While the study relates to Virginia and much is perhaps common to similar developments in most of the Southern States, users will find much of general interest and application to local county government regardless of region.

The book is divided into six chapters. Chapter I deals with Local Government in the Early Settlement; Chapter II, Eighteenth Century Development; Chapter III, The Revolutionary Period; Chapter IV, A Period of Evolution, 1788-1850; Chapter V, Reform, Reconstruction and Restoration; Chapter VI, The Convention of 1901-1902. An Appendix, an Institutional Summary, a Bibliography and an Index complete the work.

From the founding of the colony to the present the author traces the legislative development of county institutions and the functions of each. The county courts were established in 1634 and combined in their functions legislative, administrative and judicial duties. The office of county sheriff

was founded the same year, and his duties were primarily that of law enforcement, collection and disbursement of finances. The church parish and the county clerk antedated both the establishment of the courts and the sheriff's office. The duties of the former have been unchanged to this date, although the procedure of election has given way to appointment by the court. As early as 1619 the church parish was charged with the problems of welfare and relief until it was abolished in 1780. The overseer of the poor followed later and was joined by the superintendent of the poor in 1867; both continued as the local administrative agencies of public welfare until they were abolished in 1936. While the first local school boards were created as early as 1796, most of the legislation was of a permissive nature; it was not until after the constitution of 1867 that the modern school board was started. The office of attorney for the commonwealth was created in 1788. This office was appointive by the attorney general until 1819, when the judges of the courts were authorized to make appointments. In 1830 the office was made elective on a county-wide basis, as it is to the present.

Throughout the early development of local county government and officials one finds forms, structures and practices persisting to the present time. The modern problems of reorganization and consolidation of county governmental units as a result of the automobile and the airplane are apparently not new ideas. More than 240 years ago Governor Spotswood wrote of the need for such action. Shades of modernism are found in this statement made in 1716 when he said: "Private ends of the Representatives of these counties over-awayed the public benefit of the People." (p. 45) The early need for making the areas of the counties of the York and James Rivers larger so that they would be more equal in area and wealth, a need which persists to the present time, was pointed out by Governor Spotswood. He also recognized that some of the counties were so large that it was difficult to find justices to serve

who would travel forty miles to attend sessions of the county court.

Of special interest to the reviewer is the discussion of one of the functions of the vestry in the church parish. Because of the indiscriminate means used in early land surveys of boundaries and land division there was what was called "processioning of the lands." An official of the church parish was required to walk over the boundaries of a person's land once every four years. The location of the boundaries was observed, corrections or renewals made when necessary, and official records made thereof. (p. 96)

The persistence of group habits in flocking to the court house towns today finds its genesis in the monthly court days of the early period in Virginia. Court days were festive occasions. Apparently it was a day of family group visits to the "court house town" for the purposes of trade and barter, for settling grudges, and a day for general celebration—"a great day for the gingerbread and molasses beer." (p. 163)

The failure of county government to change is illustrated by the fact that Virginia has had five separate constitutions. In only one, that of 1867, was any real change produced in the administration of local government. The author points out two possible reasons for the lack of change: the lack of research studies in local institutions and the innate and continued conservatism of the Virginian. With few changes wrought by the depression and the New Deal activities in rural welfare, Virginia County government, the author concludes, is still in the last century.

CLINTON L. FOLSE.

Union College.

They Did It in Indiana. By Paul Turner.
New York: The Dryden Press, 1947.
Pp. xxix + 159. \$2.25.

Upon reading the title of this book a question is apt to arise in the reader's mind, namely, *They Did "what" in Indiana?* The sub-title, *The Story of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperatives*, answers the question immediately.

In the reviewer's opinion, one of the best parts of the whole book is found in the introduction by I. H. Hull, especially the section, "Cooperation's Greatest Achievement." Here Mr. Hull states that the greatest achievement of the cooperative is not "our accumulation of material resources. It is not the saving of dollars, or the improvement in the quality of products distributed. There is nothing more certain in our whole program, taken over the period of the past twenty years, than the fact that we have literally built in Indiana a new race of men." The anthropologist would not agree. Mr. Hull is, however, stating an essential truth. More than ten years of active participation in cooperatives by the reviewer has convinced him of the fundamental truth of the idea expressed by Mr. Hull who states in essence that the cooperative does not live primarily by the efforts of the educational idealist nor the unimaginative "business man" type of individual but it moves forward on the shoulders of those who have both vision and judgment in commercial matters. The cooperative is primarily a buying service for its members.

The best chapters are: IV, "Hoosier Pioneers Discover the Rochdale Pioneers"; VIII, "Measuring Some Co-op Accomplishments"; and IX, "What of the Future?" In these chapters the spirit as well as the material accomplishments of the cooperative are portrayed.

Chapter VI, "Co-operation Breaks the Fertilizer Monopoly," and Chapter VII, "Hatching a Healthy Poultry Industry," will likely be of more interest to the people in Indiana than to anyone else. There are many details of fertilizer manufacturing and poultry production which will not interest the general reader as much as would an account of the human factors in the development of the principles of the cooperative enterprise. The story of cooperation is an exceedingly human one.

The author writes well. He has produced a story which will be of great interest to those rural people in every state who are slowly but surely ushering in the day of de-

mocracy at the market place as well as in government.

LINDEN S. DODSON.
Veterans Administration.

The Business of Farming. By Herrell DeGraff and Ladd Haystead. Norman. The University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. xviii + 244. \$3.00.

Those who are actively engaged in the management or operation of farm land or are directly affected thereby will find *The Business of Farming* an informative and even inspiring treatise. Those who look upon farm management as an exercise in the application of economic theory or upon farming as a way of life rather than a business will not find *The Business of Farming* satisfying or satisfactory. In fact some of the latter might be disillusioned if they would accept the factual data presented.

The Business of Farming is limited to four phases of farm management—soil, equipment, labor, and farm organization. The treatment of these four phases is excellent but not exhaustive. The authors' farm management is definitely of the short-lead-pencil variety. A forward looking experimental point of view is encouraged. It is stated that "observation and common horse sense are two of the greatest assets of the good manager." The authors practice what they preach. Further, due to the wide range of observation and considerable practical experience of the authors this is not a localized or theoretical farm management text. The use of quotations from recognized experts is liberal and the citations of supplemental information are for the most part well-chosen.

The Business of Farming does not pretend to be a compendium of farm production or management practices. Many phases of farm management are purposely omitted. However, it seems to this reviewer that lack of capital as a factor affecting the quality of management on many farms is not given the emphasis that it deserves. For example, the large investment in specialized equipment and facilities neces-

nary to operate a diversified farm economically is treated as merely an item of business expense, not as the financial mountain that it is with many farmers. Others might find omission or lack of emphasis of other phases of management equally or more important.

Those contemplating the purchase of a farm will find in *The Business of Farming* facts that are worth studying carefully. Those who are actively engaged now in operating or managing farms will find the host of suggestions and ideas a very much worthwhile check list. Some of the management problems of non-resident owners, and there is a large new crop of these, receive special attention.

DeGraff and Haystead have succeeded in writing an interesting and informative treatise of a difficult subject. As True D. Morse states in the foreword, "This book is filled with reality. There is constant suggestion that problems be faced squarely." The problem of size of farm from its many angles is particularly well-analyzed. The discussion of adequate farm records and accounts is based upon a considerable successful experience. If the dollars and cents problems of successful farm management are close to your heart, you will find this book well worth reading.

P. H. STEPHENS.

Farm Credit Administration
Wichita, Kansas.

The Hybrid-Corn Makers: Prophets of Plenty. By A. Richard Crabb. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1947. Pp. 331. \$3.00.

One of the most interesting and significant chapters in the history of agriculture in the United States is that which tells the story of the development of hybrid corn. In the book under review, A. Richard Crabb, who has written a number of feature articles for agricultural magazines, presents a comprehensive account of the development of hybrid corn from the time the invention was vaguely conceived to the time of its general acceptance in the Cornbelt.

The book is of interest to sociologists be-

cause it provides a wealth of material for the study of the process and the social effects of inventions. Like most important inventions, the development of hybrid corn involved the participation and cooperation of many individuals. Of the many persons involved, the most significant contribution appears to have been made by Edward M. East, whose major work in the development of hybrid corn was done at the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station. Not only has hybrid corn resulted in substantial increases in the total production of corn but it has also had many derivative effects. For example, the standing ability of the stalk and the uniformity of the ears of hybrid corn in size and in position on the stalk simplified the invention of a successful mechanical cornpicker, which, as a result, has been widely adopted. The use of the mechanical corn picker has in turn brought about important social changes, such as a decrease in the number of laborers on farms. The decrease in the number of hired hands has in turn lessened the work of the farm wife.

Despite its valuable contribution, the book has serious defects. It has no bibliography. It contains not even a list of the personal interviews with the principal hybrid corn makers who according to the author constituted the chief source of information for this work. There are no footnotes which give the source for important statements of fact and opinion. Since the work is an historical treatment, careful documentation would have added much to its value.

GERARD SCHULTZ.

Simpson College.

The Reconstruction of Humanity. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 247. \$3.00.

A nontechnical introduction to a series of current technical researches, this book reflects in part the substance of Sorokin's earlier writings, especially *Social and Cultural Dynamics* and the satellite volumes in that system.

The book maintains the thesis that no system of institutionalized politics, educa-

tion, morality, economics, or religion in the contaminated condition in which it is found in contemporary society (any time since 500 B.C.) can either preserve peace or prevent war without a total purging and purification of all values of the human members thereof. War and conflict result from progressive egoism and hatreds. Sensate urges have degraded all human values, and even man himself to the level of the material. The eternal verities of the Middle Ages have been relegated to the limbo of ignorant superstition. In their stead have come blatant cynicism, debauchery, and a prostitution of all ideational or spiritual drives of the race to greed, avarice, and other baser human passions. Physics, chemistry, and biology have become Godless and even Christians, more than pagans, have perverted their own commandments. The only hope of peace is by the slow and painful process of a transmutation of values, individual by individual, until all the world becomes as one man, and he a good one, motivated entirely by altruistic principles. There is no other way to eliminate war and to insure peace on earth and good will toward all men.

No one disputes the claims made that our world is degenerate. Whether it is more or less so than the mediaeval, the ancient, or the primitive is a matter which admits of interminable and indeterminate argument. There have been wars, prostitutes, whoremongers, disease, and other forms of degeneracy in all times. Sorokin has nothing to offer but the same Buddha, the same Confucius, the same Christ, and the same Mohammed of the ages, although he dedicates the book to Gandhi. Actually, these prophets, along with numerous others, have given us a thousand times as much gospel as would be needed, if practiced slightly, to abolish war, if, indeed, it can be abolished. No great society has ever tried it. Hence, there is no way by which the argument can be tested. Maybe war, both civil and international, can be put to an end by the conversion of each of the more than two billion human beings on this planet, but that itself

is what all the great seers have tried to do but have never accomplished entirely.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

La vida y las Creencias de los Indígenas Quichés de Guatemala. Dr. Leonhard Schultze Jena. Translated from German to Spanish by Antonio Goubaud Carrera and Herbert D. Sapper. Guatemala, C. A., 1946. Pp. xii + 85. Free.

This study was made by Dr. Schultze Jena among the Quiche Indians of Guatemala in 1930 and 1931. It was published in Germany in 1933, under a slightly different title, and consisted of four parts, only the first two of which are included in the present translation. The original divisions consisted of (1) the family and the community, (2) the religious life, (3) Indian texts including songs, prayers, etc., and (4) a linguistic study of the Quiche language.

The translators omitted the last two parts because they felt that without knowing the Quiche language considerable error might be involved by translating Quiche to German and then to Spanish.

Of the two parts included in this publication, Part I, dealing with the family and the community, is very superficial and occupies only the first 17 pages. Part II, dealing with religious life, is a much more thorough analysis and should be very helpful to students wishing to understand the complex religious culture of many areas of Latin America where Christian and pre-Columbian indigenous elements are found in various degrees of combination. A useful bibliography is attached.

N. L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

Boletín de Estadística Peruana. Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, Dirección Nacional de Estadística. Lima, Peru. January-March, 1946. Pp. 47. Free.

This is the first issue of a quarterly journal published by the Peruvian government designed to make available statistical data more frequently than can be done in the an-

nual reports. It supercedes similar publications which had previously existed. It consists entirely of statistical tables on such topics as climatology, rainfall, vital statistics, public health, production, transportation, domestic and foreign commerce and financial statistics.

N. L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

Postwar Problems of Migration. Papers presented at the Round Table on Population Problems, 1946 Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, October 29-30, 1946. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947. Pp. 174. \$1.00.

Although this is a series of eleven separate papers presented at the 1946 Milbank Memorial Round Table, they supplement each other so well that the reader is given a quick bird's-eye view of population pressures and migration potentials throughout most of the world. The first three papers, by Irene Taeuber, Kingsley Davis, and Dudley Kirk, deal with population pressures in Asia, Latin America and Europe and bear out Davis' observation that the earth's population is increasing at the fastest rate ever known and that the most rapid growth is occurring in the poorest regions. "As a result the previous inequalities . . . are being aggravated rather than alleviated." Low density nations safeguard themselves against population movements that would even the pressure. Europeans are eager to emigrate and thus escape the hard living conditions and political chaos that resulted from the war but nations in the western hemisphere are strengthening their barriers against immigration. Irene Taeuber's conclusions that heavy population increase will accompany the industrialization of southeastern Asia are particularly disconcerting.

Carter Goodrich discusses the possibilities of international control over migration and concludes that they are quite limited at the present time. Free movement of population in order to equalize pressures is impractical, but an international agency on the order of the Resettlement Administration could be

most useful in directing would-be migrants away from areas of limited opportunity and toward those of greater potentiality.

The next series of papers by E. P. Hutchinson, Warren Thompson, and Maurice Davis deals with immigration into the United States. The papers indicate that our viewpoint is quite unilateral and centers about such matters as adjustment of immigrant quotas and determination of the effects of higher or lower quotas on our social and economic system. Dr. Davis indicates that we are absorbing the political refugees from Europe with a minimum of difficulty.

The third series by Conrad Taeuber, Henry Shryock, Jr., Ira De A. Reid, Philip Hauser, and Hope Eldridge deals with migration potentials in the United States. All center about the urbanward trend of our population and indicate that such factors as farm mechanization, comparative economic opportunity, the urge for improved standards of living, and among Negroes the desire for freer race relationships, are likely to perpetuate the movement. They decide that these factors greatly outweigh those that tend toward decentralization. A constant increase in urban outlets is needed.

These papers are broadly informative and students of population will welcome them as authoritative statements as to probable trends during the next several decades. They indicate, too, that piecemeal, nation by nation, methods are inadequate to meet our population situation. It is our economic and political policymakers who should check these papers most carefully.

WILLIAM H. METZLER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Berkeley, California.

Decade of Group Work. By Charles E. Hendry. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 189. \$2.50.

Group work has been in progress for far more than a decade in the United States. The term "group work" has been taken up, however, by social case workers as a new and effective added method of getting the job done. Upon examination the group method used by these workers is no dif-

ferent, essentially, from those used by other social and community workers. But its use with the type of people with which social workers have to deal has been unique, and at first was not regarded as too effective or very useful by those having traditionally relied upon individual or case methods. Group work in social welfare, however, has become of enough importance that a national association has been formed of those professionally using the method; it is called the American Association of Group Workers, founded in 1936. The book, *Decade of Group Work*, brings together, in too brief form, a symposium from workers in a wide range of fields of the nature, effectiveness, and future of group work. These include contributors from recreation, health and physical education, child welfare, therapy, intercultural education, religious education, adult education, workers education, low-rent housing, rural life, higher education, community planning, management and personnel, etc. Each contributor called on one or more others for helpful suggestions.

In a review of this short volume one sees such comments as "reference to group work as a method is seldom heard in public recreation circles," "group therapy is not a time-saving device," "today there are more persons in groups organized and conducted under the auspices of churches and synagogues than in all other groups combined," and "this is nothing new; we have had groups all the time." Yet the contributors have been able to show, in most instances, how significant and increasingly important is the group work approach. Its study, use and true appraisal have been neglected, especially by those not having had sociological training; and too often group methods are used improperly or uncritically, with a resulting injury to the standing of the method and the effectiveness of the work done. It is well, therefore, that the kind of appraisal given in this book has been done, though too superficially because too briefly. The chapter on rural work, for example, simply describes or lists the various agencies and organizations operative in rural areas and then discusses the major

problems and needs of rural people and the role that group techniques must play in their solution. Other contributors have not been able to do much more, though some have been able to show somewhat how the method works.

The chapters on major trends, professional literature, research, major issues, and inventory of gaps are worthy of the attention of any who work in or through groups professionally. Though pointed somewhat in the direction of the social worker and using references from that field considerably, the chapter on research, especially, should challenge rural sociologists: teachers, research workers, and extension workers. The three directions in which professional group workers can move, for example, as shown by the summary to this chapter, might well apply to the work of rural sociologists.

D. E. LINDSTROM.

University of Illinois.

Social Relations and Structures. By E. T. Hiller. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. Pp. xii + 692. \$4.50.

This text is a departure from the type of beginning text now in general use and no doubt will be welcomed by many teachers who feel the introductory course to be ineffective as a result of attempting to cover too much in too little time. There is a growing acceptance among teachers of sociology of the nation that students will have greater respect for the beginning course (and learn more sociology) by studying selected materials rather than attempting to learn a little of too many things.

Obviously a great problem lies in the selection of materials to be presented and Professor Hiller's selection is one of many possible arrangements of topics. The first third of the book discusses: culture, elements of social relations (identification, mutual aid, utility relations, dissociation relations) and a short section on valuation of the person. By standards of prevalent use, these sections seem brief but they constitute a very good basic statement. It is noted, however, that the foundations laid

here receive application in section six (Structure). Sections five and six, dealing with Organization and Structure, make up almost two thirds of the book. Section five discusses institutions, groups and societies (110 pages). There is the question of over-brevity again, especially in the discussion devoted to institutions. In section six, over 300 pages are devoted to statuses. Good application of concepts and principles stated earlier in the book appears in this section. While the book as a whole presents coherent and unified treatment, the question of disproportionateness still remains.

Of especial aid to the student in interpreting sociological material is the excellent selection of documentary statements and problems at the conclusion of each chapter. The book is well-arranged for use in the one semester required course. The suggested reading lists are brief. The book has very evidently been written for the beginning student and perhaps for the student required to take "Sociology 1." As to quality and craftsmanship this work compares very favorably with Professor Hiller's *Principles of Sociology* which was a leading text in the field a dozen years ago. Perhaps the chief fault the instructor will find with the book is in the selection and space devoted to materials presented, but in terms of stimulating comprehension on the part of the student this text will offset the loss in uniformity given by the most widely used texts.

SETH RUSSELL.

Pennsylvania State College.

Readings In Social Psychology. By Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (Eds.). New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947. Pp. xiv + 672. \$3.85.

This is a collection of papers and excerpts from numerous authors and works. Included are a few original reports published here for the first time. The 183 contributions contained in the book were compiled by an editorial committee of 27 members of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The Editors, Newcomb and Hartley, served as co-chairmen

of the Committee, which included well-known leaders in psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology.

This book is not designed for the general reader, but for teachers and for students of social psychology. It is not a systematic source book, but a collection of well-chosen materials which the editors think may be fitted to varying theoretical frames of reference.

Two types of readings were selected for inclusion in the volume. Empirical studies and investigations are illustrated in the majority of the reports. General orientations and approaches to problems are illustrated in the others. Lippitt and White's "Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life" provides one of the many examples of the empirical studies. Linton's "Concepts of Roles and Status" provides one example of the approaches illustrated by the readings.

While this book does not provide a rigid conceptual framework of its own, the readings are grouped under 16 categories which comprise as many sections. Implicit is a conception of social psychology as the study of the effects of social situations on psychological processes. With this orientation the following section headings are established: Uniformities and Variations Under Differing Social Influences; Memory, Judgment, Perception, Motivation as Influenced by Social Conditions; Socialization of the Child; Language; Suggestion, Imitation, and Sympathy; Social Frustration; Effects of Group Situations; Role and Status Leadership; Industrial Morale; Social Class; Prejudice; Mass Communication and Propaganda; Public Opinion; Critical Social Situations; and War and Peace. Under each of these rubrics are grouped from two to nine readings from the various authors.

Readings in Social Psychology comes just twenty years after the publication of Kimball Young's *Source Book For Social Psychology*. Comparison of these two works is indicative of a rapidly growing discipline. The *Source Book* portrayed the largely rational foundations upon which the relatively new discipline of social psychology

rested in the twenties. Conjecture, insight, and expert opinion then characterized the field. The *Readings* portray the more solid empirical foundations on which current social psychology is being built as a social science.

This book should meet a real need in making readily available to teachers and students a body of important materials from widely scattered sources. It does, however, have a number of shortcomings. Some users may lament the lack of any over-all theoretical frame of reference. Others will be disappointed that there is no editorial introduction to the various sections and no editorial discussion of the materials presented. The editorial writings are in fact limited to a four-page preface and to a nine-page appendix outlining basic statistical concepts for the statistically uninitiated student.

Some will be disappointed with other omissions. For example, there is no section devoted specifically to "personality" in spite of the fact that this represents a central concept in social psychology. Other topics omitted are delinquency and crime, the neuroses, annual social psychology, and the nature of social psychology as a science.

Also notable is the fact that the book contains no index, no bibliographies, and no teaching or learning aids for those instructors and students who might profit from them.

These mild criticisms should not detract from the usefulness of this book. Its double columns which provide a shorter reading line are appealing. Its inter-disciplinary nature is commendable. Its supplementary use with a textbook emphasizing unifying principles of social psychology should prove a boon to many teachers in this field.

A. R. MANGUS.

Ohio State University.

Youth, Marriage and Parenthood. By Lemo D. Rockwood and Mary E. N. Ford. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiii + 298. \$3.00.

This book about attitudes of Cornell college students towards sex education, premarital behavior, marriage, parenthood, and

divorce is a document well worth having on a professor's desk. Instructors in Marriage and Family Living, Home Economics, Home-making, Sociology, and related subjects should have access to the Cornell Study and its supplementary research.

The results of the study offer professional leaders of Family Life Education data for further study. When 364 college students out of a parent-body of 15,000 are tested with the questionnaire technique, unreliable and insignificant results are undoubtedly presented. If 1,000 students were tested in face-to-face conference the profile of Cornell college student's attitudes probably would be different. Thus when we read the appraised book we should construe all attitudes as feelings of 364 Cornell college students—no more or less.

It would help if one hundred professors of marriage and family living would apply the same questionnaire (pp. 235-243) under a face-to-face conference technique. All findings could be sent to a central source for compilation, evaluation and interpretation. The outcome would give us attitudes of college students about the five areas mentioned above.

It is apparent that Rockwood and Ford have stimulated interest for further research, provided resource materials for student and college personnel use and have developed an excellent questionnaire for a national survey.

SAMUEL T. ROBBINS.

Mississippi Southern College.

So You Want to Help People. By Ralph M. Wittenburg. New York: Association Press, 1947. Pp. vi + 174. \$3.00.

As a "mental hygiene primer for group leaders" this book is a stimulating and thought-provoking work. In Part I, *The Leader Looks at the Group*, the author's orientation to group work is expressed. Emphasis is placed on using group programs as a means of developing in adolescent youths the ability to adjust to each other and to work together on the basis of their interests and motives. In a manner consistent with this emphasis, the author

points out the possible influences of conscious and unconscious motivation on the behavior of leaders as well as on that of the members of a group. The effective leader is the one who is able to understand his own motivations in addition to those of the members of his group and can utilize the group's motives as the basis for the development of its program. Although a knowledge of skills is necessary for the leader, it is equally important for him to recognize his limitations. The personality characteristics which enable him to establish a "good relationship" with the members of his group are the essentials upon which effective group work depends.

Part II, *The Group and the Individuals Within It*, is organized to give the reader some idea of the interests and problems of adolescents, means of developing more understanding of specific individuals, and the advisability of recognizing one's limitations in dealing with personality "problems" and "problem" situations.

Part III, "Meeting Grounds" Between Leader and Group, raises quite blandly the question of the "function" of agencies dealing with youngsters. In it are cited incidents which can happen (and in many cases do happen) at community houses, summer camps, and Sunday School. Emphasis is placed on the desirability of handling youngsters who have difficulty in adjusting to the situation in such a way that they will be able to do so.

As a source of inspiration for the person who works with adolescents, or is interested in doing so, this book is commendable. Although the author openly subscribes to no particular school of psycho-analytic thought, the work reflects some of the invalidities of Freudian interpretation as well as one of Freud's valid contributions—recognition that unconscious motivation exists. In general, exception will be taken to the questionable statement that "each individual relives in a very condensed form the various stages of the development of all mankind." The author reifies "the unconscious" and uses figures of speech which might not appeal to the person who knows technical infor-

mation but are, nonetheless, adequate devices for putting across to the non-technically informed reader the points which he wishes to make.

Much of the illustrative matter gives the impression of being hypothetical rather than taken from specific case studies; with this goes the impression that there is a "formula" which one can follow to achieve the completion of a successful interview with a "problem" individual; a similar impression is given with respect to enabling a "problem" individual to change his relationship to other people. The oversimplification of the rapidity with which confidence can be secured and change accomplished may be a source of disillusionment to the reader who has not had enough experience in group work to evaluate the author's words. The author fails to point out that success is not guaranteed. Although Karen Horney's *Self-Analysis* is cited as suggested reading, there is recognition neither of techniques by which one can become aware of his unconscious motives besides that of talking things out with other people nor of the extreme difficulty with which this change in an individual is made.

Furthermore, there is an interesting "twist" given to this book by the insertion of new subject matter—namely, the implications of group activity as training for democratic citizenship—in the last chapter. In the vein of seemingly hypothetical illustration and oversimplification the author treats prejudice and citizenship and ends the book with the following paragraph:

The members of our groups who today fight violently over the first place at bat will tomorrow have to fight for the kind of world that mankind is dreaming about. We will have to help them to become immune against the diseases of society. The time is short. The choice between one world and chaos will be made by the boys and girls in our clubs.

The effect of this "scare" orientation with which the book ends is an interesting thing upon which to speculate. Imagine people, stimulated by this last chapter, motivated by repressed fear to engage in group work

as a means of teaching democracy, who are unable to act "undemocratically" because they have "undemocratic" rigid defenses with which they keep the fear repressed. From one to three years would be needed to complete an analysis by means of which one could be reasonably sure that fear was not an unconscious motive for a person who was responding to this appeal.

Thus, as a treatise on group work, the book loses much of its inspirational effectiveness for the critical reader by the "scare" application. The effectiveness could have been maintained by pointing out the implications of group work for other things in addition to political citizenship—things such as the family, the religious organizations, the schools, and economic organizations. Or, the effectiveness could have been maintained by omitting these justifications and making justification in terms of the improved mental health of growing youth.

The inconsistency which appears here in the emphasis placed on "understanding" throughout the text and the "scare" ending is too obvious and too important to let pass without comment. In a democratic club, Mr. Wittenburg, you would not frighten a timid child; in a democratic society, Mr. Wittenburg, would you frighten a timid reader?

IRVING A. SPAULDING.

New Jersey College for Women.

Social Problems on the Home Front. By Francis E. Merrill. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. Pp. ix + 235. \$3.50.

This is one of a series of studies by the Committee on War Studies of the Social Science Research Council, covers the period 1940 to 1945 in the United States, and is concerned with the civilian population. It is not a study in the definitive, explicit research sense. There is no use of original data, nor is there any evidence of immediate first-hand observation of problem situations discussed; rather the book is a summary of problems and trends, using secondary data and interpreting them in a broad sociological framework.

After an introductory chapter on war and social change, which emphasizes strongly

the effect of mobility on disorganization, the book deals mainly with the broad field of family problems as affected by war: family disorganization, childhood, adolescence, sex offenses, prostitution. This with a chapter on crime and one on personal disorganization (neuroses, psychoses and suicide) constitute the book. In the summary, the hypothesis of the introduction is affirmed, that is, that war only speeds up changes and intensifies problems already present, rather than producing new problems.

It is not a monograph in the strictest sense and it is not a text. It is a semi-popular sociological integration of what the sociologist observes about society and people in a modern war which requires the participation of everyone rather than being the job of professionals.

"America at war is people doing new things—grimly, protestingly, gladly, semi-hysterically—but all changing the pattern of their lives to some extent under the vast impersonality of total war."

Because this is not an original study, except in the sense of integrating existing knowledge about a perhaps too generalized hypothesis, it contributes little that is not already known to the professional sociologist. For this reason also, it may be more useful to him as teacher and moulder of public opinion. The book brings together the best information available, integrates it well, presents it in a direct, authoritative and objective style well within the comprehension of the student and informed general reader. For this reason it will be a valuable handbook over a period of many years for reference in courses in social problems, the family and juvenile delinquency. It should also reach a wide adult public through trade sales.

PAUL H. LANDIS.

State College of Washington.

Marriage Counseling Practice. By John H. Cuber, Ph.D. (with a Foreword by Roland Leslie, M.D.) New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. Pp. xi + 175. \$2.25.

This little book by Professor Cuber is a

worthwhile contribution to the literature of a growing discipline and is worth adding to the library of anyone who is interested in marriage counseling. Cuber modestly and correctly calls it "in part an attempt to explain the fundamentals—and to admit the limitations—of modern scientific marriage counseling practice."

Part I contains nine chapters on "Marriage Counseling Practices and Problems," covering such topics as the relations of guidance to behavior science, diagnosis, therapy, prognosis, functions of the counselor, and counseling processes.

Part II is about "The Profession of Marriage Counseling," involving criteria for the training of counselors, current professional needs in the field, and the limitations of counseling at its best.

Throughout the book Cuber quotes freely but wisely from others. His best chapter is on "The Limitations of Marriage Counseling." His weakest is on "Facing Reality with the Patient." On the subject of "rationalization" he comes close at points to the position of the "Devil's advocate." I repeat, however, that the book is one that everybody interested in marriage counseling ought to have.

AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD.

Texas Christian University.

Negro Year Book. By Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, Editor. Tuskegee, Alabama: The Department of Record and Research, Tuskegee Institute, 1947. Pp. xv + 708. \$4.50.

This 1947 Negro Year Book is the tenth of a series which dates back to 1912, when the first year book was published under the auspices of the late Booker T. Washington. The present volume is primarily concerned with events affecting Negro life for the period 1941-1946.

This volume provides in one ready reference handbook a wealth of data concerning economic, social, and political activities of the Negro. It treats not only of the Negro in the United States, in Part I, but also of the Negro in Africa, in Europe, and in

Latin America, in the three sections which follow.

Research Director Guzman and other staff members of Tuskegee Institute deserve much credit for the preparation of this volume for the press. Although the mass of information which appears in its 40 chapters is the work of 25 prominent teachers and scientists, special mention should be made of the 12-chapter history of the Negro in Africa prepared by Dr. H. Wieschhoff.

The arrangement of material generally falls into a logical pattern. After one introductory chapter on population characteristics and another on the outstanding achievements of Negroes, activities in such fields as science, education, religion, agriculture, business, and politics are discussed. Of especial interest are the chapters on the Negro in athletics, art, music, theatre, and literature.

In addition to the hard-to-get statistical material presented in the book, the social scientist will be interested in the case histories of Negro activities which are injected into the text from time to time. This problem is adequately treated in four specific chapters. The reviewer wonders whether the book itself might earn a better reception if the balance of the book were more objective.

The annotated bibliography which constitutes Part V is in itself invaluable for interested workers. As this bibliography is classified under such headings as art, biography, etc., it is a useful source of information about publications relating to the Negro for all who need to refer to such material.

A usable 23-page index, apparently entirely reliable, concludes this work. With its help, the social scientists may use the handbook as a source of reliable information for most phases of Negro activities during the past decade.

ROBERT M. CARTER.

University of Vermont.

Historical Development of the Negro in Oklahoma. By Nathaniel Jason Washington. Tulsa, Oklahoma: Dexter Publishing Company, 1948. Pp. 71. \$3.50.

This skeletal little monograph supposedly deals with the *Historical Development of the Negro in Oklahoma*. In fact, the author gives as the major purpose of the volume: "to gather some historical facts about the Negro in Oklahoma." Thus, one is led to assume that an array of "historical facts" is to be presented which would furnish some leads for gaining insight into the life ways of Negroes on the Frontier—Oklahoma. The reviewer hastens to point out that, in his judgment, the study falls short of its objective. In this connection, the study, instead of being an historical document, is somewhat of a hodge podge, thin and rather amorphous admixture of loosely organized secondary data. These data are highly biased in favor of Negroes and some of it comes from sources that are questionable with regard to authenticity so necessary for an "objective history."

MOZELL C. HILL.

Atlanta University.

BOOK NOTES: RURAL FICTION

Farm in Provence. By Henri Bosco. Translated from the French by Mervyn Saville. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1947. Pp. 346. \$3.00.

Not American but not to be overlooked. Magic Communion between man and his soil and his home, and the satisfactions of exacting farm work, have seldom been more beautifully told. A haunting picture of childhood introduces the characters. C. S.

While the Angles Sing. By Gladys Hasty Carroll. New York: MacMillan Company, 1947. Pp. 178. \$2.50.

Christmas week in a very present-day village family in Maine described by a wise and perceiving grandmother, with many references to previous seasons on the home farm. Not more sentimental than the title demands and the characterization is better than it would suggest. The author's best rural novel *As the Earth Turns* assures readers for any book she writes. C. S.

Years of the Locust. By Loula Grace Erdman. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1947. Pp. 234. \$2.75.

Around the life of one dominating character of magnificent good will, a wholesome story of interrelationships and the influence of personality on surrounding lives and community is built by unusual means. The locality is a prospering but unsophisticated farming neighborhood in Missouri and the time is approximately the present. C. S.

This is the Year. By Feike Feikema. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1947. Pp. 623. \$3.00.

Powerful but relentless tale of brute man, who cannot learn, and his way to destruction on a North Iowa farm that demands conservation he will not give. His whole family is involved in the consequences. Written with talent but has need of drastic pruning. C. S.

The Gentle Bush. By Barbara Giles. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1947. Pp. 552. \$3.50.

Louisiana cane plantations and the swamps furnish the background for a chronicle of a great family clan, slowly losing wealth, vitality, and influence while resisting bitterly the claims of the Cajun and Negro citizens. A broad sympathy and a youthful outlook give the book freshness and sincerity and there is an engaging story of childhood, but the problems introduced are slightly beyond the author as yet. C. S.

The Thresher. By Herbert Krause. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1936. Pp. 548. \$3.00.

The threshing machine here symbolizes time and power. It dominates this skilled and vital writing of the Minnesota wheat fields even as the owner of the successive versions of the thresher allowed them and his itch for power to dominate life, his family, and all his relationships. C. S.

The Hunter's Horn. By Pierson Ricks. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. Pp. 361. \$3.00.

Unpretentious but definitely successful account of adolescence and its struggles, an unusual form of family living, the influence

of a benign character whose innate magnanimity cancels out his indolence, and a way of life in Eastern North Carolina that is distinctive and full of personalities and flavor. The time is perhaps 30 years ago.

C. S.

Second Growth. By Wallace Stegner. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1947. Pp. 240. \$2.75.

A moving and somewhat representative disclosure of the deterioration of New England village life and vitality under the impact of summer people and more worldly viewpoints. This observing author tells the story with the well-known skill he has demonstrated in many other books. It apparently is a theme that has weighed on his mind. C. S.

The Quarry. By Mildred Walker. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1947. Pp. 407. \$3.00.

Weakening of the stamina of New England village life through the influx of summer people and other influences is a major theme here too. It combines with the stalwart maintenance of integrity and individuality on the part of a few to give a rewarding reflection of one present aspect of regional life. The family quarry is the mainstay of this family, as *Winter Wheat* was of the Montana family in this author's previous best. C. S.

OTHER BOOK NOTES

Professional Education. Five Major Papers. New York: American Association of Schools of Social Work, 1948. Pp. 46. \$0.50, paper.

Five papers delivered at the 29th Annual Meeting in Minneapolis of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, Jan. 1948.

The Lawd Sayin' the Same. By Hewitt L. Ballowe. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947. Pp. xvi + 254. \$2.75.

Tales of the Louisiana cane country; reminiscences of the Negro's world; the intimate

thoughts and actions of a people as told by a doctor with 35 years of practice among them.

Frontiers in Human Welfare. Unsigned. New York: Community Service Society, 1948. Pp. 84. \$1.00, paper.

The story of 100 years of service to the community of New York.

Annual Report of the Social Science Research Council, 1946-1947. By The Executive Director. New York: Social Science Research Council. n. d. Pp. 91. Free, paper.

A summary of activities of the council for the biennium 1946-1947.

Forging a New China. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. New York: Foreign Policy Association, Jan.-Feb. 1948, No. 67. Pp. 63. \$0.35.

China's struggle for survival.

I Knew Carver. By G. Lake Imes. Baltimore: Good Will, Inc., 1940. Druid Hill Ave. 1943. Pp. 24. \$0.25 single, \$15.00 per 100.

Sketch on Dr. George Washington Carver.

American Battle for Abundance: A Story of Mass Production. By Charles Franklin Kettering and Allen Orth. Detroit: General Motors, 1947. Pp. 100. Free. Interesting glimpse of cultural change.

A Survey of Catholic Weakness. Introduction by Msgr. Ligutti. Des Moines: The National Rural Life Conference, 1948. Pp. 61. \$1.00, paper.

A survey of what Catholic leaders believe to be the greatest weakness of the Roman Catholic Church, the concentration of Catholic members in cities of the United States.

Improving the Quality of Living: A Study of Community Schools in the South. By W. H. McCharen. Nashville: Division of Surveys and Field Services, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1947. Pp. 67. Free.

Jobs and Security for Tomorrow. By Maxwell S. Stewart. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1947. 4th Ed. No. 84. Pp. 32. \$0.20, paper.

"The American Beveridge Plan." A basic policy for security.

Establishing Goals, Vol. I. By President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy. Washington: Gov't Pr. Off. (Supt. of Docs.), 1947. Pp. 103. \$0.40.

Equalizing and Expanding Individual Opportunity, Vol. II. By President's Commission on Higher Education for American Democracy. Washington: Gov't Pr. Off. (Supt. of Docs.), 1947. Pp. 65. \$0.35.

What is America Reading? By a Radio Symposium. Evanston, Ill.: The Reviewing Stand, Northwestern University. Vol. 10. No. 4. Feb. 1948. Pp. 12. \$0.10, single copy.

Transcription of a discussion by Norman Cousins, Forrest Spaulding and Jean Howard Hagstrum with Robert E. Buchanan, moderator. Interesting.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Green Farm. By Ralph E. Blount. New York: The Exposition Press, 1947. Pp. 62. \$2.00.

Administration of Group Work. By Louis H. Blumenthal. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 220. \$3.50.

A Reader in General Anthropology. By

Carleton S. Coon. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1948. Pp. x + 623. \$3.90.

Savagery to Civilization. By Norbert F. Dougherty. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1947. Pp. 92. \$2.00, paper.

A History of Pennsylvania (2nd Ed). By Wayland F. Dunaway. New York: Printice-Hall Inc., 1948. Pp. xviii + 724. \$6.65.

Directed Thinking. By George Humphrey. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1948. Pp. 229. \$3.50.

Forward Prices for Agriculture. By D. Gale Johnson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 259. \$3.00.

Brensham Village. By John Moore. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948. Pp. x + 239. \$2.75.

Toward Public Understanding of Case Work. By Viola Paradise. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. Pp. 242. \$2.00.

War Without End. By Powell Spring. Winter Park, Fla.: The Orange Press, Inc., 1947. Pp. ix + 306. \$2.50.

Peace Through Principle. By Powell Spring. Winter Park, Fla.: The Orange Press, Inc., 1947. Pp. vii + 349. \$2.50.

Discovery of Ourselves (2nd Ed). By Edward M. Strecker and Kenneth E. Appel. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. xix + 434. \$3.50.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland B. Tate

Cornell University. Since the return of the personnel from various war services the Department staff has expanded considerably. L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Head of the Department, returned in the fall of 1945 to join W. A. Anderson, R. A. Polson, and Mary Eva Duthie who were here at Cornell during the war. The following new members have been added: R. C. Clark, Olaf F. Larson, Duncan M. MacIntyre, Philip Taietz and R. M. Williams, Jr., who is Professor of Sociology in the Arts College, as well as rural sociologist in the Experiment Station.

Dr. Howard E. Thomas will join the staff the first of July as Associate Professor. His major work will be in the field of Farm Labor.

Edward Moe of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, will join the research staff for the summer.

Ward Bauder, a graduate student, is finishing his doctor's degree this June. His thesis is on The Development of a System for Describing Living Conditions in New York Counties by the Use of Selected Basic Social Data.

James E. White will also complete his work for the doctorate in June. He is making a leadership study in the Waterville area.

Dr. W. A. Anderson has been at the University of Nanking, China, during the spring semester, lecturing to graduate students in Rural Sociology. He visited in the Near East and India during the first semester of his sabbatic leave. Nelson Foote taught the course in Introductory Sociology during Dr. Anderson's absence.

The Central New York State Sociologists met in Syracuse, New York, on May 8. The program arrangements were made by Nelson Foote of the Cornell staff.

Seven courses will be offered in Sociology during the regular summer session, July 6

to August 14: Introduction to Sociology and School and Community Relations by Milton Barnett; Rural Sociology and Methods and Techniques of Dealing with Groups by R. C. Clark; Theory and Principles of Group Behavior and Rural Social Problems and Public Policy by Olaf F. Larson; and the Field of Social Work by Philip Taietz. Professor Taietz will be in charge of two Institutes for social workers this summer. Professor R. A. Polson will teach one course—Sociology for Extension Workers—in the Extension Service Summer School, July 12 to July 31.

R. A. Polson is a member of the Advisory Committee for the Farm Foundation's Survey on the Status of Rural Sociology Programs in Land-Grant Colleges.

Current research is focused on an experiment in community organization being conducted in cooperation with the agricultural extension service. An enumerative survey of adults has been completed to establish a benchmark in the experimental community and in the control area. Plans are being made for a comparable survey of youth. The research includes a community study and analysis of the organization process. Olaf F. Larson is project leader. Associate leaders are Professors Cottrell, Polson and Williams. Assistants on the project are Harold Capener, Lee Coleman, William Forsyth, Ezra Geddes and William Klein.

A somewhat similar study is now being planned in connection with an intensive community development project being conducted by the agricultural extension service in cooperation with other agencies.

Professors Clark and Williams are planning a study of 4-H club leadership.

A study of leadership in a rural community is being made by James White and Professor Williams.

Harvard University. Carle C. Zimmerman is giving The Family and a graduate semi-

nar in Urban Sociology in this summer session at Harvard University. He is also available for consultation on research and thesis problems.

University of Kentucky. The Departments of Sociology, Geography and Anthropology are cooperating in a lower division course entitled "Societies Around the World." The first semester the Eskimo, Navajo and Benjanda Societies are covered and the second semester the Chinese Peasant, the Cotton South, and British Midlands. The purpose of the course is to teach social analysis by starting with simple and then moving to complex societies. The particular societies chosen also illustrate a variety of habitats. This course was described in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1947. Dr. Elmer Ekblaw, a Geographer from Clark University spent three days at the University in February leading a workshop on the Eskimo, among whom he had worked for four years. Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University conducted a workshop on the Navajo in April.

Mrs. Sybil Hutton, Miss Marie Mason and Mr. Raymond Payne have been appointed full-time assistants in Rural Sociology.

University of Maryland. The expanded Department of Sociology now has the following full-time professional staff members: Harold Hoffsommer, Peter Lejins, Paul W. Shankweiler, James E. Fleming, Charles E. Hutchinson, Paul M. Houser, Margaret Cussler, Luke Ebersole, Thomas P. Imse, Lessie T. Fleming, Leah Houser, and Dorothy Willner.

As a special offering this semester the Department is presenting visiting professors Carl C. Taylor and Arthur Raper of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., in a joint graduate seminar on Regional Sociology.

O. E. Baker of the Geography Department of the University is continuing to give each semester a course in Population in the Department of Sociology.

W. L. Bailey, former head of Sociology at

Northwestern University, will be a visiting professor during the coming summer session.

In addition to his duties as Head of the Department, Harold Hoffsommer has recently been appointed Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences, which coordinates the work of the various social and economic sciences throughout the University.

Peter Lejins, in charge of the Crime Control curriculum of the Department, is currently president of the District of Columbia Sociological Society.

Among the visiting speakers being sponsored by the Department and the Sociology Club during the current semester are Mrs. E. R. Groves and Margaret Mead.

Chief present research emphasis in the department is a county library survey cooperative with the Agricultural Experiment Station, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, and the County Librarians through the State Department of Education. The pilot study now under way in Prince Georges County is to be extended to other counties as soon as possible. Paul Houser carries the major responsibility for the Sociology Department and Robert Galloway, cooperative employee of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life stationed at the University, gives full time to the project for the Division.

S. Earl Grigsby of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, formerly stationed at Maryland, is now completing a manuscript on social organization in Frederick County, Maryland, preparatory to leaving on a new assignment.

University of Minnesota. The research program under way at the University of Minnesota in the field of Rural Sociology is now emphasizing the following projects:

1. A Study of the Ethnic Groups in Minnesota's Population. This study, under the immediate direction of Dr. Douglas Marshall, involves in its initial phase the construction of a map in colors showing the current distribution of various ethnic groups in terms of geographic concentration. Another phase of the study will involve detailed investiga-

tion in two selected communities in an attempt to determine the degree of acculturation which has taken place and to note what differentials exist among these groups in their rates of assimilation.

2. Factors Influencing School Attendance in Minnesota. This project grew out of the discovery that a relatively small proportion of farm boys and girls were attending high school in this state in 1940. By inspection of preliminary data it seemed apparent that attendance was related to ethnic background of the population. In its present stage, therefore, the project relates very closely to the one described above. Cultural background appears as a major determinant in school attendance. The project is also under immediate guidance of Dr. Marshall.

3. Changes in Rural Church Organization in Minnesota. The first phase of this was an examination of data from the *Census of Religious Bodies, 1936* and from the files of major denominations in this state. The next phase will be a field study in one or more counties. This project is under the immediate direction of Dr. Lowry Nelson.

4. Relation of Local Governmental Units to "Natural" Community Areas. This study is a cooperative one with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, represented by Dr. Frank Alexander. Dr. Alexander's manuscript on *Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota*, which has been accepted for publication as a Minnesota bulletin, revealed the existence of 185 governmental units in that county. It is proposed now to develop possible alternative governmental organization at the local level involving fewer units and relating them to the "natural" community areas. This project is also under the immediate direction of Dr. Lowry Nelson.

Mississippi State College. Dr. Harold F. Kaufman, formerly of the University of Kentucky, has been appointed to the Thomas L. Bailey Professorship of Rural Sociology. He will be in charge of the recently initiated rural sociology program comprising research, teaching and extension activities. Other staff members are to be added.

Southwestern Sociological Society: The Southwestern Sociological Society met at the Y.M.C.A. in Dallas, Texas, March 27-28, 1948. The program consisted of the following:

"Three Southern Appalachian Communities: An Analysis of Cultural Variables," James E. Montgomery, Oklahoma A. & M. College; "The Place of Education and Residence of Eminent Southerners," Sidney R. Worob, University of Texas; "The Educational Attainment of the Rural and Urban Population of the Southwest," Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University; "Science and Freedom," A. L. Porterfield, Texas Christian University; "Attitudes Toward the Church in Relation to Reported Church Attendance," A. W. Eister, Southern Methodist University; "New Trends in the Theory of Mental Disorders of Later Maturity," Hiram Friedsam, University of Texas; "Negro Lifeways in the Rural South: A Typological Approach to Minority Differentiation," Paul B. Foremen, Oklahoma A. & M. College; "The Social Sciences in a System of General Education," Edwin R. Walker, Oklahoma A. & M. College; "Suggestions for Clarification of the Concept of Personal Disorganization," John P. McKinsey, Southern Methodist University; General Forum: "What Can the Committee of Teaching Contribute to the Southwestern Sociological Society?" C. N. Burrows, Trinity University, Leading; "Prospects for Democracy in Mexico," Joseph S. Werlin, University of Houston; "Inter-racial Programs of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the Southwest," A. D. Bellegarde, Langston University; "Some Aspects of Oklahoma Child Health and Welfare," R. L. McNamara, Oklahoma A. & M. College; "Recent Changes in Age at Marriage in Payne County, Oklahoma," Wendell P. Logan, Oklahoma A. & M. College; and "The Housing of Rural Families," R. T. McMillan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

The officers elected at the business meeting are as follows: President: Mattie Lloyd Wooten, Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas; Vice-President: Harry E. Moore, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Secretary-treasurer: Ross Compton, North

Texas State College, Denton, Texas; Elected Executive Committee Members: Kenneth Evans and R. H. Bolyard; Ex-officio Executive Committee Members: Joseph Dufлот, West Texas State College, Canyon, Texas and Austin Porterfield, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas; Cooperating Editor: J. L. Charlton.

University of Missouri. Research Bulletin 410, *The Health of Low-Income Farm Families in Southeast Missouri*, has just been published. It contains a summary of the results of the F.S.A. examinations of client families.

Professor Herbert F. Lionberger has just completed the manuscript for a bulletin dealing with the situation and characteristics of low-income farmers in four Missouri counties.

A revision of Research Bulletin *Rural Social Areas in Missouri*, by Lively and Gregory, is now ready for the press. The first edition was based upon 1930 data. The same methods have now been applied to 1940 data and the areas previously delineated have been found highly stable. Considerable social change has occurred in all areas, but their positions with respect to each other have remained unchanged and their boundaries have changed only slightly.

The Department of Rural Sociology participated in the recent study of the economic and social implications of the proposed Pick-Sloan flood control program in the Osage river valley. The study was sponsored by Governor Donnelly. The work was done chiefly by the Missouri Division of Resources and Development and the University of Missouri. Mr. C. L. Gregory participated for Rural Sociology. The report issued in February 1948 is entitled, "Local Effects of the Proposed South Grand and Stockton Flood Control Reservoirs, Osage River Basin, Missouri."

The Department of Rural Sociology is preparing a chapter on Health for the forthcoming book, *The Resources of Missouri*, now being prepared by members of the University faculty.

University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas has been appointed professor of sociology at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania. The appointment of Dr. Thomas, who has been professor of rural sociology at the University of California since 1941, will become effective July 1.

U. S. Department of Agriculture. Louis J. Ducoff, Head of the Farm Labor Section, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has completed a year's graduate study at American University, under a grant from the Social Science Research Council and has returned to duty with the Division.

U. S. Public Health Service. The Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service has established a series of research fellowships to encourage promising students interested in becoming proficient in research in medical and related sciences. The research fellowship program is supported from funds appropriated, for this purpose, by the Congress to Institutes or Divisions of the U. S. Public Health Service and the fellowship awarded carries the designation of the Division or Institute which supplies the funds to support the fellowship, such as, National Institute of Health Research Fellowship, National Cancer Institute Research Fellowship, Mental Hygiene Research Fellowship, etc. All correspondence in connection with these fellowships should be addressed to the Division of Research Grants and Fellowships, National Institute of Health, Bethesda 14, Maryland.

Vanderbilt University, Institute for Brazilian Studies. Professor Emilio Willems of the University of Sao Paulo has accepted our invitation to serve as visiting professor in Vanderbilt University's special summer session devoted to Brazilian studies and the Portuguese language, June 11 to July 17, 1948. Professor Willems will offer one course in anthropology (Races and Cultures of Brazil) open to undergraduate and graduate students, and a graduate seminar (The Ar-

culturation of European and Asiatic Immigrants in Brazil) in sociology.

Land Economics is the new title of the old *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*. As this erudite, scholarly magazine nears a quarter-century span of publication the editorial board has adopted what it hopes will prove to be a more easily-handled moniker. The editorial policy remains the same. However, the board, aware of the vitality of planning and housing as fields of scientific interest, has incorporated a subtitle: "*A Quarterly Journal of Planning, Housing & Public Utilities*." The magazine is published by the University of Wisconsin as a part of its effort to encourage the growth and development of scientific research and scholarship. The first issue under the new title is the February number.

The editorial board includes Raymond J. Penn, University of Wisconsin, and V. Webster Johnson, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, both of whom represent the area of land economics; Martin G. Glaeser, University of Wisconsin, H. J. O'Leary, Wisconsin Public Service Commission, and E. W. Morehouse, General Public Utilities Corporation of New York, all of whom represent the public utility economics area; Richard U. Ratcliff, University of Wisconsin, and Helen C. Monchow, National Housing Agency, both representing urban land area of interest; John M. Gaus, Harvard University, Homer Hoyt, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Coleman Woodbury, University of Wisconsin, all of whom are identified with the regional planning interests; and Mary E. Amend, Managing Editor.

Columbia University. Professor Harry Schwartz of Syracuse University will join the staff of the Columbia University Seminar on Rural Life on a part-time basis with the coming academic year, as an additional representative in agricultural economics.

The seminar is completing this semester a several year study of the family farm, aided by several small research grants. It is hoped to publish the report on this project in 1949.

In the coming academic year, with an augmented staff a study of agricultural policy in relation to national welfare will probably be initiated, stressing both the economic and social aspects of the question.

Faculty representation in the seminar will include professors from the fields of agricultural and general economics, rural sociology, history, anthropology, public administration, psychology, religion, and education. Several rural leaders in the New York area are also cooperating under appointment as university seminar associates.

Inter-American Conference on Conservation. The Government of the United States, at the request of the Pan American Union, will serve as host to the Inter-American Conference on Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources, to be held at Denver, Colorado, from September 7-20, 1948. This Conference, the first international meeting of its kind on conservation, is for the purpose of considering problems involved in the conservation of renewable natural resources in the Americas, and to discuss recent technical developments on this subject. It is being organized pursuant to a resolution adopted at the Third Inter-American Conference on Agriculture held at Caracas, Venezuela, in July 1945.

Among the problems to be discussed will be those arising out of deforestation, soil erosion, overgrazing, wildlife destruction, floods, and failing water supplies. In view of the importance of these problems, which are yearly growing more serious throughout the Hemisphere because of inadequate conservation practices, mounting populations, and attempts to raise living standards, it is anticipated that leading Government officials, scientists, and other interested groups from the entire Hemisphere will attend.

The Conference will consist of a series of meetings to discuss conservation problems, together with field trips to study land management practices. The Delegates will have an opportunity to view at first hand soil conservation districts, forest and range experiment stations, the Rocky Mountains National Park, and other places of interest.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Irrigation projects will be studied, along with their relationship to agriculture, grazing and forestry practices on the land from which irrigation waters are derived.

The working session of the Conference will be divided into Sections corresponding to the sections of the program. Outstanding leaders and professional men in the field of conservation will serve as Discussion Leaders for each of the six Sections and supervise the preparatory work for the Section.

Although the Conference will be a technical one with no power to negotiate agreements, it will consider national and international action for the conservation of renewable natural resources and their optimum use on a sustained-yield basis.

Warren Kelchner, Chief of the Division of International Conferences, Department of State, has been appointed Executive Vice President of the Conference, and William Vogt, Chief of the Conservation Section of the Pan American Union, Secretary General. An Organizing Committee composed of representatives of interested Government agencies has been established to formulate plans and coordinate arrangements for the Conference. An Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives of various organizations interested in conservation, is also being established.

Michigan State College. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has available a considerable number of graduate research assistantships which permit the student to carry a full academic load for the academic year 1948-49. The stipend for half-time graduate research assistants who have the Master's degree or its equivalent and are candidates for the Doctor's degree is \$1000.00 per academic year. For students who have completed less than 45 credits of graduate work toward an advanced degree the stipend for a research assistantship is \$800.00. Teaching assistantships which require a limited academic load pay \$200.00 more per year. In addition, several assistantships are available for use in research commitments to Latin America Fellowships and part-time research employment in the Agri-

cultural Experiment Station or Social Research Service are also available. Inquiries about assistantships and application forms should be directed to Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

Mr. Reed M. Powell, who is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree has gone to Turrialba, Costa Rica. He will spend a year analyzing social relationships among rural groups in Costa Rica under a cooperative project with the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Sciences which will use the data in establishing an agricultural extension service. Under the project, staff and additional graduate students will work in various Latin American countries.

Dr. Allan Beegle prepared two research bulletins which have been published by the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station. They are: *Michigan Population-Composition and Change* (Special Bulletin No. 342) and *Differential Birth Rates in Michigan* (Special Bulletin No. 346).

Dr. D. L. Gibson has prepared a report dealing with membership relations of Michigan Farmers' Cooperatives entitled "Co-ops as the Farmer Sees Them." This study was made by the Social Research Service upon the request of the Michigan Association of Farmer Cooperatives.

"Tax Variation in Oakland County and Trend Toward Equalization of Taxes by Means of a Large School District" is the title of an article in the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin (Volume 30, No. 3, February 1948) by Dr. J. F. Thaden. Drs. Loomis, Schuler and Gibson have prepared a report by the Social Research Service entitled "Attitudes of Land-Grant College Presidents Towards Universal Military Training." The study was made for the legislative committee of the presidents of the Land-Grant College Association.

Dr. Judson T. Landis is the author of a college text "Building a Successful Marriage" to be released by Prentice-Hall, Incorporated in the summer of 1948.

New Research Projects: The Social Research Service has begun a health and health care survey of a cross section sample of

Michigan households in both urban and rural areas. The Michigan State Medical Society has appropriated funds for sample development, field work, and tabulating and summarizing the results. The interview schedule will include the "symptoms approach" to determine need for health care which was developed by Dr. Edgar A. Schuler and others and validated by Dr. Charles R. Hofer and others.

Under the direction of Dr. Landis, Ivan Nye, graduate student in Sociology and Anthropology has been employed on a part-time basis by the Division of Education and Michigan Department of Public Welfare to make a study of parent-child relationships in rural and urban communities.

The Social Research Service is undertaking a study of the attitudes of the 10th and 12th grade high school students in Michigan toward work situations and occupations. A stratified random sample of all high schools in Michigan will be used. The project is being financed by a grant to the Social Research from the Michigan Bell Telephone Company. Christopher Sower, William H. Form, William Brookover and J. F. Thaden and other staff members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology will have an active part in the study.

University of Mississippi. During the summer of 1948 the Department of Sociology will have as visitors to its staff Dr. J. L. Charlton of the University of Arkansas and Mrs. Betsy Castleberry of Louisiana State University. Dr. Charlton will teach courses in Rural Sociology and the Southern Region, and Mrs. Castleberry will offer the Family and Criminology.

Recent publications of members of the Department have been: Vernon Davies, *Housing for Mississippians*, Sociological Study Series Number One, Bureau of Public Administration, University, Mississippi. Vernon Davies and John C. Belcher, *Mississippi Life Tables, by Sex, Race and Residence, 1940*, Mississippi Commission on Hos-

pital Care, Jackson, Mississippi. Vernon Davies, *Demographic Factors Related to Health Needs in Mississippi*, Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care, Jackson, Mississippi.

Southern Sociological Society. The Southern Sociological Society held its eleventh annual meeting on April 16 and 17, 1948 at the Andrew Johnson Hotel, Knoxville, Tennessee. Membership for 1947-1948 was 290, largest in the Society's history. An excellent program arranged by President Coyle E. Moore of Florida State University included the following sections: The Sociology of the South, Teaching of Sociology, Social Work and Public Welfare, Urban Problems of the South, Research, Marriage and the Family, and a section of contributed papers by graduate students. Two past presidents addressed the Society. Professor Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, spoke on The Changing Southern Scene. Professor T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University, spoke on Agricultural Systems and the Standard of Living.

The officers of the Society for 1948-1949 are: President: Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University. First Vice-President: Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State University. Second Vice-President: Harry Best, University of Kentucky. Secretary-Treasurer: Morton King, Jr., University of Mississippi. Representative to the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society: H. C. Brearley, George Peabody College for Teachers. Elected members of the Executive Committee: Belle Boone Beard, Sweetbriar College; Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Roy E. Hyde, Southeastern Louisiana College; Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia. Past Presidents on Executive Committee: Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky; Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina; Charles S. Johnson, Fish University; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State University; T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University.

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The Cultural Background of the Mexican Immigrant

By Norman D. Humphrey†

ABSTRACT

The town of Tecolotlan, Jalisco contains generic features of culture and society which are roughly representative of the many communities from which Mexicans migrated to the United States. A mestizo, Spanish speaking community, Tecolothlan is a farming center with some small household industries. Over the past forty years it has undergone a number of changes incidental to the transformations of the system of land tenure, and the development of altered means of transportation. The change from economic and political domination by large haciendas to partial ascendancy of agrarian communities has altered the form, if not the significance, of social stratification. Major segments of institutional arrangements, such as education and the schools, religion and the church, and the family are briefly analyzed and their functional roles are described.

There is no single Mexican community which is completely representative of immigrant origins. But Tecolotlan, Jalisco¹ is more or less representative of those from which Mexicans have come to the United States. Manuel Gamio in his *Mexican Immigration to the United States* indicates that the State of Jalisco, together with adjacent states in the central plateau contributed disproportionately to the emigration of the 1920's. Ruth Tuck in her *Not With the Fist* had indicated that towns of some 3,000 population were frequent points of migrant's origins. The town

was selected for study after an automobile tour of the area.

Tecolotlan lies in a river valley 117 kilometers roughly southwest of Guadalajara. A gravel highway skirts the town. This highway extends in a northeast-southwest direction intercepting the Guadalajara-Mexico City Highway about 40 miles east of the town, and terminating in the Pacific coast port of Barra de Navidad some 100 miles to the west. The town is surrounded by sparsely wooded mountains and is capable of growing tropical and semi-tropical plants and fruits.

The techniques employed in getting information have been largely those of casual observation and participation in the life of the community. Direct questioning of informants was also used. From the beginning I tried to make clear that I was in Tecolotlan in order to learn something of Mexican institutions and customs with the object of making the life of persons in a typical Mexican town more understandable to Americans.

† Wayne University.

¹ Field work was undertaken and three months were spent in the town in the fall of 1944 under a Rackham post-doctoral fellowship from the University of Michigan. Work was again resumed in the summer of 1945, some of which time was spent with informants from the town who were living in Guadalajara. Field work was again resumed in February, 1947 and was carried on until last June under a grant from the Viking Fund. Several natives of Tecolotlan who were living in Detroit, Michigan, were interviewed there at various times during 1945 and 1946. Similar interviewing has been conducted in Los Angeles during the summer of 1947.

A number of my informants in Tecolotlan were persons who had at one time worked in the United States, and who, by that token, had some cross-cultural perspective.

The present paper is based upon as yet uncompleted field work. Only some "highlights" can here be presented of socio-cultural data from Tecolotlan, and, insofar as the town is representative, of the community and cultural background of the Mexican immigrant.

The Community

The town of Tecolotlan lies in a valley 1,280 meters above sea level. It is the "county seat" (Cabecera Municipal) for the *municipio* of the same name. The population of the town in 1940 was 4,266 persons, and persons in the *municipio* numbered 10,940. The *municipio* in 1940 had an area of 746 square kilometers, with a population density of 14.66 persons per square kilometer. If census figures are to be credited, only 35 of the persons enumerated in 1940 were born outside of the entity. Everyone in Tecolotlan speaks Spanish as his native tongue, and there are no persons, to my knowledge, who speak Indian languages. Between ten and fifteen per cent of the population gives the impression of not having genetic features. Nor are Negroid physical traits noticable. The general impression one gets is that of a mixed Indian-white population.

Population Antecedents

Historical data bearing directly on the town are meager and incomplete.

According to an account of the founding of the convent of St. Augustin in 1599 it was conquered by Capitan Francisco Cortes and its population was converted to Catholicism by Padre Fr. Juan de Padilla. Shortly after the founding of the convent some 150 "*indios casados*" were indicated to be living there. Sometime later, in what was probably the eighteenth century, there were (in round figures) 750 Spaniards, 250 Indians, 475 mulattoes and 250 persons of other castes.

The Town's Appearance

The Census of 1940 breaks down the population aggregates in the *municipio* into the following "political categories": one *villa*; six *congregaciones*; three *haciendas* and 83 *ranchos*.

The central *villa* is, of course, the town of Tecolotlan. It stretches narrowly along the east side of a shallow stream bed for a distance of four kilometers and is rarely more than a kilometer in width. It is hemmed in on the east by a hillside. The principal streets are paved with cobblestones, with occasional dips for the water from the *loma* to run off in the rainy season. There is nothing but surface storm drainage so that the principle north-south street in some places is covered with a three to four foot deposit of upland gravel. Only two or three of the streets going to the *loma* are capable of ascent in an automobile.

The Plaza

The main square or plaza is the center of the town both geographi-

cally and in social dominance. The plaza itself is a green oasis of trees and flowers, in the center of which is a bandstand and bordering which is a broad tile walk. At each corner of the plaza there are round, brick "fountains" into which drinking water has been piped. The water comes from mountain springs several miles north of town through foot square aqueducts that are as frequently open as closed. These, together with two other *pilas*, constitute the main outlets for the town's drinking water, although virtually every house in the plaza area has a well in its patio with water for washing purposes. Only a few houses have running water piped in to them, and not more than six have flush toilets.

The smallest and oldest of the three churches, *el santuario*, faces the plaza. On three sides of it the stores fronting on the plaza lie behind arched arcades or *portales*, and on the side lacking *portales* are the municipal government buildings and jail. The town is further divided into four *sectores* each of which is composed of square blocks or *manzanas*. These in turn are numbered, but functionally, if not politically, the important divisions are *barrios* or neighborhoods, residence in which, in a large degree, indicates the prestige and status a person will possess. By and large, the *principales* of the town live in homes behind stores fronting on the plaza, or in houses within a block of it. The farther from the plaza one lives the greater the likelihood of one being an

agrarista; the closer, the greater the likelihood of nostalgically musing about the days of Don Porfirio.

The *barrios* away from the plaza have received nicknames which brand their inhabitants. One way in which to climb in the social structure is to get the wherewithal to leave one of the outlying *barrios* and open a store, with a home behind it, on the plaza. Inter-barrio rivalry apparently rarely has taken the form of fights between members of *barrios*, nor are there *barrio* chapels nor *barrio* saints. But if a wedding in an outlying *barrio* occurs neighbors will gather to dance to the *mariachi* music. And if the rain is late in coming in June, an informal group of *barrio* members may petition the priest to take the life size *crucifijo*, *El Senor de Socorro* to some point in the *barrio* where the group can pray and chant hymn for rain.

There are little stores usually at street corners in the outlying *barrios*. But the "big stores," those with perhaps a hundred feet of floor space, are around the plaza or extend into the block south where the big church is located. The state school is a block away from the plaza in a northerly direction. The electric light plant with its mill for grinding prepared *maize* into *masa* for *tortillas* is a block from the plaza and the church.

It is under the *portales* that fresh vegetables are sold, and the *terrazzas* where one can buy alcoholic beverages are there.

Puestos which purvey soft drinks line the street adjacent to the plaza. What there is of a market is located

under the *portales*. The professionals—two doctors and a dentist—have their offices there or are within a block of the plaza. The two movie theaters (one in an old cockpit) are also within a block of it.

People sit on plaza benches throughout the day, and especially on Sundays, when they come in from the ranches to go to church, to get drunk, or to listen to the *mariachis* in the bandstand. Boy meets, flirts with and courts girl in the Sunday night plaza promenade. And the plaza is the center of activity during the only period when people momentarily forget that the town is rent in two by class distinctions and economically motivated hatreds. It becomes a single community during the February celebration of the ten day festival of *Carnival*.

Hotels and Restaurants

There are no hotels, in a real sense, in the town. Two *pensiones* are near the plaza, and several *mesones* in which animals can be also kept are there. Only one of the *pensiones* continues to serve food. If one wants to eat he can buy cooked meat and tortillas at one of the several *mesas* set up each morning and night in the street in front of the *portales*. The town does possess two restaurants, but they are on the road at the edge of town and obtain almost all of their patronage from the busses plying between Guadalajara and towns lying closer to the coast.

Housing and Household Equipment

Houses in town are made largely of adobe brick. They front without

space between them on the tile sidewalks, and usually contain a series of rooms arranged around an enclosed court or patio. The houses of those who can afford it are plastered white over the adobe. Rooms have fifteen to eighteen foot ceilings. The roofs are red-tiled as are the floors of the better homes. Within the home, straight chairs and wooden tables line the arcaded parts facing the patios.

Bedrooms of the upper class homes are equipped with brass beds. Thin mattresses are often placed over boards. Beds in lower class homes often consist of saw horses between which boards have been stretched. Only the very poor have *petates* or pallets. Family portraits, and religious images decorate chests in bedrooms. Closets are virtually non-existent. If the house possesses electric light, it usually flows from a bulb dangling on a single cord hanging from the center of the room.

A cooking shed is in one corner of the patio. The stove is made of cement, although some upper class persons possess kerosene stoves. There are often no facilities for baking. *Tortillas* are cooked on a flat steel or iron plate. Fuel is usually charcoal for the upper classes and corn cobs and kindling wood for the lower. The patios of poor families often serve as corrals for chickens and pigs, if they have them. But even in the patios of the poor, flowers and other decorative plants are also grown. Usually there is a well in the courtyard, but rarely are vegetables grown for food in this

space. If one can afford pigs or cows, they are penned at the rear where the toilet is also placed. Facilities for washing dishes are next to the well. The house tends to be the woman's domain and, in a sense, it encloses and contains her activities.

Cooking and Meals

Much of a woman's time is spent in household tasks. Corn is soaked with lime to make *nixtamal* and taken in the morning to one of the several power mills to be ground into the dough from which tortillas are made. Beans are soaked, cooked with lard, and refried. Meat is hung on hooks to be broiled or stewed. Chili is prepared by grinding on a stone slab with a pestle. The thin gruel of those who cannot afford milk is prepared and strained from corn. If there are very few animals, it is a woman's job to feed them, although this is an area in which the sexual division of labor is least clearly demarcated. Women in the lower classes make almost all of the family clothing from yard goods bought in the stores.

Transportation

Since 1929 busses have come more or less regularly into Tecolotlan. Bus traffic increased considerably after the highway to Guadalajara was graveled in 1934. Prior to that time, one could go two days by horseback to Ameca where the train would take one north to Nogales or south to Guadalajara. For a time a railway short line ran to Cocula, a day's trip to the east on horseback. In the days prior

to the gravel road *Caminos Reales* existed, and still exist in ill-repair. It is only eight kilometers, for example, over the *loma* by *Camino Real* to the town of Tenamaxtlan northwest of Tecolotlan and the Guadalajara-Tenamaxtlan mail is still carried daily from Tecolotlan to Tenamaxtlan by burro and horse. But almost anyone prefers to wait for the single bus which daily traverses the twenty kilometer gravel road in preference to walking it or going by horseback.

The major means of transportation of goods within the *municipio* is by burro train. Several centers of population each containing at least 300 persons can be reached by truck only with the greatest difficulty and with danger to the truck. Burro trains transporting bags of charcoal and wood from the hills and corn and other products from the fields are common sights passing the plaza.

The first automobile was brought into the town in 1921, but it could go nowhere but in the town, and gasoline for it had to be transported from Ameca by burro and mule. The first truck, which was subsequently converted into the first bus, was a Model T Ford brought in when the Cristero revolutionary dangers had subsided. Today, twelve or fourteen regularly scheduled busses pass daily through the town. While only three or four passenger automobiles are today owned and operated in the *municipio*, there are now some fifteen or more trucks, subject to hire, transporting goods mostly back and forth to Guadalajara. The railroad spur to Cocula

has been torn out. The long trains of mules which during the days of Don Porfiro carried *coquitos* and rice from coastal areas have long since disappeared. *Carretas* drawn by oxen are employed for short, heavy hauls within the town.

Communication

A telegraph line connects Tecolotlan with Guadalajara and hence with the world, and a single telephone line connects Tecolotlan with Juchitlan some twenty kilometers away which permits it thereby also to be able to send and receive telegrams. A private telephone line between the establishments of two brothers, one of whom owns a restaurant on the highway and the other a hardware store on the plaza permits communication only for a limited group over a two kilometer distance.

Mail is received and dispatched daily by bus. A postman delivers between 150 and 200 pieces of mail to all parts of the town. Somewhat less than a third of this mail is from persons living in the United States, and much of this North American mail contains money remittances to relatives. Newspapers and periodicals are also received by mail. The *secretario* of the *municipio* receives most of these periodicals, and then in turn sells them to persons who subscribe through him for them. About 45 daily papers are thus distributed, almost all of them within a short distance of the plaza. Of these, four are Mexico City dailies, and almost all of the rest are *El Informador* of Guadalajara.

The periodicals widely read are comic books among men and movie magazines among women. There were about 40 radios in the *municipio* in 1940. Few of them are run from batteries. Those running from electricity supplied by the power plant can only be utilized after 7:30 at night when the current is on. An upper class person may read *Selecciones* from the *Reader's Digest* but very few books are read, even by the group which considers itself the town elite.

Economic Life

The impression upper class informants tend to give of the economic life of the *municipio* during the Diaz regime was one dominated by large, bustling haciendas in which peace, order and abundance reigned. Operating peacefully besides these were a number of small ranches the owners of which made quite comfortable livings. The picture these same persons give today is one of economic anarchy with productivity of the area greatly decreased, and with disorder and poverty the hallmark of the agrarian communities which have developed from the large estates. The period between 1910 and 1930 was one of intermittent disorder with political revolutions, banditry, the growth of agrarianism and the loss of men through emigration. Lower class informants tend to explain change in the same terms but they come to quite different conclusions. They emphasize the elimination of feudalism, of peonage and the growth of civil and economic rights.

It is evident that a number of industries relating to the agriculture of the area have virtually been eliminated, and that the average farm worker is much more involved in a money economy than was his counterpart in 1910. Very little mescal, for example, is manufactured in the *municipio* today, nor is sugar cane developed into alcoholic beverages, although *panocha* is made. The ruins of factories on the edges of town attest to their one-time manufacture. Relatively little tobacco is now grown and no cigarettes are manufactured by hand as they formerly were.

In 1941 corn, beans and *garbanzas* were the leading agricultural products. Some 38 hectares were raising sugar cane. Coffee, tomatoes, potatoes and other crops were being cultivated as were a wide variety of tropical fruits. The "average man" in Tecolotlan today is a farmer, whether he be at the same time a merchant sitting on Sunday morning in front of his plaza store, or an *agrарista* unloading sacks of corn in front of the doctor's office to provide feed for the medico's seventy pigs.

The "average man" in another sense is also a member of an agrarian community. Despite the fact that he is no longer working for thirty-one centavos a day, (and not permitted by the *hacendado* to own a burro), he finds that he has to sell much of his crop to one of the town's money lenders or pig fatteners before he harvests it in order to be able to buy ungrowable necessities. And instead of the tyranny of the owner of the

hacienda, he may find that he has to "vote right" when the election of *ejido's* officials occurs, if he wishes to remain a member of the community.

Even in the *ejidos* few mechanical aids are employed in clearing the fields and putting in the crops. Ten times as many completely wooden as iron tipped plows exist. There is one tractor in the *municipio*. Much of the hillside corn land is not even ploughed. In general, agricultural methods are not unlike those of three hundred years ago. No fertilizer is employed in the fields and, if one is able to read, he plants his fields after consulting an almanac. But apart from prayers for rain, and if the ranch is large enough to afford it, a mass by the priest at the time of the harvest, little more supernaturalism is encountered in growing crops than one finds in a North American farm community.

The agrarian land reforms did not directly affect the ownership of animals. Today a number of persons whose lands were broken up continue to own large numbers of cattle or goats or pigs although the number is smaller than formerly. And they rent oxen to the *ejidos*. Herds of cows are daily driven from the pueblo into pasture lands and returned at night to be watered and milked. There are several cream separators in town, and several persons sell milk for local consumption. Goats are also milked, but their milk is almost wholly used to manufacture cheese and butter. It is a rare poor family within the pueblo that can afford to own a cow, how-

ever, and to use its milk for its own consumption needs.

Chickens are rather widely owned, and eggs are sold to merchants at about 15 centavos apiece. Eggs, in one sense, are the currency of the poor housewife. Many persons of considerable status in the town fatten pigs in the pens behind their patios, and one way to rise in the status structure is to profit from pig raising. But this is a gamble. Many a poor person has sunk his "capital" into a young porker only to sell it after several months labor and feeding costs, a sick and dying animal, to the man who makes *chicharones*.

Animals which are economically useful are objects of considerable care, and young goats may become children's pets, but the American concern with pet animals is strikingly absent. There were but two pet dogs that I observed in Tecolotlan, and one appropriately was named "Pachuco." Dogs learn to fend for themselves, and are the objects of much ill-humored rock throwing.

Town Industry

At first impression one might think there is virtually no industrial manufacture in Tecolotlan. But as one becomes better acquainted he realizes that there is considerable home industry. A native of Tecolotlan has several curio stores in Tijuana, and accordingly a great many *huaraches* are manufactured in Tecolotlan and sold directly to him for retail sale. Perhaps thirty people are engaged in the hand manufacture of

leather shoes which are contracted for in other parts of the country.

The school director augments his salary by manufacturing soda pop for consumption in the *municipio*. *Paletas*, or frozen sweet-water sticks are locally made. The town possesses its complement of candle makers, blacksmiths, brick and tile makers, soap manufacturers and the like. A number of men are engaged in manufacturing charcoal in the mountains above the town, and some lime is developed from kilns in the *municipio*. The coffee which is grown in the *municipio* is roasted and consumed in the area. An attempt, locally sponsored, to improve the town drinking water and utilize the hydroelectric power which could be generated was turned down by the local *principales* as requiring too much of an investment for local pocketbooks.

Town Commerce

The "big stores" face the plaza and tend to be general stores. There are perhaps twenty grocery stores which sell anything from kerosene to yard goods. Three drug stores exist which sell only drugs, patent medicines and health sundries. There are several bakeries, five or six pool halls, a hardware store (which also contains an ancient printing machine,) and a number of barber shops. The stores give credit, sell at fixed prices, and, since there is no bank, often lend money through buying crops on "futures." Money lending frequently involves the signing of a bill of sale by the borrower, which if the loan

isn't repaid at what amounts to a forty or fifty per cent annual interest, means that he loses his security.

Employment

There is virtually no "unemployment" in the town. But the wages paid are so low that there are very limited chances on a local level for upward mobility in the social structure. Teachers, for example, in the state school get salaries of 70 pesos a month. Store employees get three pesos a day. Most young persons start independent lives when they rent land and grow crops. If oxen are rented for plowing they are paid for in grain at the time of the harvest.

Women have very limited avenues for employment. Clerking in grocery stores or teaching does not reduce prestige, but waiting on tables in one of the two highway restaurants does. Most girls who have to work outside of the home become maids in other homes. A maid in a *pension* gets ten pesos a week; in private homes she would get less.

Women rarely work in the agricultural fields; it would be virtually unthinkable for a man to do what is regarded as woman's work. Mexican migrants to the United States are often bewildered at the employment second generation women here undertake. Such work would be unthinkable in Mexico.

Status and Class

One is at first impressed with the clarity and sharpness of prestige and

status distinctions one witnesses in a Mexican small town. Deference is marked; avoidance is easily seen. But any attempts to analyze the congeries of values making for status categories results in considerable confusion for the analyst. Racial antecedents appear at first to have little meaning. But in time one notes that the *plaza principales* possess fewer Indian elements than people in the *loma*, and that the term Indian is used at times in a derogatory sense. There appears to be little cross-class marriage. But the two persons of humble and *mestizo* origins living on the plaza each married "White" girls. Clothing at first appears rather uniform. But one soon notices differences in the terms of address for those who wear jackets and shoes and those who drape blankets over their shoulders and wear *sancals*. In the end, one tends to feel that in a country in which family prestige and kinship loom so large and are proclaimed as important, that the final criterion of status is how much money and wealth one is assumed to have.

Wealth seems to determine the extent to which one is "*Don*" or "*patron*," where he can live and whom he can marry. Despite the seeming strength of class lines the popular expression in epithets for classes do not seem to connote the sharp distinctions which "*Los Correctos*" and "*Los Tontos*" do in Indian Tepoztlan.

The ambitious lower class boy may dream of escape from his class. He has examples of such escape and the prestige which ensues from it in

viewing many of the *comerciantes* of the plaza. But he knows that he will need much luck to accomplish that end. If he isn't able to go to the United States as virtually no poor man can today, (. . . like many of them did in the past . . .) and return with money he has saved, he may dream of finding pots of money buried during any one of a number of revolutions, as a means of securing a start.

Emigration

Those Tecolotlanese who have gone to the United States appear not to have been the poorest element in the population but, on the contrary, seem to have been drawn disproportionately from the independent farm laborer group, or from the sons of upper class merchants. An analysis of money orders sent to Tecolotlan, shows some ninety per cent were sent from California.

Those persons who have worked in the United States and returned are found in some numbers among the merchants in the town. They, on the whole, manifest an amazing amount of good will toward the United States. There is a great desire on the part of most young men to go to the United States. Our present immigration policy virtually prevents them from so doing, on a legal entry basis, and it is difficult to go as a contract laborer or *bracero*. Consequently, those who go now usually have enough money and dare-devil attitudes to attempt illegal entries. One function of our restrictive policy may

be to reduce the backlog of good will already present in rural Mexico.

Government and Law

One of the few avenues for acquiring some limited prestige and perhaps considerable wealth is through getting into government service. Boys have before them the example of the *Timbrero* who came to Tecolotlan ten years ago poor and wearing *huaraches*, and who recently was transferred to another town, married to a girl of a locally wealthy family, and is the only mescal distiller in the *municipio*.

Since the establishment of constitutional government in Mexico the Party of Revolutionary Institutions (under a variety of names) has dominated the Tecolotlanese political picture. Government tends to be centralized, with appointive state and federal officials. Even such a small matter as to who will be *presidente municipal* is largely determined by the party in Guadalajara. There is no direct local control, for example, over the appointment of the school director.

Before the revolution local government appears to have been run in the interest of the large land owners. Since the revolution the Party has found it convenient to select agrarian leaders, or persons who are friendly to the movement, for elective office. The party slate is usually unopposed.

Taxation extends to a number of things, like loads of pigs going to Guadalajara, which require stamps and clearance papers. Since it is often in the interest of local business men

to bribe tax collectors, they do so. Thus the *mordida* has become almost endemic, and the one party system has been accepted in a resigned way by the stultified upper class. Every man in local government is felt to have his price and no favor tends to be too small for payment. Consequently a minimal actual taxation occurs, assets are hidden, and crimes are committed with full knowledge that justice, even if its wheels are set in motion, can be bought. For the thirty-two murders which were committed in the *municipio* last year, no murderer, to my knowledge, is in prison.

An attempt was made last year to have a non-agrarian "rich man" the favored candidate of the state officials of the PRI, through manipulation within the party in Guadalajara and outside of the sanction of the party representatives of the *municipio*. This resulted in the development of an "independent" group (actually the Tecolotlan functionaries of the PRI) electing an "independent" (actually *agrarista*) slate for the municipal offices.

Those who oppose the *Agraristas* want the same things in actuality which the *Sinarquista* group poses as its ends. But to my knowledge there are only five members of the *Sinarquista* group in Tecolotlan, and since they are all poor agricultural workers, the "elite" of the town will have nothing to do with them.

There is a military installation in Tecolotlan. It consists of a colonel, a captain and a lieutenant. But there are many agrarian reserves, who

have guns and are drilled in the plaza on occasion. The function of the military is much more to report on the condition of internal security than to maintain national defense. The military, like other aspects of government, tends to be regulatory in its functions, rather than moving in directions of constructive efforts toward community betterment.

Health and Welfare

Tecolotlan possesses two physicians and a dentist, all graduates of professional schools in Guadalajara, and a hospital-trained nurse. It had trained health personnel in pre-revolutionary days. Several years ago a doctor from the state department of public health had offices in Tecolotlan, and an inspector from that service had headquarters there. Today, a public health nurse gives injections to school children as they appear to need them. There is a hospital run by the Madres de Caridad, but it has no operating room, and is little more than asylum for some poor, sick people. The more competent of the two physicians is said to be more interested in raising pigs than in practicing medicine, and since there is widespread questioning of the competence of the other doctor, even those who can afford the services of trained physicians do not give them much patronage. The dentist is colloquially known as "*El Monje Loco*" and has few patients.

By the time children get to school a biologic weeding process has taken place. No infant mortality statistics have been obtained or computed, but

it is not improbable that between one-fourth and one-half of the children born alive die within the first year of life.

The public drinking water is not purified. There is no refrigeration of foodstuffs, nor is there purification of milk. A smallpox epidemic hit the region in 1944, and deaths from typhoid are not infrequent. Malaria is endemic to the region. Bathing is infrequent except for river baths during the rainy season. Two places in the *municipio* make a pretense of having screens to keep out flies.

Only the upper class engage the physician in the wife's pregnancy and delivery, midwives being employed, if not simply adult women family members or neighbors. For most aches and pains folk medicine is utilized, although several store keepers make an occasional peso as *curanderos*, and are not above giving injections if the occasion demands it. Upper class persons scoff at such beliefs as the evil eye causing sickness, but it would be a rare farm laborer or servant girl who didn't believe wholeheartedly in them. It was difficult to learn how many *hechizeros* operated in the town, but there were several and apparently proportionately more in isolated ranches in the *municipio*.

Some *hechizeros* were even imported from distant towns for difficult cases. There is no organized charity in the town. Relatives or neighbors take care of cases of extreme want. There are three or four professional and elderly beggars in the plaza area, but they have their

appointed rounds and don't beg indiscriminately. Each year at Christmas the school teachers put on a play (with students as actors), to help buy clothing for indigent pupils. People say that there is no hunger in Tecolotlan. There are always beans and tortillas.

Education and the Schools

Within the town itself there is a state supported school near the plaza, a federally supported school in the agrarian dominated southern end of the town and a Catholic school run by the nuns in the hospital. Of the 9,600 persons in the *municipio* in 1930, 2,500 could read and write; of the 10,900 in 1940, 4,100 could do so. Literacy rates were undoubtedly much lower under the hacienda system than they are today. But the much vaunted recent program to raise literacy has hardly affected Tecolotlan. Nothing has been undertaken in the town itself.

Education in the *ejidos* and ranches is under federal jurisdiction, but perhaps one-fourth of the youngsters there never get inside of a school building. There is only a primary school in the town. Secondary schooling means residence in Guadalajara. Only the wealthy can afford this. Of the several hundred children who begin school each year, only fifteen or twenty graduate from the sixth and final grade. The director alone had more than a primary school education of the state school faculty of fifteen. Education is not strongly regarded as an instrument of upward mobility,

and very few working-class persons even have the concept of sacrifice to keep children in school.

The primary curriculum does not include instruction in the practice of agriculture. Perhaps every two or three years a short-lived "academy" for instruction in typing and book-keeping is instituted.

On the part of the upper class there is some nostalgic musing about the greater adequacy of education when church schools were the primary means of education. The local priest has instructed some parents that attendance by their children at the local school constitutes a sin. Little book-learning is deemed necessary for the average person in the town. The teachers have little status, and the school does not serve as a social center. An attempt to improve the school building by matching governmental funds with a 10,000 peso gift from a former resident of the town proved fiasco.

Religion and the Church

In 1940 the Census of the *municipio* listed 17 persons without religion, 6 Protestants and 10,916 Catholics. There are undoubtedly more Protestants and more unbelievers, but it is impolitic to be either. The church looms for most persons as the central institution in community life, and the priest in many ways is the most influential functionary. He and his institution intervene or are called upon to sanction many important events in the life cycle. But the priest has constantly to reckon with the power and

officials of the state, and especially since the Cristero revolution his role has been sharply limited. It would appear that the church in the past invariably threw its weight on the side of the wealthy landed group, and consequently in the church-state conflict which led to the closing of the churches, to the hanging of two priests and to the desecration of religious edifices during that revolution, the church's temporal powers were curtailed. But a Protestant movement and church were also destroyed in the conflict. Today, the same *agrarias* who desecrated the altars during the revolution, or the Cristeros who murdered and robbed to the slogan of "Live Christ King" sit side by side on Sundays and numerous holy days in the performance of ceremonies and rituals. Yet they shun and avoid each other in the plaza.

The forms and rituals connected with birth, baptism, naming, confirmation, confession, communion, engagement, marriage and death cannot be described in this brief space. It is sufficient to say that they are regarded by most of the people of Tecolotlan as vitally necessary sanctions, and that they involve duties and obligations, and extensions of kinship.

Except for two political holidays and the relatively secular festival of *Carnival*, just preceding Lent, the calendrical round of church ceremony is the core of community life for most persons in Tecolotlan. To an outsider there is much more church emphasis in the context of orthodox supernaturalism on the "sacred" object and

"holy" form, than on the "ethically" moral or the "righteous."

Unorthodox supernaturalism has much greater class connections than has the orthodox. Superstitions connected with pregnancy and death, for example, are much more likely to be encountered among lower class persons than among their superiors in status. But church attendance and upholding the faith appear to be almost as common among men as among women in Tecolotlan. To be sure one of the few ways in which women can make excursions out of the home is by going to church, but one does not often encounter the notion that religion is primarily a thing for women and children.

Kinship and the Family

Reckoning of kinship is an extremely meaningful phenomenon for the persons in Tecolotlan. Relationship is sometimes reckoned to the fifth generation, and family control over its members is strong in comparison with that in a comparable American community. The mean family size is perhaps six persons, and one-child families are extremely rare. First cousin marriage is forbidden by law and requires church permission, but it is not unusual, especially among upper class persons, for mates to be kin. Kinship terminology and obligations differ from American norms.

The father as breadwinner and family head is accorded a great deal of respect by his wife and children. This appears true regardless of the family's class position. The father

has power and authority over his wife and children, and married sons continue to bow in some areas to his judgment. He shows more affection to his children than to his wife. He is extremely jealous and protective of his wife and female children, especially in areas of sexual advances. And he is correspondingly more likely to be honestly faithless in these areas. The wife and mother has a subordinate, home-centered role with reference to her husband. It is a rare woman who rebels against this subordination. (The American equalitarian middle class family is most likely to occur, and this rarely, among the town's elite.) A man would not contemplate living with a faithless wife; the opposite is so usual as to be almost normal.

Grandparents extend parental relationships for children, as do religious *padrinos* and *compadres*. Most families have both religious and civil sanctions for the unions, and while free unions are not uncommon among the lower classes, children are given religious relatives at baptism and at confirmation.

Childless unions are rare, and illegitimate children are frequent. Upper class men will brag of how many children they have at home, and how many in other places. Women do not employ birth control devices, regarding offspring as things that God has willed, although many hope through nursing to space babies. (Actually some men use prophylactics.)

Pregnancy is surrounded by folk beliefs regarding diet, and even poor

women will eat chicken broth as a strengthener during pregnancy. Birth invariably takes place in the home, with midwives, even in the upper class, aiding in delivery. (Lemon juice is placed in the eyes of children, if the doctor's or nurse's silver nitrate isn't employed.) Neighbors usually help the family both before and after delivery.

The mother tends to remain at home for a month after the birth. Children are breast fed, and if for some reason this is impossible are wet nursed. Upper class mothers tend to breast feed on a schedule, but lower class women nurse their babies when they seem to want it.

Sibling rivalry is not as evident or pronounced as in American culture, and its existence is generally denied. Children are held and cuddled a great deal, and often sleep under their mother's *rebozos* as they are carried. They are weaned anywhere from ten months to a year and a half after birth, often by making the breast unpalatable with bitter herbs, and they are toilet trained somewhat later. This training is facilitated by the absence of underclothing in children. Babies will be lugged around by sisters who are perhaps a year or two older.

Babies are usually named for the saint's day on which they are born, but among the upper class there is a tendency to choose any saint's name which the parents like. Children are supposed to be baptized within eight days of their births, but often are not until they are sick. Confirmation

takes place when the Bishop comes to town, so that an infant may be confirmed and baptized within the same year. *Compadres* are chosen for these occasions.

Children are early integrated into the church round of ceremonies and one of the Sunday masses is especially for children's attendance. Little spanking or ordering and forbidding is evident in the training of children. A great deal of affection is shown them and such instrumentalities as shame and fear give rise to such difficult-to-define personality traits as docility, conformity, modesty, a considerably emphasized obedience and respect toward elders and, in youth and adulthood, an elaborate courtesy and hospitality. All of these "traits," however, relate also to repression of elements of self. They undoubtedly are dynamically related to the exaggerated necessity of maintaining "face" or "honor" as adults and to violent expressions of revenge and sudden anger.

The segregation of the sexes begins in early play groups, is accentuated in school, and by the division of labor in youth and adulthood. With the coming of puberty, boys are allowed increasing freedom of movement, and girls are more and more confined in their activities. Freedom or restraint is particularly evident in sexual areas of living. By fourteen or fifteen boys have usually had access to local prostitutes, while girls "officially" know nothing of their sexual roles in marriage, until they are instructed in them just prior to marriage. The

serenata, in which even eight-year-olds may participate, is the primary source for meeting potential sweethearts. Courtship goes on surreptitiously and at night. Girls sit in barred front windows of their parents' homes and talk with sweethearts. Young men are rarely admitted to the homes even if only to sit and talk with sweethearts under the eyes of chaperones. In the past, letters were formally written, often by "professionals," proposing marriage. But today, the proposal is made by a priest or upper class person, who calls on the girl's father and extolls the virtues of the young man. Engagements may last as much as two years but don't usually permit a boy's entrance into his *novia's* house. With all of this elaborate protection, seduction becomes a male goal and a game.

Illegitimacy, even among the upper class, is thus not uncommon, but it usually negates the possibility of marriage. The known father of an illegitimate child is rarely forced into marriage. Elopements, or more often here "escapes," occur, sometimes followed by civil marriage. But ordinarily they result in the girl returning to her parents pregnant and unmarried.

Civil marriage normally precedes a church ceremony, often by as much as three weeks, during which period the bride and groom are separated. A civil ceremony requires a license and a statement of health from the physician.

The poor are **married** in church after the five o'clock mass, and after bans have been read from the pulpit

for three weeks previously. The rich have more elaborate marriages and a special mass. The money for marriage fees is difficult to obtain and there is little inclination on the part of the priest to practice a "sliding scale." A lower class man may be 20 or 21; an upper class man 25 when he marries. The girl in most cases would be several years younger.

The couple rarely lives with the groom's parents after marriage. A new adobe house can be constructed by three men in eight days. Parent-in-law trouble is not uncommon, especially among the upper classes. Desertion is extremely rare. In 1940 there were only twelve divorced persons in the *municipio*. There are more widows than widowers. Widows may remarry and if they do, tend to do so during Lent.

Play and Recreation

Much of one's life is lived out-of-doors in Tecolotlan, and recreation is largely of an unplanned, casual character. Within the town and for residents of the plaza area Friday afternoon is the day of recreation. On Friday the stores close at the usual time of one-thirty, but they don't reopen at the usual three-thirty. Cliques of merchants and their wives will join at one of their homes to eat and drink, and perhaps play dominoes. Much recreation consists of informal chatting in the plaza, or in stores or pool rooms. Class lines are rarely crossed in these gatherings. Nor are they crossed at dances or fiestas occasioned by such events as the brand-

ing of cattle at a ranch or in the dance celebrating a civil marriage. Birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and the like are usually celebrated among the upper class by dinners, before, during and after which beer and tequila flow freely. Drinking is a form of recreation frequently enjoyed. If a *fiesta* involves a family group, children will drink surprising amounts without adult censure.

Sunday is a recreation day for farm people. After church in the morning and gossiping over the wares of Guadalajara interlopers under the *portales*, one can drink in the *terrazas* or climb the loma to the soccer field and watch Tecolotlan compete against a neighboring town. Basketball is no longer played in the *jardin* in front of the rectory, nor do athletic teams command any community loyalty. Cockfights, although illegal, occur each Sunday afternoon in an orchard near the plaza. Each weekend one of the two movie theaters will alternate in putting on a double feature of one American western or mystery and a Mexican film. Only one film projector is employed, the sound track works perhaps two-thirds of the time. It is a rare showing in which the reels are run in correct sequence. One sits on wooden benches (in one theater they are those stolen from what was formerly the Protestant church) and fights abundant fleas. *Agraristas* tend to sit in the balcony or on the sides of the old cockpit and to throw cigarette butts at their "betters" below. The Sunday night movie com-

petes with the *serenata*, the promenade around the plaza. Boys go in one direction, girls in the opposite, interested persons giving and receiving flowers, under the watchful eyes of their elders.

The two big community fiestas occur in February and in June. They are the winter *carnival*, a ten-day period of amateur bullfights, "professional" drinking, and general letting off of energy, and the cockfights of the early summer. The cockfights pit local roosters against those from towns within a hundred-mile radius. Much betting takes place on the outcome of fights. Singers and other performers are hired to entertain the audience between fights. Permission must be granted by the governor to abrogate the law prohibiting such fights before they can occur.

Epilogue

Tecolotlan, Jalisco contains certain generic features in its nexus of institutions and usages which are also found in many other Mexican towns and villages from which Mexicans have come to the United States. Taken as a whole they present a body of material which can be roughly and heuristically employed in attempting to understand the behavior and retained customs of the Mexican in this country. Any single community, however, in its specific features contains constellations of elements which are at variance with those of other communities. The cultural background of the Mexican immigrant will be further clarified by comparative studies of such communities.

Sociological Variation in Contemporary Rural Life*

By Neal Gross†

ABSTRACT

Four community studies are analyzed to show the relative advantages of the concepts of *cultural isolation* and *rurality*. This analysis suggests that, in many types of investigations, it may be more advisable to establish theoretical frameworks in which the focus is centered on specific variables. *Cultural isolation* as a concept may offer keener insights and reveal more significant knowledge for the development of systematic theory than the use of the *rural-urban* dichotomy.

I. Introduction

To lump rural life into one category in contradistinction to urban life may be methodologically sound for certain types of sociological investigations. This practice, however, bears careful scrutiny.¹ This is so because a rural-urban-dichotomy approach to the study of social phenomena minimizes the existence of significant intra-rural or intra-urban variations. For example, in the *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* it is stated that:

... the rural world is marked by less numerous contacts per man, narrower areas of interaction of its members and the whole aggregate. More prominent part is occupied by primary

contacts. Predominance of personal and relatively durable relations. Comparative simplicity and sincerity of relations.²

However, these differential characteristics of the *rural and urban social worlds* may also exist between rural communities.³ It is highly probable that these same differentials may be found in a comparative analysis of the Amana colonies in Iowa and the highly urbanized rural community in central California. One could reason in similar manner for other presumed factors of differentiation. Thus, the rural-urban frame of reference tends to minimize the differentials within rural life and implies that because one is dealing with agriculture, a whole series of factors necessarily and ubiquitously follow.⁴ In Parsons' phraseology, an important residual area of analysis is waved

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¹ For a critical appraisal of the rural-urban dichotomy frame of reference see Neal Gross, *Sociological Variables and Cultural Configurations in Contemporary Rural Communities*, Ph.D. Dissertation (unpublished), Iowa State College, 1946, Ch. II.

² P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), I, 241.

³ It should be noted that such differentiations may also exist between urban communities.

⁴ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940), p. 15; also D. Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons), pp. 20-21.

away by the dichotomous frame of reference.⁵

Existent sociological variations within rural life, therefore, may offer a rich research territory for sociologists. This paper reports the results of a systematic comparative analysis of four contemporary rural communities studied by other investigators.⁶ Four variable factors were selected for study. These were cultural isolation, intra-community social interaction, the family and religious systems.

In order to establish a framework for analysis, a continuum was developed for each variable factor. For example, a continuum of cultural isolation whose polarities represented the extreme theoretic possibilities of cultural isolation that could exist in rural communities was constructed. Then each community was separately probed and the available evidence was presented indicating the degree of cultural isolation existent in the community. After the individual analysis

of the four communities was completed, a comparative study of the four communities was undertaken in order to ascertain the variations between the communities on the factors studied. This paper presents some of the significant points of contrast found and notes the range of variation in the four communities studied.

II. The Comparative Analysis

A. Cultural Isolation

Initially, there exists a perceptible difference in the importance of diffusion agencies in the several communities. In Wheatville and Cornville,⁷ such links between the local and exterior world as the radio, newspapers, and magazines were important factors in the minimization of cultural isolation. The impact of these agencies assumed large importance for they tended to sunder the provincialism and to expand the horizon of interests of the people beyond the geographical limits of the local community. They listened to the same radio programs and read the same metropolitan papers as the metropolitan resident. On the other hand, El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish were noticeably lacking in these diffusion agencies. There were no radios in Amish homes while these communicative mechanisms were of slight importance in El Cerrito. There existed few newspapers and periodicals in the Spanish-American village while church prohibitions limited the read-

⁵ Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), pp. 16-20.

⁶ United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, Rural Life Studies*: 1. El Cerrito, New Mexico, by Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis; 2. Sublette, Kansas, by Earl H. Bell; 3. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, by Walter M. Kollmorgen; and 4. Irwin, Iowa, by Edwin O. Moe and Carl C. Taylor. For criteria used in selection of the communities see Gross, *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-59. For a description of the procedures and techniques used in the individual studies, see C. C. Taylor "Techniques of Community Study and Analysis as Applies to Modern Civilized Societies" in Ralph Linton (ed.), *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 437-38.

⁷ Wheatville refers to the Sublette, Kansas, community and Cornville to the Irwin, Iowa, community.

ing matter of the Old Order Amish. Further, whereas the movies were an important recreational factor in Wheatville and Cornville, they were of little significance in El Cerrito and were prohibited by the Amish. To the Amish, movies were evil and conducive to immoral conduct. In the less culturally isolated communities, movies had been accepted as a permanent part of the recreational facilities of the community.

Another relevant factor in the determination of differential cultural isolation is the range of mobility of the individual. Whereas the Wheatville people considered their normal area of contacts no smaller than one hundred miles in diameter, the El Cerritans were confined in general to their tiny village settlement. The Cornville farmers did not recognize the geographical boundaries of a tightly enclosed community in their normal pattern of interaction with the outside world. For specialized goods and services they travelled thirty miles and more. Young people attended dances fifty and seventy-five miles distant from their homes, and people travelled many miles to witness a better movie than was showing in the local village center. The Amish in this respect offered an especially interesting situation. Although contacts were made with the city for the sale of their farm produce, nevertheless they were able to isolate themselves culturally from the urban centers. This facility to participate in economic relationships with urban centers and at the same time to divorce themselves

from urban non-economic contacts must be primarily attributed to the effectiveness of the powerful sacred sanctions that dominated the living patterns of this religiously oriented community. On the other hand it should be noted that in contradistinction to the El Cerrito grouping, the Amish did not live in a cloistered village. Their farms were spread over a large area in Lancaster County, and the people engaged in much inter-visiting among themselves. Thus, although the area of geographical mobility was not spatially restricted, yet the people with whom the Amish interacted on a highly personalized level were specifically designated. This points up the important consideration that cultural isolation is not necessarily a resultant of limited geographical mobility, but rather is closely related to the types of people one interacts with. Indeed it is true as in the case of the El Cerritans that geographical isolation often results in a delimitation of the individuals one interacts with; however, the Amish situation indicates that the cultural selectivity factor is of extreme significance and may occur without the existence of the geographical factor.*

The analysis of the individual communities also revealed variations in the attributes of the community in-

* This analysis is not to be confused with Cooley's individualism of isolation and functional individualism since Cooley was concerned with individual isolation in the former concept, and with an individualism of choice in a highly specialized society in the latter. See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), pp. 93-94.

habitants themselves that tended to enhance or diminish the degree of cultural isolation. For example, the El Cerritos constituted a distinct racial group in which there existed a strong kinship pattern. Nearly every family was related to every other family. Again, the use of Spanish as the group language in opposition to the more frequent use of English in the Great Society limited, for example, the reading of newspapers printed in English. The Amish likewise tenaciously clung to the German language as a barrier to relationships with the outside world. On the other hand, Cornville and Wheatville were not marked by a distinctive linguistic, racial, or ethnic differential.

It should further be noted that whereas the basis of isolation in El Cerrito was an inability to participate in the Great Society due to the distinctiveness and insularity of the local culture, nevertheless there existed no overt policy and group determined decisions to maintain the differentiation. In this respect the cultural isolation was passive. The bases of differentiation were historically and culturally determined and there existed slight objections to the local people participating in the material advantages of the larger society. However, in the case of the Amish, the cultural isolation may be described as active. Here were found continued efforts to maintain the isolation of the group as an important function of the group.

One of the most significant aspects of cultural isolation is the socio-psychological factor of the existence or

lack of existence of a feeling of consensus with the Great Society. Here again, noticeable variations were in evidence. The Amish possessed their own unique culture and participated in an esoteric web of interrelationships that was limited to their own brethren. The El Cerritos, too, hardly recognized any interrelationships with the larger society. The extra-community events were largely a part of a strange and foreign world and the villagers did not feel that they were a part of the complex Great Society. Their inability to meet the Anglo on equal terms, the sense of inferiority that arose when they could not decipher variant cultural meanings and the existence of dissimilar system of norms resulted in the outside world being well nigh incomprehensible to the people of El Cerrito.

Cornville and Wheatville on the other hand had a great awareness of their interrelationships with the Great Society. The local residents read the same newspapers and attended the same movies as many non-rural groups. They possessed many of the same conveniences as other large segments of the population. Problems of national and international scope were recognized as of importance to the local community. These communities, then, were much more fully intermeshed with the Great Society and in consequence were marked by a relatively low degree of cultural isolation.

B. Intra-Community Interaction Systems

A comparative appraisal of the communities reveals that rural com-

munities can possess an interactional system in which there exist hardly any secondary group contacts, and on the other hand derived group relationships can be extremely important in community life. The Amish, for example, forbade specialized groupings and alliances with non-brethren with the consequence that there were no secondary groups within the community. Likewise, in El Cerrito, there existed not one association to which only a small segment of the community members belonged. The common linguistic, religious and ethnic ties served as a substructure for one large primary group, the village community.

On the other hand, in Cornville there existed special women's clubs and only a portion of the farm operators belonged to particular farm organizations. In Wheatville special associations served the manifold interests of particular community members. These groupings tended to segmentalize the relationship patterns into a series of discrete clusters of associational activity. Super-imposed upon primary group situations such as familial relations and visiting congenial persons was a variety of established groups in which the members met at a specific time and at a specific place for a specific limited purpose.

There further existed noticeable deviations in the intimacy and warmth in interaction between community members. This was especially noticeable in the amount, and type of visiting between families and individuals. In El Cerrito and the Amish

community visiting was the most common form of communication between the local people. It was not found that there was no visiting in Wheatville and Cornville. But visiting had declined in importance. Other more impersonal forms of recreation had supplanted many phases of the former patterns of personalized interaction. One of the most popular forms of recreation in both Wheatville and Cornville was found to be attendance at movies. Listening to the radio was also another popular form of recreation that had supplanted the former use of leisure time in more personalized forms of interaction. Again, whereas in the Amish community the types of permissible recreation were extremely limited, in Cornville and Wheatville the fundamental criterion for recreational activities was individualized satisfaction. The availability and the use of the automobile had enlarged the scope of possible recreational activities and contacts with the result that the individual could select from a varied number of activities the type of enjoyment he desired.

In El Cerrito the very basis of farming was postulated on cooperation in the Ditch Association and frequent lending of tools and equipment was common. The women relied heavily on mutual cooperation in their work in the home. Harvesting was largely a family affair and division of the product was conducted on an informal basis. At the other extreme was Wheatville where the mechanized system of large scale farming had been generally adopted and where the

old pattern of neighborhood cooperation had almost completely broken down. These farm operators relied heavily on the village and town centers for specialized services rather than on a neighborly exchange system. Lending and borrowing were calculated activities rather than the informal procedures as in El Cerrito. In the Amish community and Cornville, there still existed some vestiges of cooperative activity, but it was evident that mutual aid was in the process of decline. Then too, in El Cerrito the individuals engaged in inter-association as full personalities. Each knew every other member of the community intimately, rather than in a specific role. A was known by B not merely as a member of a particular organization or as an individual whose residence was nearby. Rather A was known as a member of a particular family, as a member of the same church, as a member of the Ditch Association. He was recognized as belonging to a specific family group and his life history and idiosyncrasies were common knowledge. Among the Amish also, interaction between community members was conducted on a similar basis. It is not to be inferred that no interaction situations in Wheatville and Cornville occurred on the same level as in the other communities. However, the distinguishing characteristic between the communities is that in the latter ones, a host of relationships within the confines of the community were conducted on a segmental level whereas in the former nearly all intra-community interac-

tion was between individuals acting as complete and full personalities.

C. The Family Systems

The data certainly lend support to Cooley's thesis of the nature of human nature.⁹ It was within the framework of the personalized and intimate associational contacts of the family that the child learned the elemental necessary types of behavior to function as a social being. However, although the techniques used in this early period in the socialization process were in the main similar, yet the ideologies and the criteria of the normative systems inculcated to the child were dissimilar. In short, the patterns and the dominant themes of the several cultures were highly variant, and it was the parents' task to initiate the child into the localistic culture. In the Amish community the child had to be taught why he must act and live differently than the "unrighteous people" who did not subscribe to the beliefs of the Amish. The child was forbidden to mingle with "religious foreigners" and the core of the socialization process rested on his being separated physically, culturally and morally from outside influences. The socialization of the child included a stamping into the child's consciousness an ever present awareness that he belonged to a separationist community and to a family which he must not shame.

In El Cerrito, too, the family constituted the most important agency that transmitted the unique social

⁹ C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

heritage to the young. The universality of the Catholic church, however, did not necessitate a rationalization of the moral beliefs that the child must learn. In this respect, El Cerrito is to be differentiated from the Amish community. However, the high degree of cultural isolation resulted in the young people becoming sentimentally attached to the tiny village which was their only "cultural" world during the early years of personality development. Their range of contacts was limited to the periphery of the local community. The high degree of consanguinity in the community and the personalized associational system resulted in the establishment of intimate ties with the community and its members. With few upsetting or disturbing factors the family found it a relatively simple task to impart to the child the feeling of syngenism so characteristic of their village life. In alliance with the church and as an agent of the church, the family inculcated a strong feeling of religiosity and respect for parents and elders to the young.

In Cornville and Wheatville, too, the family represented the most significant agency that laid the foundation for the personality structure of the developing child. However, in these communities there was found no overt effort to convey to the child the feeling that he was different from people who did not reside in his own community. The families rather treated their children as individual personalities who must take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Great

Society. Although some parents complained of the influence of movies on children, there was no desire to abolish movies. The lack of any peculiar linguistic, ethnic, or religious peculiarities resulted in training and indoctrination into a larger world than the local community. The socialization process in Wheatville and Cornville did not emphasize any necessity for the child to remain a part of the local society. Other than a flavoring of the child's frame of reference with the traditional system of Christian morality, the recipe of the socialization process was highly seasoned with the development of the ability in the child to think independently. Living in a cultural milieu which they recognized as dynamic, these parents recognized that their knowledge was limited and in consequence turned to extra familial agencies for help.

Differentiations among the communities are also found in the importance of the family as an agent in the socialization process relative to other institutions and agencies in the community. In the Amish community, other than the limited formal education it offered, the school imparted few new ideas to the children. It was one of the school's functions to help solidify the frame of reference imparted to the child by the family. The youngsters belonged to no special age and sex groups. Their playmates were determined by religious and family sanctions.

In El Cerrito, too, were found no formal age and sex groups for the special interests of the children. As in

the Amish community the combination of religious practices and beliefs with the informal instruction of the family was very important in the socialization process. Other institutional agencies or special secondary groupings were of slight importance.

However, in Cornville and Wheatville, the family in alliance with the church was not the supreme inculcator of the beliefs, values and life goals of the individual. The family represented but one of several important agencies influential in the socialization process. In addition to formal education, the school transmitted the greater part of the intellectual social heritage to the child. It served as the center of recreational and social activities for the young people. Ideas unfamiliar to the parents were taught to the children. Many situations that the Amish or El Cerritan child never became aware of were familiar interactional occasions for Wheatville and Cornville children. They participated in various types of clubs; they were encouraged to pursue their special interests; their opportunities for self expression and individuation were greater. They were reared with an awareness that the extra-community world might offer opportunities to them. Many of their brothers and sisters lived in cities and other communities. It was largely through the extra-familial activities they engaged in and the cosmopolitan aspects of family life that such a recognition of identification with the Great Society existed.

One final differentiation between the communities in regard to the

family and the socialization process should be noted. This concerns the determination by the family of the future occupation and type of life the child will lead. In the Amish community it was pointed out that the life pattern of the child was established by the parents and deviations would not be tolerated. His occupation, his religious beliefs, his place of residence, his familial relationships, and the criterion for his marital partner were clearly defined and the pattern was invariably followed. Although the rigidity of the pattern was not so great and the number of alternatives for the young El Cerritan were not as few as in the case of the Amish youngster, nevertheless, if community ostracism was to be avoided, the range of allowed deviations was small. However, in Wheatville and Cornville a large number of parents hoped their children would not farm. They believed that their children must make up their own minds regarding occupational decisions. They maintained that parents should advise on such matters, but the ultimate decision must be that of the child. Further, parents felt that the child must exercise his own discretion in selection of his mate. Although parents would like their children to live nearby, most realized that many of the young people had to migrate. There were also fewer negative dictums and less parental control over the behavior of the children in their recreational activities. In sum, self determination rather than familial determination was more characteristic of the Iowa and Kansas communities.

Attention is now directed to a comparative analysis of the degree of familism in the several communities. Initially, the communities may be differentiated on the basis of the extent of mutual aid between family members. In the Amish community, parents willingly assumed the obligation to help their children establish themselves on farms. A primary goal of the parents was to accumulate enough land so that their sons would be able to farm. When children married, parents presented them with livestock and household equipment. Cash or credit was freely extended to young people. The belief in the rural life as the righteous way of life underlaid the strong efforts of parents to proffer all types of help to their children so that they could follow the separatist way of life of the Amish. In addition to parent-child mutual aid was found the *Grossdawdy* arrangement whereby parents were assured protection in their old age. The family assets were kept intact and the continuity of the family homestead was assured. The earnings of children were also construed to be family property until the child married.

El Cerritan parents lacked the economic resources to help their children get started. However, at an early age the child was expected to aid his parents in the farm enterprise. If a son left the community to seek employment, the greater part of his earning was turned back to the family. Family expectations further included a great deal of cooperation and sharing between family members. The

fruits of the harvest were in most instances divided informally between family members. When relatives were in need, aid was always offered and the meagre wealth of these poverty-stricken folk was shared.

In Cornville and Wheatville there was also found evidences of family cooperation and mutual help. Parents in most instances helped those children who desired to farm by offering them financial aid or special privileges. However, the fact that it was assumed that many children would leave the community resulted in there being no strong urge to establish institutionalized arrangements such as were found among the Amish to keep children in the community. The income earned on the family farm or elsewhere by the children was not family income. In these communities the extent of family cooperation was limited in the main to *klein familia* relatives. There was slight differentiation between aid rendered to neighbors and *extra-klein familia* members in distress. Again, parents did not expect nor did they receive a great deal of aid from their children in their old age. There was found no *Grossdowdy* arrangement; parents attempted to save enough for themselves in their declining years of productivity. Whereas in the Amish community family cooperation was reciprocal between parents and children in Wheatville and Cornville, parent-child mutual aid pattern was a one way process.

Another differentiating factor centers on the attitudes of family mem-

bers toward the family homestead and farm. Among the Amish was found a sentimental attachment toward family property. When parents reached the retirement age, the farm was not sold so that the parents would possess the capital to retire. On the contrary, through the *Grossdawdy* arrangement, the family farm was turned over to one of the family members, and the parents remained on the farm. In El Cerrito, there existed a definite emotional attachment to the family farm. It was noted that the people would endure severe privation before selling their small parcels of land. Parents were expected to bequeath their land to the children, and not to do so would constitute a severe transgression of community mores. However, in Cornville and Wheatville this sentimental attitude toward the family farm and land ownership was much less in evidence. The high degree of tenancy plus the economic beating taken by land owners during the depression and drought years of the thirties resulted in a more economically rational view toward the family homestead and farm property.

Again, the communities may be differentiated on the importance attached to family events and familial activities. In El Cerrito and the Amish community recreation was much more familial in nature than in Wheatville and Cornville. In these latter communities family members participated as individuals in numerous special interest groups. Attendance at movies and listening to radio constituted important forms of individualized recreation.

However, among the Amish the most important source of recreation was interfamily visiting while in El Cerrito, community dances and religious festivals were family affairs. More importance was attached to weddings, funerals, and other family functions in the Amish and El Cerrito communities than in other communities. Weddings and funerals were viewed as highly important community events, and all community members were expected to participate. However, in Wheatville and Cornville large church weddings were infrequent and only close relatives and intimate friends were in attendance. Such events as family reunions and family picnics did occur in the latter communities, but their frequency had been steadily diminishing as commercialized and impersonal forms of recreation were accepted by the people.

Despite these variable conditions in family relationships and family functions, it is of interest to note that in all four communities there existed a high degree of family stability. In the Amish community as well as in El Cerrito divorce was not allowed due to religious sanctions. However, whereas in El Cerrito an erring husband would be forgiven, in the Amish community such a transgression of the mores would result in an annulment and certainly would end in excommunication for the deviant person. However, no such occurrence was reported in the Amish community. It was further reported that divorce was a rare occurrence in Wheatville. The inadequacy of the data in regard to divorce in

Wheatville and Cornville limits further discussion of this aspect of the family systems.

Yet, it was reported that in these latter communities husband-wife as well as parent-child relations were highly stable and marked by a low degree of conflict and contravention. The granting of allowances or incomes to children plus the realization of lack of parental blame during economic crises may partially account for the stability of relationships within the family.

The existence of highly stable familial relationship in spite of differing degrees of familism may suggest interesting hypotheses for the student of family analysis. Thus, there may exist certain minimum requirements for stability in family relationships regardless of other cultural differentials.

In sum, then, it is evident that there existed distinct differentials between the communities when the optic of analysis was focused on the family systems. To argue as Locke¹⁰ has done, that the analysis of these communities indicates that the rural family is highly differentiated from the urban family may be true and is of interest. But his analysis tends to minimize or lose sight of the variance in familism among rural communities. This analysis has attempted to divulge some of the important variations in family life among the four communities studied. It is concluded that in general the family systems of the

Amish and El Cerritan communities were highly differentiated from the family systems of Cornville and Wheatville.

D. The Religious Systems

The communities may be differentiated by the number of religious or denominational systems existing within the geographical locus of the community. In El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish community only one church existed, and the intrusion of another denomination or sect would not be tolerated. Thus, those members of the Old Order Amish community who joined more liberal Ammonite groups were ejected from the socio-religious community of the Old Order Amish. Again, in El Cerrito, there was only one religious system, the Catholic credo, and every member of the village was a member of the single church. To abandon the church would result in social ostracism and expulsion from the community. This unanimity in religious belief in El Cerrito and among the Old Order Amish resulted in the church becoming a powerful cohesive factor in community life. All members of the community belonged to the same church, believed in the same religious symbolism, and in consequence shared a singular frame of reference in their evaluative systems.

In contrast to this unanimity and singularity of religious belief are the heterogeneous situations found in Wheatville and Cornville. In these communities denominationalism resulted in intra-community factions

¹⁰ H. J. Locke, "Contemporary American Farm Families" *Rural Sociology*, (1945), 142-150.

and a constellation of in and out group relationships. The members of the Church of God in Wheatville, for example, were viewed as an undesirable element in the community by many of the residents and the Nazarene church condemned the "unrighteous" activities of members of the Methodist and Christian churches. These variegated formulations and practices of Christianity within the spatial limits of a single community resulted in competitive and contravention activities between the church groups. Rather than functioning as an integrative influence as in the case of El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish, the existence of competing religious influences served to weaken community solidarity and increased community conflicts and antagonisms.

Another significant distinguishing characteristic of the religious systems in the communities is the varying influence of church sanctions on the ways of life of the people. The comparative analysis of the communities indicated that religious influences may be all pervading or affect only certain segments of the ways of behavior of a people. In the Amish community religious influences exerted tremendous influences on the ways of life of the inhabitants. Interpretation of biblical passages accounted for the peculiar dress of the people, their mode of transportation, their recreational behavior, and their educational beliefs. Most decisions as to the way the individual must behave were based upon rigid adherence to the Scriptures. There were few areas of

alternative behavior. Among the Old Order Amish, then, one is always forced back to religious beliefs to understand the ways of life of the people. The core of the local culture was firmly aligned to the religious system.

In sharp contrast to the Amish was the slight influence of the church in Wheatville and Cornville. In these communities religious influences were restricted to a much narrower area of life. It was not church rulings that determined the mode of dress or the educational curriculum. The accepted types of recreation were not decided by the church. Other agencies and influences like the school, fashion, specialized groups, and impersonal mechanisms such as the radio and the newspaper were also important devices in setting the patterns of human behavior. The church, then, was only one of many influences that determined the ways of behavior. Yet it should be noted that religious influences did not equally affect all groups. Thus, in general it may be said that the members of minority churches such as the Church of God and the Nazarene church were more restricted in their activities than the Methodists and Congregationalists. These latter denominations did not attempt to constrain their members' behavior in the same degree as the former churches. The existence of denominationalism with its consequents sharply differentiated Wheatville and Cornville from El Cerrito and the Old Order Amish communities. Although the religious system in El Cerrito did not

permeate as many facts of life as in the Old Order Amish grouping, yet the single church was a powerful constraining force in the community.

Another important differentiating characteristic is the degree to which church sanctions could be challenged in the four communities. In the Amish and Spanish-American communities to challenge existing church rules was equivalent to heresy. To question religious sanctions was to invite expulsion from these communities. In Wheatville and Cornville, however, the variety of churches in itself created division of opinion regarding religious beliefs. Many of the inhabitants openly admitted that they did not attend church, and others questioned the preaching of the ministers. This disenchantment of biblical teachings was explained in part by the realization that prayer alone was not enough to bring rain in periods of drought and that material forces played an important part in the welfare of farm people. Again the critical viewpoint taken in regard to the functionaries of the church resulted in a critical appraisal of their teachings.

A final matter of interest is the differential importance of the church as an agency of social control. In the Old Order Amish community the church may be described as the most powerful mechanism for restraining the behavior of community members. Since the very basis of solidarity among the Amish was their unique religious beliefs and an insistence on the maintenance of their separationism, infractions of the customs and mores were

severely dealt with by the group. But it was not a civil authority or informal social controls that dealt with infractions. It was in the religious meetings of the Amish through the lay ministry that punishment was meted out to offenders of the clearly established rules of separation and unequal yoke. Through the technique of shunning, the church invoked its prerogatives of active social control and through excommunication it held the power of severance of the individual from the community of brethren. To be read out of the Old Order Amish grouping was social suicide, and the fear of such an eventuality was a powerful constraining factor for those who might contemplate deviation from the rigidly determined prescriptions of the Amish.

III. Conclusions

It is now pertinent to ascertain the significance of these variations in sociological variables noted in the comparative analysis of the four communities. The analysis seems to support the contention that viewing rural life merely as a polar type in contradistinction to urban life neglects the important factor of significant intrarural variations. It suggests that rural communities when appraised through the sociological optic may be marked by varying degrees of inter-communication with and differential degrees of integration with the Great Society, by differential systems of interaction, and by variations in certain institutional systems. Thus the analysis suggests that a rural community may constitute, in actuality, a cultural

island within the larger society or may be an integral part of it. The wide diversity within rural communities found in the present analysis of a relatively small number of communities suggests that rather than setting up frames of reference in an either-or context (that is, rural or urban), it may be more advisable in many types of investigation to establish theoretical frameworks in which the focus is centered on analysis of specific variables. Thus, Wheatville and Cornville may be more similar to many small urban communities than they are to El Cerrito and the Amish community. And these latter communities may perhaps be more similar to peasant or even primitive societies. Viewing societies, then, on continuums of sociological variables (for example, cultural isolation) not only may present a clearer and more trenchant analysis of phases of social relationships and human interaction, but on a theoretical level it allows for the embracing of many types of communities, rather than the restrictive rural-urban-dichotomy approach.

Recognition of the heuristic value of breaking away from the rural-urban dichotomy further implies that the arbitrary fracturing of society or societies into the neat artificial segments of rural and urban is a practice that requires careful scrutiny. To maintain as Sorokin has done, that if the investigator is dealing with an agricultural community he is also dealing with a series of sociological constants, is an exceedingly questionable assumption in rural sociological

research. This matter is of especial significance in the present era of rapid social and cultural change and increasing urban dominance in contemporary American culture. The analysis further suggests that a frame of reference that will offer a specific concept such as cultural isolation as the focus for analysis may offer keener insights and reveal more significant knowledge for the development of systematic theory than the use of the rural-urban dichotomy as the basis of the theoretical frame of reference.¹¹ In short, the concept *rural* in contradistinction to *urban* is not the homogeneous sociological concept as assumed by many sociologists. People who earn their living in agricultural settings do not necessarily lead a special way of life. This analysis has attempted to show that in the agricultural milieu, there may exist variant *ways* of life. Recognition of these variant ways of life and an explanation of the conditions resulting in their existence offer fertile fields for sociological explorations.

Discussion

B. J. T. WILSON LONGMORE*

Although Professor Gross would probably be the last person to admit it, his paper serves to confirm what rural sociologists have long maintained, namely, that rural life offers a rich field for sociological analysis. Rather the author would have us believe that the concept of a "rural world" has no

¹¹ See my paper "The Relationship Between Cultural Variables" to be published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1948.

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usefulness in sociological research. To point out the inadequacies of a concept is one thing but to suggest that the entire concept be discarded is quite another.

As a rural sociologist, I hold no brief for any construct unless it helps us understand rural society; this is fundamental in applying the methods of science to rural problems. But we cannot realistically "deconceptualize" the extremely crucial factors of population density, differences in occupation and physical environment. For those imbued with Professor Gross' ideas, a rereading of Smith's introduction to his *Sociology of Rural Life* or for that matter a reading of some book of fiction such as Cather's *My Antonia* should be effective antidote.

The fact that rural sociologists have concentrated their efforts in a limited area has advanced the science of sociology generally. It is a fact that the most productive efforts of such men as Galpin, Taylor, Loomis, Zimmerman, Kolb, Sanderson, deS Brunner and others have been applied to rural society. Such rural sociologists have served to supplement the work of the general sociologists who deal largely in broad generalizations with only limited meaning. The importance of their contribution can be appraised if we consider for comparative purposes the state of South American sociology where the applied field just never had a chance.

Since Professor Gross brings into consideration the entire role of "general" versus "rural" sociology it might not be a bad idea to clarify what seems to be the most reasonable relation between the two fields. There should be no conflict for both aspire to arrive at generalization through the application of scientific method. Since all generalizations can be only approximations of reality, the rural sociologist constantly strives to refine and clarify the more general social facts in their relation to specific rural situations. This basis of operation of course assumes the relative and tentative nature of all sociological generalizations.

Most of the article deals with the description of how four concepts—cultural isolation, intra-community interaction, the family, religious systems—can be used to analyze

community variation. Each factor is thought of as a continuum along which rural communities can be arrayed. Just how such continuums are developed is not elaborated upon. How, for instance, are we to establish limits to such a "yardstick?" Careful reading of the comparative analysis of the four selected communities yields a few clues. But Professor Gross fails to tell the reader that the four communities he includes in his analysis were themselves carefully selected so as to represent a wide range on what was essentially a "stability-instability" continuum. Hence they represent wide extremes of rural community life and should as a consequence yield to even the grossest of sociological analysis. It is, therefore, the definitiveness with which Professor Gross' technique is able to distinguish between the quality of community life exemplified by each of the selected communities which should concern us here. It is pertinent to ask at this point why he did not use all six of the communities studied instead of only four. Was it because his technique was incapable of distinguishing between each and every one?

Professor Gross has set himself a very worthwhile problem—the development of a technique whereby communities can be placed on a continuum which will be meaningful. I need only suggest that county agents, farm supervisors, teachers, ministers, and rural leaders are a ready consumers' market for just such material.

I suggest the following criteria by which the technique can be appraised: 1) Does it allow measurement in definite units of characteristics ascribed to communities? 2) Does it provide the basis for placing any community on a continuum so that that community is seen in relation to all other communities? In statistical jargon: Does it provide us with comparable units of measurement? and Does the technique meet the test of internal consistency?

Taking the concept of cultural isolation, we see that he uses at least four factors considered to be influential in determination of such a characteristic. They are: 1) the relative influence of diffusion agencies, 2) the range of mobility of the individual, 3)

attributes of the community inhabitants, 4) the existence or lack of existence of a feeling of "consensus" with the Great Society. Although he concludes on the basis of a comparative analysis that "there exists a perceptible difference in the importance of diffusion agencies in the several communities" he can go no farther than to say that Wheatville and Cornville are *different* than El Cerrito and Old Order Amish. In other words his technique falls down under the two-pronged criteria of units of measurement and internal consistency and Professor Gross is forced unconsciously into the position of relying on a dichotomous analysis, the very thing he so decries. In my estimation this criticism applies throughout the entire article.

However, when we get to the concept of intra-community social interaction we become aware of words like "*secondary group contacts*," "*derived group relationships*," "*personalized forms of interaction*." (Italics mine.) Such terms suggest that one way out of the apparent dilemma is to employ ideal types. In this connection it would be well to refer back to an article written by Rudolf Heberle in 1941 entitled "Fundamental Concepts in Rural Community Studies." Articles by deS. Brunner and Redfield in *Rural Sociology* were inspired by this one of Heberle and all seemed to emphasize the need for applying fundamental concepts such as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to the interpretation of empirical data. This article of Professor Gross should serve to rekindle interest and thought on the problem of relating concrete data to a general theory of social structure and social change.

Such an assignment is particularly fitting at this moment because within a very short time it is hoped that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life will make available material gathered in an intensive sociological study of a cross-section sample of American rural communities. Under the guidance of Carl C. Taylor, a staff of well-trained social analysts have been engaged for over five years in the collection and analysis of data concerning rural life. It is

not until such systematic data is collected in sufficient amount that techniques such as suggested by Professor Gross can be adequately tested and developed. All the evidence indicates rather conclusively that the author of this article misinterprets rural sociologists if he thinks they are not cognizant of variations within rural society. In fact . . . many have dedicated their very lives to pointing them out.

Rejoinder

By NEAL GROSS

Mr. Longmore has in some manner gathered the impression that "... the author would have us believe that the concept of a 'rural world' has no usefulness in sociological research." I apologize for quoting from my own paper, but "to lump rural life into one category in contradistinction to urban life may be methodologically sound for certain types of sociological investigations. This practice, however, bears careful scrutiny."

I find myself in complete agreement with Mr. Longmore (although Mr. Longmore would probably be the last person to admit it) "that rural life offers a rich field for sociological analysis." However I am concerned with how significant our findings will be in both a theoretical and pragmatic sense if we restrict ourselves to theoretical frameworks and conceptual schemes such as the "rural and urban world" dichotomy when we use the same sociological concept, "rural," for theoretical purposes in classifying group life in the black and white belt of the agricultural Southeast, in Goldschmidt's *As They Sow* community, in the Yucatan societies Chan Kom and Tusik, in the confused ecological and consensual patterns in the hinterland of large cities where industrial workers, part time, and full time farmers live on contiguous plots of land, in the ranch areas of Montana and in the suburbanized way of life found in many parts of Iowa. In short, I am raising the important sociological query, is the "rural" way of life in Hamilton County, Iowa necessarily more similar on sociological axes of analyses to the "rural" way of

life of Acadian communities in Louisiana or to the "urban" way of life in Des Moines? In short, is the rural and urban dichotomy the only or the most revealing theoretical framework for sociological research in agricultural areas?

In contrast to Mr. Longmore, it is my view that we must consider the realistic *reconceptualization* of the factors of population density, occupation and physical environment when population densities in agricultural areas vary; when population densities lose or gain in sociological significance depending on communication and contact with the extra-community world; when the occupation of agriculture seems to tolerate different ecological patterns and institutional interrelationships, different ways of life, different ideologies, and different interactional systems; when physical environment is meaningful only in terms of a social and cultural environment that may or may not tolerate movies, dance halls, beer joints, black marketing activities, rigid or loose social stratification and variant interpretations of that very physical environment.

But even assuming that "rural" life in Hamilton County, Iowa is more similar to "rural" life in southern China than it is to "city" life in Des Moines, I see no reason why the important sociological question should not be raised, What are the sociological differences between group life in Iowa "rural" areas and other "rural" areas?; and of more importance, how as sociologists can we explain these differences? My paper raises the first query and another paper (see the March issue of *American Journal of Sociology*) is an attempt to provide a very incomplete answer to the second one.

The possible necessity for the consideration of different frameworks for the study of social structure and process in agricultural areas can be seen by noting Mr. Longmore's use of the concept, *rural society*. But as a sociologist (not as a layman) I ask what is "rural society?" Is it the interactions and group life of all people making their living from agriculture? But what interactions do the people in agriculture in Alabama and Georgia have with the people in agriculture

in Iowa? The answer is probably very little or none at all; yet sociologists of "rural" life use such terms that confuse rather than clarify sociological analyses. What we really have, in my opinion, is many "rural societies" (considering society as the study of group life from the viewpoint of consensus and considering community as a representation of symbiotic relationships) within the United States. This matter assumes extreme importance as sociologists learn more about the variant cultures and social systems that people in agriculture live in and through in different parts of the world and even within the same national boundaries.

I do not think it fruitful to carry on a dialectic over the value of the contributions of the distinguished rural sociologists Mr. Longmore mentions in his discussion. Of course, they and many others have made significant contributions. But the point is: could they have made more significant contributions, and how can others make significant contributions? With Dewey, I suggest that "Failure to examine the conceptual structures and frames of reference which are unconsciously implicated in even the seemingly most innocent factual inquiries is the greatest single defect to be found in any field of inquiry."

As regards the continua used for the framework of my analysis, I concur that they are rough, and crude devices. But the first steps in methodological advance are often rocky and I will be delighted if Mr. Longmore and others will help in trying to make them more precise tools. However, with Redfield I maintain that even such crude tools may yield new knowledge and new perspectives despite their serious (but not irremedial) short comings. (See my paper in March issue of *American Journal of Sociology*, for a discussion of these matters and a testing of specific hypotheses by use of this rough methodological schema.)

Space limitations preclude my going into the criteria used for selection of the four communities. But for those interested in this matter (including Mr. Longmore) I suggest the reading of the reference in footnote 6 of my paper, to wit: "For criteria used in

selection of the communities see Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-60."

In regard to our discussant's observation that rural sociologists are aware of all the variations I describe, I should like to quote the late Professor Whitehead, "... to come very near to a true theory, and to grasp its precise application, are two very different things, as the history of science teaches us. Everything of importance has been said before by somebody who did not discover it." I doubt greatly if I have made any great discovery, but I am suggesting that rural

sociologists might recognize (or discover) these sociological variations in their theoretical frameworks and build researches in a clear sociological schema around them. In short, are we going to recognize sociological variations in "rural" life in our researches; what sort of new theoretical framework or frameworks and concepts for this research recognition are needed?; and what kind of significant hypotheses can we test? These are the questions. I hope the answers can and will be found, and I cordially invite Mr. Longmore's help in this venture.

A Study in Technological Diffusion*

By Bryce Ryan†

ABSTRACT

Hybrid seed corn is a technological development uniquely adopted to analysis in terms of time sequences in cultural change. Hybrid's spread through Iowa was rapid and complete. Regional variations, within the state, in rapidity of adoption were not pronounced. Throughout the state individual farmers accepted the new seed in small quantities, increasing their utilization after periods of personal trial use. The over-all diffusion curve suggests a relatively long period of minor growth, followed by a sweeping acceptance of the new trait.

The diffusion of hybrid seed corn has occurred with phenomenal rapidity in the midwest. Practically within one decade, this hardier and more productive breed of seed arose from the obscurity of the laboratory to general acceptance by cornbelt farmers. The time pattern of this diffusion has significance from the standpoint of agricultural history and to the growing literature on the process and prob-

lems of technological diffusion.¹ The sensational economic importance of hybrid seed corn has made simply the documentation of its diffusion significant. The recency and rapidity of the development render it particularly apt for analysis in terms of sequential

* The data on which this study is based were collected by the Iowa Wartime Farm Survey at Iowa State College. The writer is indebted to that survey and the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station for the collection of data used in this study.

† Rutgers University.

¹ See F. S. Chapin, *Cultural Change*; Earl Pemberton, "The Curve of Culture Diffusion Rate," *American Sociological Review*, (August, 1936); "The Effect of a Social Crisis on the Curve of Diffusion," *ibid.*, (February, 1937); Alice Davis, "Technicways in American Civilization," *Social Forces*, (March, 1940); Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross, "The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities," *Rural Sociology*, (March, 1943); and numerous contributions by Professor Hornell Hart.

patterns in cultural change. Valid theoretic principles regarding rates of diffusion and sequences in the diffusion process can come only as empirical foundations are laid in many phases of cultural change. In the present study only this temporal aspect of the diffusion pattern has been analyzed; i.e., the rapidity with which this hybrid seed was accepted into the technology of Iowa agriculture.²

This problem involves two principal aspects: (1) the spread of hybrid seed utilization in the state as a whole, and (2) the comparative receptiveness of different areas in the state. In a number of respects this study parallels an earlier one conducted in collaboration with Neal C. Gross (*Rural Sociology*, March, 1943, pp. 16-24). The earlier and more intensive study sought, among other objectives, to delineate the curve of diffusion for hybrid seed in two Iowa communities. The temporal pattern found there on a community level is essentially reproduced in the present study where the scope of inquiry is greatly expanded. Certain observations and conclusions then applicable only on a community level now seem characteristic of this diffusion over a wide area.

Since the midwest is the most intensive corn producing area in the nation, it is understandable that hybrid has been developed and has

spread most rapidly in this region.³ Although hybrid seed was practically unavailable to farmers before 1930, about one-half of the corn acreage in this region was planted to hybrid in 1940 as contrasted to a national planting of less than one-third of all corn acreage. By 1942 the midwest had nearly three-fourths of all corn acreage in hybrid seed while for the nation the proportion was somewhat less than one-half. Within the corn-belt, Iowa was outstandingly fast in adopting the new seed. Whereas in 1939 less than 40 percent of the region's corn acreage was hybrid, nearly 75 percent of Iowa's corn land had been placed in the new seed. More than 98 percent of Iowa's corn land was planted to hybrid in 1942.

In contrast to the very rapid diffusion of hybrid through the midwest, the development of the seed itself had been a long painstaking process. Experimenters in many walks of life and in widely separated localities had contributed toward the development of hybrid strains, which in later years were to become of such great commercial significance.⁴ Sporadic experimentation ended in the early twenties when Experiment Stations in several states, along with the Bureau of Plant Industry, took up the quest systematically. Commercial organizations like-

² The sample used is that of the Iowa Wartime Farm Survey (Iowa State College) which, while small, has rather high reliability. Farmers who began operating after 1932 have been excluded from this analysis. Thus 438 operators were interviewed, all of whom farmed throughout the diffusion period.

³ Estimates used here are from the USDA, BAE, mimeographed release "Hybrids Dominate Corn Acreage," July 10, 1943. See also *Technology on the Farm*, Ch. 5 USDA, 1940.

⁴ See *Technology on the Farm*, op. cit., p. 21. For amounts of seed produced in different years for Iowa, see Joe Robinson, "The Story of Hybrid Seed Corn," Iowa A.E.S. Bulletin.

wise came into the field during this period. The first commercial production of hybrid seed was probably in Connecticut in 1922, but it was not until about 1927 or 1928 that hybrid seed was produced on a regular commercial basis. Even by 1932 the quantities of seed produced in Iowa were exceedingly limited and capable of planting only a very small fraction of the state corn acreage. (See Fig. 1)

While seed scarcity was probably not felt consciously by many farmers, this fact imposes certain limiting conditions on the interpretation of diffusion data. Many of the limitations restraining farmers from early adoption were self-imposed, but some, like "seed scarcity," would fall outside the individual farmer's control. Clearly it would have been physically impossible for a large percentage of operators to have planted hybrid in the early thirties. There simply was not enough seed. It seems likely, however, that this operated more as a potential than an actual limitation upon the will of the operator, and that the rapidity of adoption approximated the rate at which farmers decided favorably upon the new technique.⁵ Figure 1 shows

⁵ This, of course, admits some debate. However, in two communities given more intensive analysis not one operator had attempted unsuccessfully to obtain seed. More important, as an evidence, were the expensive sales campaigns waged by commercial producers year after year. It is doubtful if seed producers were in any area of the state overwhelmed by orders which they could not fill, in spite of a literal or potential "seed scarcity." This, at least, is the judgment offered by Mr. Nelson Urban, sales manager of the Pioneer Hybrid Co., to whom the writer is indebted for a number of helpful observations.

the close correspondence between acreage estimates and seed production estimates for the early years; following 1936 there was no evidence of pressure upon available supplies of seed. However, demand for hybrid was not generated equally early in all parts of the state since suitable seed was practically unavailable in some areas at periods when it was widely available in others.

Thus, seeds adapted to the needs of east central Iowa were developed before those suitable for peripheral areas, especially the southern. Whereas adequate hybrids had been developed for eastern and central Iowa by about 1930 or before, it was probably 1933 or 1934 before a hybrid was available which was clearly superior to open-pollinated breeds in the southern region. In considerable part, at least, this situation arose out of drought conditions in the southern and western parts of the state which retarded production of the seed itself. The apparent lag of some areas was probably largely imposed by conditions beyond the control of the farmers in those areas.

It is quite clear that the startling success of hybrid seed came in the space of a very few years. But in ascertaining the time pattern by which hybrid was adopted, it is not enough to deal simply with the fact of "acceptance." Hybrid seed may first be accepted for trial on just a few acres, or it may be adopted on a 100 percent basis. As a matter of fact, very few operators placed all of their acreage in hybrid the first year they used it. The

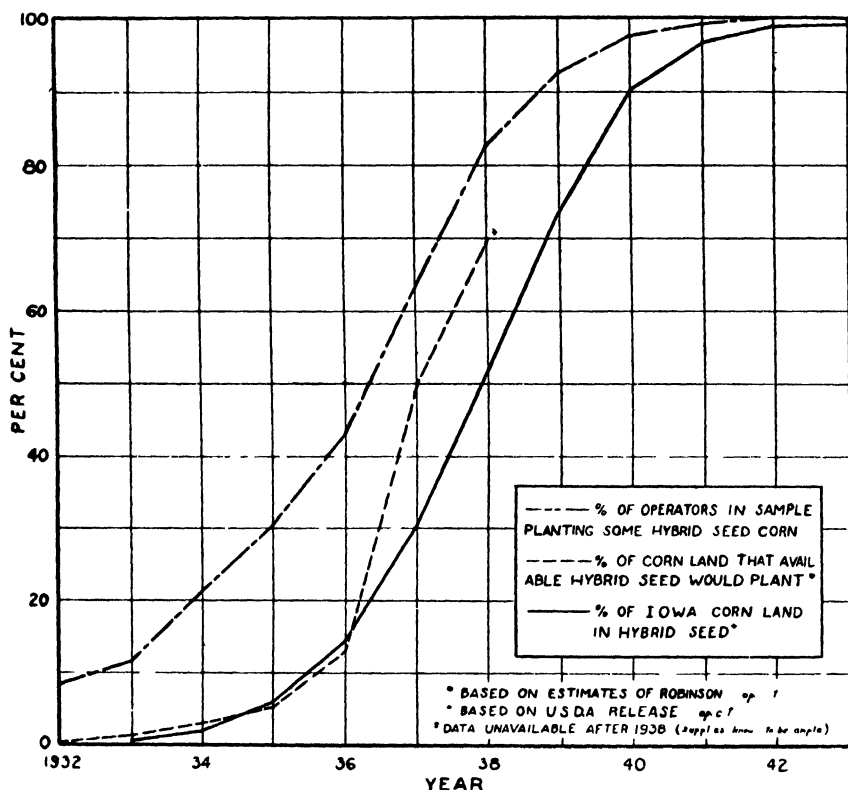


Figure 1. Production and use of Hybrid Seed Corn in Iowa by Year 1932-1943.

spread of hybrid involved diffusion in the sense of numerical increases in the numbers of operators planting it for the first time, and also in the sense of increasing use by those who had previously adopted it for fractions of the acreage.

Partial Adoption (State)

In 1929 only 1.6 percent of all operators in the state-wide sample

were using some hybrid seed. Ten years later, 92.6 percent were planting the new seed, and three years after that (1942) not one farmer had failed to accept hybrid for at least some fraction of his acreage. The swing of farmers toward hybrid is shown in Table I. It is evident that this diffusion cycle began very slowly and did not from the start show rapid growth. Until 1934, the number turn-

TABLE I. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES OF IOWA FARMERS FIRST TRYING HYBRID SEED CORN IN VARIOUS YEARS.

Year	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Before 1930	7	1.6	1.6
1930	9	2.1	3.7
1931	4	.9	4.6
1932	17	3.9	8.5
1933	14	3.2	11.7
1934	41	9.5	21.2
1935	40	9.2	30.4
1936	54	12.5	42.9
1937	89	20.6	63.5
1938	83	19.2	82.7
1939	43	9.9	92.6
1940	22	5.1	97.7
1941	7	1.6	99.3
1942	3	.7	100.0
Total	433*	100.0	—

* In this and subsequent tables respondents for whom the pertinent data were incomplete have been excluded from analysis and presentation.

ing to the new seed in each year was quite small; successive years had failed to show progressive increases in the number of adopters. While the number of users were increasing in total, in no single year prior to 1934 did as many as 5 percent of all farmers make the transition. Thus, not until practically a third of the total diffusion period had passed did hybrid really take hold. In 1934 and 1935 the diffusion gained some momentum and by 1938 more than 80 percent had accepted it for part of their acreage. Since the vast majority of farmers were by that time using the seed, the number of acceptors in succeeding years dropped off sharply and in 1942 the last of them gave in to the new breed.⁶

⁶ How different this curve would have been had seed been readily available to all operators from the beginning of the diffusion cycle is of course a matter for specula-

Partial Adoption (Areas of the State)

Within Iowa there are five fairly distinct type-of-farming areas, differing in soil resources, organization of farm enterprise, etc.⁷ (See Figure 2.)

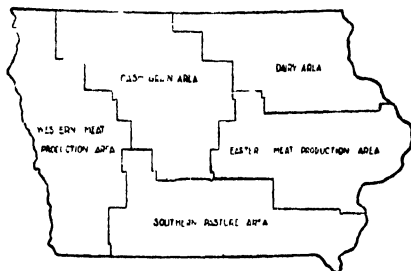


Figure 2. Types of Farming Areas in Iowa⁸

There are several reasons for expecting some differences between areas in the rapidity of diffusion. As has been pointed out, high quality seed was not available at identical periods in southern or in western Iowa, and in much of the remainder of the state. In addition, the period of diffusion practically coincided with that of agricultural depression and recurrent drought. While drought conditions provided a means of demonstrating the greater hardihood of hybrid breeds, the period was one in which farmers were loathe to make greater cash outlays than necessity demanded. Economic and

tion. The curve is very similar, however, to that found in two communities which are known to have suffered no lack of seed (relative to demand). Ryan and Gross, *op. cit.* See also Figure 1 above.

⁷ See C. L. Holmes, "Types of Farming in Iowa," Iowa AESB 256, 1929; and Crickman and Holmes, "Types of Farming in Iowa," II, Iowa AESB 374, 1938.

⁸ From C. L. Holmes, *op. cit.*

drought conditions were especially serious in the southern and western areas, the latter condition adversely effecting the production of seed corn itself. In addition it should be noted that the southern section of the state undoubtedly has remained more isolated and less "progressive" in many characteristics. (This is related to a long history of marginal and depressed agriculture.) While it was this area which lagged most in adopting hybrid, the "progressive" Western Livestock (Meat Production) Area was only slightly more rapid. Interestingly enough the relative importance of corn in the economy of an area appears to have had little influence upon earliness of adoption within this state where corn is in most localities an important crop. Corn production plays the smallest role in farm economy of the dairy section of northeast Iowa; yet farmers in this area were not much behind those of the Cash Grain

and Eastern Livestock Areas where corn is more important than in any other areas.

While it is not unlikely that the significance of corn in eastern and central Iowa stimulated the spread of hybrid there, this is quite possibly true because it directed the activities of seed producers toward the needs of those areas particularly. In the western section the significance of corn was counterbalanced by drought and serious economic distress. Although the southern area of Iowa has long been "backward" when judged by conventional standards, there is no direct evidence that its lag in respect to hybrid can be explained by greater cultural inertia. While it is doubtful if demand for the new seed came as early in this area as elsewhere, this was surely in part at least the product of the seed's actual unavailability. If the data on first adoptions for the different areas are modified in such a

TABLE II CUMULATED PERCENTAGES OF OPERATORS FIRST TRYING HYBRID SEED CORN IN VARIOUS YEARS BY AREA*

Year Tried	Dairy	Cash Grain	Western Livestock	Southern Pasture	Eastern Livestock	State
Before 1930	3	1	1	0	3	2
1930	6	4	3	1	5	4
1931	6	6	5	1	5	5
1932	10	12	7	3	13	8
1933	12	16	12	5	15	12
1934	22	25	22	8	35	21
1935	35	46	28	8	38	30
1936	50	54	38	23	60	43
1937	68	72	66	46	77	63
1938	91	89	85	68	87	83
1939	94	98	91	88	97	93
1940	99	99	99	94	100	98
1941	100	100	100	98		99
1942				100		100
Total cases	89	96	94	93	61	433

* In this and other tables where relatively few cases are involved, figures have been rounded to the nearest whole percent

TABLE III. EXTENT OF HYBRID PLANTING IN FIRST YEAR OPERATOR ACCEPTED HYBRID SEED (PERCENT OF OPERATORS PLANTING SPECIFIED PERCENTAGE OF CORN IN HYBRID) STATE

Year Accepted	Percent planting specified percentage of corn in hybrid										Total Operators		Median percent planted
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	No.	%	
1931 and Before	25	40	5	10	5	0	5	0	0	10	20	100	15
1932	23	29	12	18	0	6	6	0	0	6	17	100	19
1933	22	22	22	7	7	7	0	0	0	13	14	100	23
1934	22	30	25	7	5	7	2	0	0	2	41	100	20
1935	13	18	45	5	11	0	3	0	0	5	38	100	24
1936	2	27	21	8	2	12	10	2	2	14	51	100	29
1937	4	26	26	12	13	5	4	0	1	9	77	100	28
1938	8	20	26	9	9	5	3	1	4	15	78	100	28
1939	7	2	16	7	12	7	7	7	7	28	41	100	58
1940	0	6	6	11	11	22	0	6	6	32	18	100	57
1941-42	0	0	0	0	0	12	12	0	12	64	8	100	90
TOTAL	10	22	23	9	8	7	4	1	2	14	403	100	28

way as to compare the diffusion rapidly from the time at which approximately 10 percent of the operators in each region were using the seed, rather than an absolute time scale, then the southern area would indicate no lagging whatsoever. The southern and the western areas probably had a somewhat delayed beginning and, as has been suggested, the most reasonable explanation lies in the retarded development of seed for these areas plus most unfavorable economic conditions. Accepting 1930 in the Eastern Livestock Area as being comparable to 1931 in the Western Livestock Area and to 1933 in the Southern Pasture Area, the spread of hybrid came *more rapidly* in each of the "retarded" regions than in the area actually foremost in the diffusion. This of course reflects a condition in which the area latest in starting enjoyed the most rapid transition to the new technique once it got under way.⁸ Nearly two-

thirds of the southern operators tried hybrid for the first time in the three-year period 1937-1939.

Increasing Use (State)

The preceding discussion gives no insight into the *extent* to which adopting operators turned their corn acreage into hybrid. For very few was the new seed accepted on a total basis, although such conversions became more common in the later years. Regardless of when hybrid was first accepted, nearly a third of the farmers planted less than a fifth of their corn acreage to hybrid in the first season they used it. The median percent of acreage planted to hybrid in the first year of use was 28 percent. (See Table III.)

It is evident from Table III that in the later years of acceptance first plantings were somewhat larger than

⁸ This does not imply that differences in cultural background had no influence upon

the "conservatism" and "experimentalism" of a farmer, nor that a diffusion curve fails to reflect such factors; rather the differences are of doubtful significance between areas. This would undoubtedly not be the case in states less homogeneous culturally than Iowa.

had been true for the less conservative early acceptors. The median percentage of acres planted to hybrid by the earliest adopters was 15 percent, while nearly 60 percent was planted to hybrid in the first year of acceptance by those starting in 1939 and 1940. It was not until 1939 that the median operator turning to hybrid put more than a half of his acreage in the crop. And even a number of those last few adopting hybrid in 1941 and 1942 would not place all of their acreage in hybrid immediately. It cannot be said that there was a steady increase in the size of first plantings as later farmers came to the seed. Planting size in the initial year of acceptance changed very little until after 1938; until that time the median initial plantings of the seed had remained under 30 percent of corn acreage in each year. This was true in spite of the generally successful record of hybrid since at least 1930 to 1932, and its more extensive use by farmers, at any given date, who had started earlier in its planting. More surprising than the increased first plantings in the later years is the fact that the later acceptors were as hesitant as they were in their acceptance even after hybrid was widely and satisfactorily used.

From the small beginnings in the new seed which characterized the bulk of all operators, there was probably for each operator a gradual season-to-season increase in the percentage of crop planted in hybrid seed.⁹ In any

⁹ This season-to-season increase for the individual farmers cannot be directly substantiated. It is, however, consistent with

event, each year brought increasing numbers of partial acceptors into the full use of hybrid. Table IV indicates that even as late as 1937, only 9 percent of the farmers using hybrid for the first time were willing to plant it on their total acreage. There was however, a relatively steady increase in the numbers of farmers coming to the complete use of hybrid. For the great majority of the farmers there was obviously a general time lag of several years between partial adoption and full adoption. It was seven years before the farmers most receptive to hybrid (those partially accepting before 1930) all came to use the seed for their total acreages. And with the exception of farmers partially accepting in 1939, each group of operators beginning to plant hybrid after 1931 still had a few not planting hybrid completely even in 1942.

As would be expected, the operators accepting late tended to come more rapidly to 100 percent planting. Thus, all but two of 22 operators (91 percent) beginning hybrid in 1940 were planting all of their acreage to it in 1942. However, the actual date at which complete acceptance was reached tended to be earlier for those who started the acceptance process early. In almost any given year a larger proportion of the early acceptors were planting all of their acreage to the new seed. In 1940, for example, com-

the following data on achievement of complete hybrid planting and is also borne out in the more intensive study of two communities. There is a possibility that some operators having tried hybrid might have ceased using it for a time. It is very doubtful, however, if more than a handful followed such a course.

plete use of hybrid had long since been true of all farmers starting prior to 1932, but not of those starting later. In most cases it took later beginners at least two or three years of experience with the seed to "catch up" with those who had started earlier.

It would be difficult to find a more graphic illustration of the interrelated influences of vicarious and direct experience than that provided in these data. The shortening of the acceptance process for later adopters surely testified to some breaking down of the cautions exemplified by earlier adopters. The unequivocal success of hybrid in practically every Iowa community had its effect in shortening the "customary" period of self-conviction by personal use as time went on. But the successful and wide use

of the seed by the majority of the population was not sufficient to cut out the demand for conviction by personal experience; i.e., personal trials before whole-hearted acceptance. In 1940, when hybrid seed was obviously and clearly superior to open-pollinated in the eyes of any observer possessing even a small degree of rationality, a sizable portion of the operators who had not yet tried the seed, planted it then on a trial basis. In a striking way, this seems to show a demand for "conviction" based on self-experience as well as the skepticism of knowledge derived from the experiences of others. The diffusion of hybrid seed did not come as a conversion, even though in comparison with many other techniques it spread quite rapidly. It was accepted with caution by

TABLE IV PERCENTAGES OF FARMERS PLANTING 100% OF THEIR CORN ACREAGE IN HYBRID IN SPECIFIED YEARS, BY YEAR STARTED USING HYBRID* STATE

Year	Year Started														Percent of All Operators planting 100% Hybrid
	Before 1930	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	
Before															
1930	29	—													.5
1930	57	0	—												1.0
1931	57	11	0	—											1.2
1932	57	22	25	6	—										1.9
1933	71	33	25	6	7	—									2.6
1934	71	44	25	23	7	2	—								3.7
1935	71	56	75	41	7	12	5	—							6.4
1936	100	56	100	47	36	27	22	11	—						12.6
1937	100	56	100	65	57	54	32	37	9	—					22.4
1938	100	100	100	76	86	76	75	72	31	17	—				42.9
1939	100	100	100	82	86	88	82	80	65	57	30	—			63.2
1940	100	100	100	94	86	90	85	85	85	73	67	41	—		78.0
1941	100	100	100	94	86	93	92	93	94	89	86	73	71	—	89.2
1942	100	100	100	94	93	95	92	93	98	98	100	91	86	0	94.7
Never	—	—	—	6	7	5	8	7	2	2	0	9	14	100	5.3
No. of Cases	7	9	4	17	14	41	40	54	89	83	43	22	7	3	438

* In this table operators are classified by the year in which they started planting hybrid seed (reading across the page). For each of these groups there is shown what percentage planted all their acreage to hybrid in each successive year to 1942. Thus, for example, among farmers starting to plant hybrid in 1930, 44 percent were planting all their acreage in hybrid in 1934.

those most experimentally minded; i.e., those trying it first in the early years; and it was accepted with only somewhat less caution by those trying it after several years of proven superiority.

Increasing Use (Areas of the State)

Recognizing the lag in the southern part of the state, the cycle of partial adoption as well as the progression toward complete acceptance was much the same in the various type-of-farming areas.

It is evident from Table V that in each area preliminary adoption was on a trial basis. Among the earliest adopters, median percentages of corn in hybrid ranged from 15 percent in the Western Cattle Feeding Area to 31 percent in the Southern Pasture. In each area there was a general, although usually at first lagging, increase in the size of hybrid plantings as time went on. The operators in the Cash Grain Area appeared least willing to put sizeable fractions of their land in hybrid upon its initial plant-

ing. While very few southern operators tried the seed in the early years, those who did planted relatively large shares of their acreage to it. For example, the median southern farmer using hybrid first in 1936 planted more than half his corn acreage to it that initial year. This was more than twice that planted by 1936 beginners in the Dairy, Cash Grain, and Western Livestock Areas. The Eastern Livestock operators were early in trying hybrid seed and also planted relatively large fractions of their land to it from the start.

The paucity of cases accepting hybrid in each separate year probably makes for some erratic fluctuations in the data, but the caution of even the later acceptors is evident in practically every area. The relatively high acreages planted in the south tend further to dispel the idea that the retardation of this area in first acceptance was related to greater "inertia" or conservatism.

Turning to the attainment of 100 percent hybrid planting by operators

TABLE V. MEDIAN PERCENT OF ACREAGE PLANTED TO HYBRID SEED IN FIRST YEAR OF ITS ADOPTION—BY AREA.

Year Adopted	Dairy		Cash Grain		Western Livestock		Southern Pasture		Eastern Livestock	
	No of Cases	Med %	No of Cases	Med %	No of Cases	Med %	No of Cases	Med %	No of Cases	Med %
Before '34	10	17	15	18	12	15	6	31	8	20
1934	9	15	9	25	9	17	2	10	12	25
1935	12	26	19	23	5	22	0	—	2	55
1936	12	25	8	20	6	36	13	52	12	60
1937	13	32	14	20	23	18	21	44	6	30
1938	18	25	16	20	18	37	21	41	5	59
1939	3	85	8	50	6	49	17	52	7	85
1940	5	37	1	95	7	52	3	92	2	85
'41 & '42	1	95	1	95	2	90	3	65	1	95
Total Operators	83	26	91	22	88	26	86	47	55	35

TABLE VI CUMULATED PERCENTAGES OF OPERATORS REACHING 100% PLANTINGS BY AREA (1934 AND BEFORE TO 1942).

Year	Dairy	Cash Grain	W Live-stock	S Pastures	E Live-stock
'34 & before	6	7	1	0	5
1935	8	12	2	1	9
1936	16	18	10	4	16
1937	23	32	15	15	28
1938	47	58	34	26	52
1939	68	75	59	50	73
1940	83	86	68	71	84
1941	91	96	86	87	86
1942	95	99	94	96	89

in the different parts of the state, it appears that the southern area was somewhat slower than others (Table VI). However, these operators were not much behind those of the Western Livestock Area in the attainment of total plantings. The Eastern Livestock region was the most rapid of all in this as in other measures of diffusion speed. But while it is evident that the areas slowest in partial adoption were also slowest in terms of 100 percent plantings, it would scarcely be expected otherwise. (Since relatively few in these areas were planting any hybrid in the early years, we could not expect the number of operators planting all their acreage in hybrid to be great.) Accordingly, it is interesting to note the rapidity with which operators already planting hybrid came to 100 percent adoption. Thus, some further measure of resistance to increased use can be gained. Table VII indicates that the operators of the southern region were probably somewhat slower than the average in reaching 100 percent adoption. However, their lag was about equal to that of the Western Livestock farmers. Any interpretation of these lags

TABLE VII PERCENTAGES OF THOSE USING HYBRID PLANTING 100% HYBRID IN VARIOUS YEARS BY AREA (1934 AND BEFORE TO 1942)

	Dairy	Cash Grain	W Live-stock	S Pastures	E Live-stock
'34&before	26	29	5	0	15
1935	23	27	8	12	27
1936	35	33	28	20	29
1937	38	45	25	33	45
1938	58	64	44	38	73
1939	79	75	65	57	90
1940	91	86	74	76	100
1941	99	95	93	91	100
1942	--	--	--	--	100

should take into account the similar economic and climatic conditions in these areas during the period involved. No explanation involving "technical conservatism" can be applied to *both* of these areas since the western is probably the most highly mechanized in the state. Only to the extent (actually very slight) that southern Iowa lagged behind the *western* area could these data be interpreted in terms of isolation or inertia. The farmers of the Dairy and Cash Grain Areas increased their plantings to the 100 percent mark with about equal rapidity. The most rapid progress toward complete hybrid plantings was, as we might expect, in the Eastern Livestock Area. This was the only area in which all farmers planting hybrid had reached the 100 percent mark before 1941.

It is clear that throughout the diffusion process in Iowa, the eastern area was most rapid. In part this was undoubtedly due to the influence brought to bear on these farmers somewhat earlier than in some other parts of the state. In part it may reflect greater prosperity and a high

susceptibility to technical improvements, but no direct confirmation of the latter is to be found in the data. At the other extreme the southern area lagged in its first acceptance of the new seed, but probably largely, either directly or indirectly, because of the seed's unavailability. There is no evidence that farmers of this area were retarded due to excessive conservatism, and there is some indirect evidence that this was not true. In general these data have demonstrated that little importance can be attached to cultural conditions as an explanation for different rates of adoption. The state is apparently too homogeneous in its regions to indicate such influences except for short-run economic ones. On the other hand, the curve of diffusion itself must reflect considerable variation in the awareness and the conservatism of individual farm operators, and this time pattern with which hybrid was adopted, both in terms of original trial use and of increasing use by the individual operator, was much the same in the different areas. A significant exception to this lies in the eventually more rapid transition to the new seed in areas where its introduction was most retarded.

Conclusion

The phenomenal success of hybrid corn diffusion is in no small part a tribute to the combined efforts of commercial and educational organizations. But on the strength of the data in this study, it might be noted that hybrid seed corn has one character-

istic setting it apart from many other economic farm practices or techniques for which diffusion has been far less rapid. Hybrid seed is infinitely divisible. The potential acceptor can, if he wishes, and most did, try out the new technique on a very small scale. No operator must make an economically *serious* decision if he would try a new type of seed. If the "trial run" process is as important to farmers as it would appear from these data, then the possibility of practical, personal "experimentation" with a new technique offers it more favorable prognosis of rapid spread. Never in the diffusion of the seed was a speculative or dramatic decision demanded of the farmer. The power of direct personal experience is surely great and even for most conservative operators this was possible without much risk. Hybrid seed corn spread rapidly because of its outright superiority and its intelligent and energetic promotion, but other techniques have had great economic potentials and strong promotion and have been less rapidly accepted. Hybrid seed offered a peculiar adaptation to the psychological requirements of potential users.

The trend toward hybrid was not a long period of steady growth. Rather, after some years of tentative practical experimentation by relatively few operators, the seed swept the state in a tidal-wave fashion. This observation directly substantiates and extends the results of the earlier study. The rapidity and completeness of this sweep probably has few parallels, if any, in the field of agricultural technology,

where diffusion depends upon acceptance by thousands of individuals in varying degrees of contact with informational channels and with varying degrees of rationality, ability, and enterprise.

A Scale for the Measurement of Social Participation Of Rural Households

By Donald G. Hay†

ABSTRACT

While sociometric scales have been constructed and at least one partially standardized for the measurement of formal organization participation, there has been a demand for a scale which would also measure informal group participation. The scale here reported is an attempt to measure the extent of both formal and informal group participation of rural households. Data obtained in a central New York dairy community and in a general farming area in northern Pennsylvania were used as a basis for construction and partial standardization of the scale. Validity and reliability tests proved satisfactory. Further work on the scale includes standardization tests in other areas and the possible revision of the scale including possibilities for reducing the number of items.

Although social participation has long been recognized as a principal core of sociology, the measures used to determine the extent of participation have varied widely. Membership, attendance, and other types of contacts in formal and informal groups have been used either as single indices of participation or occasionally as a composite measure. The primary purpose of the study here reported was to set up a social participation scale, and partially standardize it, which may serve as a tool in determining the extent of social participation of families or households.

For purposes of the study, social participation was defined as the voluntary sharing in person-to-group and group-to-group relationships beyond

the immediate household. Social participation was interpreted as including both formal and informal group activities. The tentative principle given by Chapin was a basic orientation: "A rough measure of the volume of social stimuli may be had by counting the number of different activities an individual participates in (within a unit of time) with supplementary facts on the number of executive positions held within range of these activities."¹

The number of different group (formal and informal) activities in which individuals had shared during the previous year was used as the basic measure of social participation.

¹ F. S. Chapin, "Measuring the Volume of Social Stimuli: a Study in Social Psychology," *Social Forces*, IV. (March, 1926), 479-495.

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

A review of reports previously published indicated that scales had been developed and that one had been partially standardized for use in measuring formal organization participation. However, no evidence was found of a scale constructed to measure both formal and informal group participation.

As a measure of participation in formal group activities, the Chapin Social Participation Scale has shown satisfactory results, therefore, this scale was used for the formal group section of the schedule. A list of informal group activities was developed from an examination of reports of previous studies, supplemented with other activities suggested by several rural sociologists and by leaders of rural organizations. The formal and informal group items were then combined in the experimental schedule.

The schedule was first tested in a central New York State dairy area. Data were obtained by personal interview for 138 open-country households, selected by random sampling, in the Holland Patent-Barneveld community of Oneida County, New York.² Information as to social participation during the previous year was obtained for all persons 10 years of age and over in these households. This focused the

coverage on those persons assumed to participate on a voluntary basis in formal and informal group activities.

Weighting the Types of Participation

Weightings of the different types of participation were provided by judgment ratings by 25 leaders of rural organizations in Oneida County. A majority favored the following order from lowest to highest ranking: (1) membership, (2) attendance, (3) contributions, (4) committee membership, and (5) holding an office. Chapin obtained this same ranking from about 40 executives in social agencies of the Twin Cities.³ This order was then used in assigning arbitrary weights from one to five to the above types of participation in formal groups.

The 25 leaders were also asked to rank types of participation in informal group activities. A clear majority gave the following order from lowest to highest ranking: (1) attending informal group activities and (2) taking part (an active part such as playing baseball, etc.) in informal group activities. Arbitrary weights of "one" and "two" were then assigned to these sharings in athletic events, card games, dances, drama, fairs, group picnics, group parties, group suppers-dinners, movies, and pool-billiards-bowling.

The same organization leaders ranked number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made and number of families regular-

² A community in New York State was selected primarily to check findings with the several social participation studies made by W. A. Anderson of Cornell University. For analysis of the relationship of selected factors and social participation of the 138 households see D. G. Havens, *Measurement of the Social Participation of Rural Households in a Central New York Dairy Community*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, June, 1947.

³ F. S. Chapin "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, IV, (April, 1939), 157-168.

ly visited in order of the importance they held as informal contacts with other persons or groups. A clear majority gave the following order from lowest to highest ranking: (1) number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made and (2) number of families regularly visited. Weights of "one" and "two" were then assigned respectively to these types of informal contact.

The sum of the scores of the members of the household 10 years of age and over for both formal and informal group participations, divided by the number of persons 10 years of age and over in the household, was used as the total social participation score of that household. The number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made and the number of families regularly visited were scored on a household basis.

Selection of Items for the Scale

Selection of items from the experimental schedule for the social participation scale involved analysis of items by three general approaches: (1) examination of the ideational content and cultural distribution; (2) testing of the relationship of some scale items with identifiable groups; and (3) determination of the differentiating capacity of items.

Examination of ideational content was made on the assumption that an attempt to give logical reasons for including or excluding items is a step toward explicit formulation which can be more readily checked by the considered judgment of other workers.

Ideational content and cultural distribution was considered for these items: (1) number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made, (2) number of families regularly visited, (3) number of families with whom work was regularly exchanged, (4) number of families with whom equipment was regularly exchanged, and (5) pool-billiards-bowling.

The other social participation items shown in Table II have given empirical evidence that they are forms of social participation. Sharing in formal organizations has been widely used as a measure of social participation. Attendance and/or overt activity in athletic events, card games, dances, drama, fairs, group picnics, group suppers, and group parties have been used satisfactorily as measures of informal social participation.⁴

The number of villages and cities regularly contacted appears to have meaning as a measure of social interaction of households. The term "regularly" was defined as meaning once or more a year. In practically all cases, "regular" trading trips were made

⁴ Illustrative studies including informal activities are: C. A. Anderson, and Bryce Ryan, "Social Participation Differences Among Tenure Classes in a Prosperous Commercialized Farming Area," *Rural Sociology*, VIII, (1943), 281-290.

J. I. Hypes, *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town*, Contrib. to Education, No. 258, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

C. E. Lively, *Rural Recreation in Two Ohio Counties*, Ohio State University Graduate School Series No. 1, 1927.

A. R. Mangus and H. R. Cottam, *Level of Living, Social Participation and Adjustment of Ohio Farm People*, Ohio AES Bulletin 624, 1941.

once or more a month to the indicated villages and cities. But even though a trip is made regularly only once a year to a village or city, it probably provides significant social relationships. The number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made was selected as the item to be used rather than the number of trips made because logically it agreed with the indicated basic measure of social participation used in the study: the number of different group activities in which individuals shared during the previous year.

The incidence of family visiting or the number of family visits within a unit of time has been used as a measure of informal social participation. In the present study, the number of different families regularly visited was selected as the item for the same reasons that are given for use of the number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made.

An indication of the cultural distribution of family visiting in rural areas is provided in a series of studies of contemporary rural communities.⁵ These six communities were selected to represent a range from relatively

stable to relatively unstable rural communities; they were chosen from varying cultural situations and because of the uniform study procedures employed they make useful bases from which to check partially the distribution of some participation items. Family visiting was particularly significant in the rather unique cultural situations represented by Lancaster County, Pa. and El Cerrito, New Mexico. The other four communities generally reported that family visiting was less frequent than in former years but that it was still important as an avenue of social interaction.

Exchange of work and exchange of equipment are considered together as to their ideational content and cultural distribution. These informal group activities are usually considered primarily as economic undertakings rather than sociological, although group relationships are involved.

The "bee" arrangement of earlier times, when the women also got together during the exchange work and when there was opportunity for considerable visiting among both men and women, has apparently declined. The more specialized jobs characteristic of modern farming often limit informal contacts between exchange workers. Relatively less social interaction apparently is involved in exchange of equipment than of work. When trading of equipment is not coincidental with exchange work, the contacts characteristically are limited to the making of the arrangements.

The series of reports on contemporary communities indicated rela-

⁵ Culture of Contemporary Rural Community studies: O. Leonard, and C. P. Loomis, *El Cerrito, N. Mex.*, Rural Life Studies No. 1, 1942; E. H. Bell, *Sublette, (Haskell Co.), Kansas*, Rural Life Studies No. 2, 1942; K. MacLeish, and K. Young, *Landaff, N. Hamp.*, Rural Life Studies No. 3, 1942; W. M. Kollmorgen, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster Co., Pa.*, Rural Life Studies No. 4, 1942; E. O. Moe, and C. C. Taylor, *Iruin (Shelly Co.), Iowa*, Rural Life Studies No. 5, 1942; W. Wynne, *Harmony, Ga.*, Rural Life Studies No. 6, 1943; Bur. Agr. Economics, U. S. Dept. Agric., *Washington D. C.*

tively little use of exchange labor and exchange equipment except in Lancaster County and El Cerrito and, as already stated, these areas are unique among rural communities. The trend toward fewer exchanges in the communities studied was reported, particularly the decline in the "bee" type of group arrangement.

Pool, billiards, and bowling may mean contacts between two or among several individuals. It would appear that other than person-to-group relationships are involved, particularly for farm people. Men may go to the local pool hall or bowling alley for a short period of recreation as they have opportunity while they are in a village or city on a trading trip. This appears to be more usual than participation in these activities by many individuals from rural households on a group basis, such as the bowling tournament. The latter is probably more significant for nonrural persons. Only 5 of the 138 households in the current study reported any participation in pool, billiards, or bowling.

The reports of contemporary communities stated that these activities were relatively insignificant informal functions for rural people in two of the communities (Shelby, Iowa and Haskell County, Kansas) and were not cited in the other four community reports.

The number of different group (formal and informal) affiliations of the 138 households was used as a criterion of identifiable groups to check the validity of the items just

discussed, except pool-billiards-bowling, as measures of social participation.

TABLE I. CORRELATION OF NUMBER OF DIFFERENT GROUP AFFILIATIONS WITH SOME ITEMS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION FOR 138 HOUSEHOLDS

Social Participation Items	Correlation with Number of Different Group Affiliations (Pearsonian r)
Number of villages-cities to which trade trips were made regularly	+ .41
Number of families visited regularly	+ .52
Number of families exchanging work	+ .42
Number of families exchanging equipment	+ .27

Table I shows that the correlations were positive and relatively low for all the items. However, there may be a fair degree of association between number of different group affiliations and number of villages and cities to which trade trips were regularly made, number of families regularly visited, and number of families exchanging work.

In developing a scale of social participation, it is desirable to identify those items which do not have great discriminative value. Items which have the greatest discriminating power contribute most to the dispersion of the total scores, therefore, they enhance the reliability of the scale in showing differences between low and high participants in group activities. The criterion of internal consistency is often used to select the more discriminative items. As indicated by Sletto, "it is essentially the use of total score on all items of a

TABLE II. CALCULATION OF DISCRIMINATIVE VALUE OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION ITEMS BY COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORE OF LOW AND HIGH QUANTILES OF DISTRIBUTION OF 138 SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS.

Social Participation Item	Mean Score of Items		Difference Between Quartile Mean Scores	Critical Ratio of Differences Between Quartile Mean Scores
	Low Quartile	High Quartile		
Farm Organizations	1.0	6.4	5.4	7.0
Church Organizations	2.6	7.5	4.9	8.1
Number of families regularly visited	2.9	7.3	4.4	5.0
Dances	.4	2.7	2.3	5.5
Educational Organizations	.1	2.1	2.0	4.8
Fraternal Organizations	.1	1.8	1.7	3.5
Number of families with whom work was regularly exchanged	.3	1.9	1.6	4.2
Athletic Events	1	1.6	1.5	3.8
Group picnics	.4	1.8	1.4	4.2
Civic-patriotic organizations	.1	1.4	1.3	4.1
Group suppers	.4	1.7	1.3	3.4
Fairs	.9	2.1	1.2	3.1
Card Games	.3	1.4	1.1	3.6
Drama	.04	1.1	1.1	4.2
Youth organizations	.01	1.0	1.0	2.7
Movies	1.3	2.2	.9	3.3
Group parties	.0	.8	.8	2.7
Number of villages-cities to which trips were regularly made	2.7	3.3	.6	2.4
Number of families with whom equipment was regularly exchanged	.2	.8	.6	3.3
Pool-billiards-bowling	1	.01	.1	1.3

scale to evaluate each individual item."⁶

The criterion of internal consistency was used with the lowest and highest quartiles of the distribution. Total social participation scores were first computed for each of the 138 schedules. These scores were then arrayed from lowest to highest. The array was then divided into approximately equal quarters, with the 35 cases having the lowest total scores in the lowest quartile, the 35 next highest in the second, the 33 next highest in the third, and the 35 highest in the fourth quartile.

The score for each of the social participation items listed in Table II was then separately computed for each of the households in the two extreme quartiles as to total scores. The mean score of each item for all households in each extreme quartile was then computed. These mean scores of each item in the low and high quartiles are shown in the first and second columns of Table II. The difference between these quartile mean scores is the discriminative value of each item. Items are listed in Table II according to their discriminative value. Pool-billiards-bowling was the sole item in which the lowest quartile exceeded the highest quartile. It will be recalled that only five households

⁶ R. F. Sletto "A Critical Study of the Criterion of Internal Consistency in Personality Scale Construction," *American Sociological Review*, I, (1936), 61

reported this activity, which made the representation for this item inadequate. The items yielded an average discriminative value of 1.75.

The critical ratio for each difference (ratio of a difference to its standard error) was computed to ascertain the statistical significance of the differences between mean scores of the extreme quartiles. The last column of Table II shows that the critical ratios ranged from 1.3 to 8.1. Excluding pool-billiards-bowling, as the number of cases for this item was inadequate, all of the other items had a critical ratio of 2.4 and over. With a critical ratio of 2.0, the chances are 21.0 to 1 that the indicated difference in mean scores is a true difference. This indicated that all of the items, excluding pool-billiards-bowling, yielded statistically significant discriminative values.

Three of the twenty items used in the experimental schedule were dropped as a result of the item analysis. These were: pool-billiards-bowling, number of families with whom work is regularly exchanged, and number of families with whom equipment is regularly exchanged.

Pool-billiards-bowling was dropped because its low incidence in this and other studies suggests that this item is relatively rare as a rural group activity. The items of exchange labor and exchange of equipment were dropped because of their ideational weaknesses as group activities and also on account of their relatively low validity when checked against number of different group affiliations.

The social participation scale as

developed was set up as follows. In addition to the information on household composition and distances involved in trade trips and family visits, data were obtained for other factors which were assumed to be related to social participation. These factors included size of farm, mobility of household, and socio-economic status.

The scale was tested for validity and reliability in the Holland Patent-Barnesville community and in a sample of 100 rural households in Bradford County, Pennsylvania.

Validity of the Scale

As the validity of a scale depends on the relationship of scores with accepted criteria of validation, the following tests of validity were used: (1) relationship of scale scores with identifiable groups, (2) relationship with identifiable behavior, and (3) relationship with another scale which has demonstrated ability to measure the phenomenon for which the present scale is designed.

Identifiable groupings of the sample households were based on (1) socio-economic status scores and (2) number of different group affiliations per household. Coefficients of correlation between participation scores and households identified as to socio-economic status were + .58 and + .49 respectively for Holland Patent-Barnesville community and Bradford County. This is not as high correlation as was obtained by Chapin (r was + .62)⁷

— F. S. Chapin, "The Measurement of Sociality and Socio-Economic Status," *Social and Social Research*, XII, (1927-28), 208-217.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION SCALE

1 Name of family head

2 Residence farm Schedule No
village

3 Household Composition

Name of Household Member	Age	Last Year School Completed	Present Occupation	
			Full-time	Part-time
Head				
Wife				
Children				
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
Others				
1				
2				
3				
4				

4	Villages and cities to which trips are made regularly (score 1 per village-city)	
	Name of usual village or city	Distance
	Names of other villages or cities	Distance
		Distance
		Distance

[illegible]

6 Informal Group Activities for household members 10 years of age and over. Enter information for children and 'others' in same order as they are listed in item 2. Use a cross (x) for indicating if an individual "attends" or "takes part" in each activity. (Score 1 per attendance and 2 for each taking part.)

[illegible]

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[illegible]

for his scale of formal organization participation with socio-economic status. The hypothesis is offered that a scale which measures both formal and informal social participation will have a lower correlation with socio-economic status than will a scale which measures formal participation, as many of the households of lower socio-economic status apparently obtain a large share of their group activities in informal groupings, including attendance at movies. The relationship between participation scores and number of group affiliations was used as a test of validity of the scale. The coefficients of correlation were $+ .81$ and $+ .80$, respectively, for the two samples of rural households.

The average number of meetings attended in a unit of time was used as an identifiable behavior criterion in checking with participation scores for the New York community. A correlation coefficient of $+ .63$ was shown.

The scale scores were correlated with the scores of the Chapin Social Participation Scale and indicated coefficients of $+ .92$ and $+ .91$, respectively, for the New York State community and the 100 rural households in Bradford County.

The scale therefore met all of these validity tests satisfactorily and indicated its ability as an instrument for measuring social participation.

Reliability of the Scale

Tests of reliability are directed toward determining whether the scale

is capable of yielding consistent scores in repeated tests. In the central New York community, the scores for the odd and even numbered participation items of the same households were correlated. The coefficient was $+ .89$. Another test of reliability was used in the sample of rural households in Bradford County. Paired siblings furnished information for the participation of their parental households (45 cases) and their respective scores were then correlated. The correlation coefficient for this test was $+ .94$. These two tests indicate relatively high reliability of the scale in terms of the usual standards.

Problems for Further Research

Analysis and study are needed for several problems in connection with the social participation scale. The validity and reliability need to be further tested both in similar cultural areas and in other areas. There is need for further examination of scale items, including opportunities for reducing the number of items. The phenomenon being measured, social participation, needs more rigorous examination and definition of its basic components. After the scale has been satisfactorily standardized, it will be useful to determine norms of the extent of social participation for different family groups such as farm, part-time farm, and village families; 'newcomer' families and long-time resident families; and other groups.

Factors Affecting Teacher Tenure in the Appalachian Highlands

By Wayne T. Gray†

ABSTRACT

Teacher tenure in the schools of Knox County is short as shown by a ten year study, varying from a minimum of a few weeks to a maximum of thirteen years and averaging 1.73 years.

Important factors affecting tenure were the isolated location of many one-room schools, the high pupil-teacher ratio, lack of books and equipment, low salaries, short school terms, and provincial viewpoint of local school officials.

Improved tenure may be secured by more highly trained teachers, paid more adequate salaries, achieved through a state equalization school fund; the development of a stronger esprit de corps among teachers; and a more socially minded group of teachers. The consolidation of a number of schools during the thirties and salary increases made effective during the war years, will tend to attract teachers with professional standards and lengthen teacher tenure in the schools of this area.

Knox County, in which the study serving as the basis of this paper was made, lies in the southeastern part of Kentucky, just north of historical Cumberland Gap, and near the points

where Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky join. (See Fig. 1.) The topography is rough and broken, and although now largely consisting of cut-over land and subsistence farms, it was once covered with a magnificent

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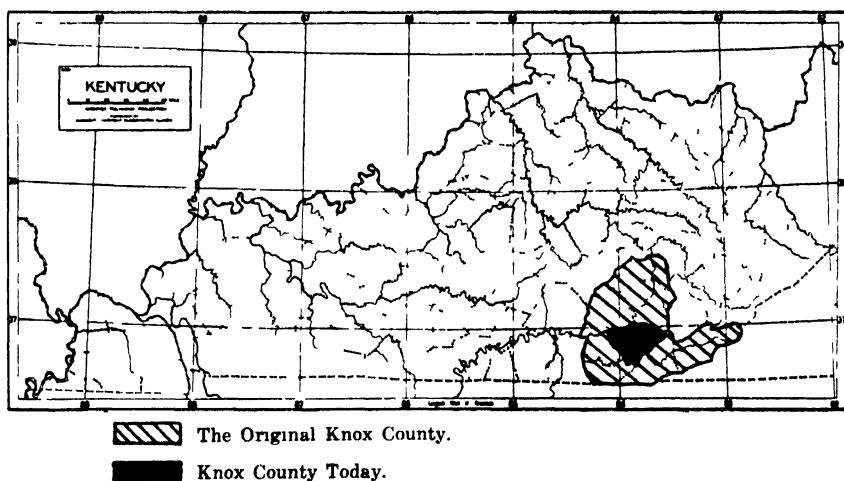


Figure 1. Location of Area Studied.

growth of timber. In the pioneer period a trail, known as the "Buffalo Road" or "Warrior's Path," led northwest from Cumberland Gap through the forest, across what is now Knox County. Over this trail Daniel Boone entered Kentucky in 1769; and over it also, many of the first settlers came into Kentucky and the Ohio Valley. Thus, this part of Kentucky was settled at an early date and Knox County became a political subdivision in 1799, just seven years after the larger territory had attained statehood. The original territory included in Knox County was much larger than at present, having since been divided among six counties. The city of Barbourville was laid out in 1801 as the county seat of Knox County and became the oldest town in that part of the State.

The settlement and development of southeastern Kentucky is attested to by the Census of 1810, which indicated a population of 69 for the inland metropolis of Barbourville. This probably does not indicate the true importance of this town during the early years of the 19th century, for the traffic over the "Wilderness Road" extending north from Cumberland Gap, was quite heavy. More than a half million head of farm livestock were ferried over the Cumberland River in 1827, indicating the volume of traffic passing through this County. The road through Cumberland Gap was the main thoroughfare connecting the eastern seaboard with the lands west of the Mountains until 1834, when steamboat facilities on the Ohio River, combined with canal

and railroad connections between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, made that the easier and, hence, the more popular route to the West. Between the above date and 1888, when the Louisville and Nashville Railroad was built into eastern Kentucky, the eastern mountain section was very much isolated.

The first record of a school being established in Knox County was in 1805, when land was set aside from the public domain for the purpose of establishing a school. The first effort at organizing education came in 1825, when the Knox County Court created seven school districts and appointed seven trustees to operate the school system in the county. It appears that the schools thus established were comparable to the schools in other pioneer regions of the country, and were satisfactory to a majority of the people for at least half a century. The progress made elsewhere seems to have been infectious, however, for in 1879, a group of citizens of Barbourville organized a private "tuition school" for the purpose of giving more training than was offered in the public schools of the area. This school was first called Union Academy and later on, upon the addition of college work, was renamed Union College. This institution, now a four year senior college, is still serving the educational needs of the people of eastern Kentucky.

The public schools of Knox County operated under the trustee system, with some modifications until 1884. In that year the office of County

Superintendent was created with the responsibility of discharging the duties of the former county school commissioners. The next reorganization of the school system came in 1908 when the county superintendent was invested with some authority, for example, as stated in the County Archives, —“to lay off, consolidate, or abolish school districts; condemn unfit school houses; visit each school once a year; make a complete report of the work done in the schools; and check up on the school trustees.” The first public high school was organized at Barbourville in 1908. The high school subjects were taught by two teachers from Union Academy, the main building of which had burned in 1907 and had not yet been rebuilt. Thus high school subjects which had been available only in a “tuition school” now became accessible to the town students of Barbourville in a “free school.”

In 1920 the county superintendent became executive officer and secretary of the county board of education, although trustees still continued to exercise much authority over the selection of the teacher and the payment of salaries. The final reorganization of the public school system—to date—came in 1936-1937, when the county superintendent was made executive officer of the school system in the County and the administration of these schools was taken out of the hands of local trustees and put in the hands of the county superintendent and a coun-

ty board of education composed of seven members.

This reorganization of the school system was made possible by three important developments. The first was the grading and paving of the mountain portion of the highway between Cincinnati, Ohio and Knoxville, Tennessee. After this all-weather road was completed, people had access by car to the larger cultural centers. This brought both cultural and educational stimulus to this area which was formerly isolated. A second influence was the depression of 1932-1935, which brought with it the W.P.A. and the necessity of putting people to work. One of the projects formulated to utilize this labor was the replacing of some of the older and more dilapidated frame school houses with stone structures built by relief labor. Better buildings stimulated people to want better schools, and thus the people were willing to cooperate—statically at least—when the movement to improve the schools was launched. The third factor was the leadership given by the faculty and alumnae of Union College. After this leaven had worked for a period, the reorganization of the public school system was brought about.

Knox County contains 373 square miles of territory and in 1936 had a population of about 29,000. Prior to 1936 there were 69 one-room rural schools, 18 two-room schools, and 9 schools with more than two rooms in the county. Only three of these gave any high school work, and one of them was the Barbourville Public

School. In the reorganization of 1936-1937 the one-room rural schools were reduced to 52, the two-room schools remained at 18, and 7 consolidated schools were organized. In addition there were two independent schools, one at Barbourville and one at Artemus, a neighboring village.

A senior high school was established at Barbourville, which is located near the center of the county, to which the majority of senior high school students are brought by means of busses. Five consolidated schools containing junior high school departments serve the graduates from most of the one and two-room public schools. When these students are ready to attend senior high, they are brought to the central high school. There is one consolidated high school near the west end of the County which offers all twelve grades of work. This school offers high school work for the graduates from the one and two-room schools in that part of the County as it is separated from the remainder by a ridge of hills which is crossed by few roads. The administration of all the county schools was placed in the hands of a county superintendent of public instruction who hires all the teachers, checks their certification, allocates them to their schools, issues pay vouchers, and keeps the records turned in by each teacher at the end of each month of school.

It was after having participated in the reorganization of the school system in Knox County, that the writer became interested in the problem

of teacher tenure in the public schools of the County. Many of the teachers had been in classes at Union College, and thus a contact had been made which was of assistance in studying the school situation. The study was set up in the spring of 1938. At that time it was decided to attempt to secure data back as far as 1930, and then to carry the data on to cover a ten year period. Later on, the study was extended until it includes a period of 15 years between 1931 and 1946.

Methodology

The method of study used was a composite of the statistical case study and participant observer techniques. The first approach was to contact the county superintendent's office and secure lists of the teachers for the various schools in the county. Such lists, except for the two years prior to 1937, were found to be non-existent. The next move was to contact each of the county teachers and request him to make a list of his predecessors back as far as 1930, for the school where he was teaching. Where the teachers failed to secure complete lists, other methods were tried to secure the teachers' names for those years, such as visits to the districts, and interviews with the last teacher known to have taught in such districts. After all of these methods had been tried, there were still some vacancies in the record. At times it appeared that two teachers served a one-room school for a given year. In some instances the enrollment was found to be so large that two teachers

taught in the same room. At other times each teacher had taught only part of the term. In a few instances a mistake in identity seemed to have been made. After 1938, the record is quite complete as data were added year by year, although the shifts during the years 1942 to 1945 were so numerous as to preclude absolute accuracy in the record.

In addition to the collecting of statistical data, a number of the schools were visited and served as case studies supplying valuable information. A number of students in the course in Rural Sociology assisted in these visits. Mr. Ralph York, a pre-ministerial student, performed the most valuable service along that line, visiting and writing up case studies on several schools.

Finally, the participant observer function was filled by the writer who spent 15 years as professor of sociology at Union College. During that time he had in class more than 40 percent of the teachers who taught in the County. Besides teaching, he roamed over the hills, hunted in the woods, and fished in the Cumberland River with his students, visited in their homes, and became familiar with their background and life.

Study Data

The materials upon which this report is based include 52 one-room rural schools and 18 two-room rural schools over a period of 15 years from 1931-1946, and 7 consolidated schools over a period of 9 years from 1937-1946. The teacher tenure record in-

cludes 85.4 percent of the teacher terms taught in the one-room schools and 80 percent of the teacher terms taught in the consolidated schools. The word "teacher term" is used so that the teaching units may be easily compared. A teacher term in a one-room school means one school term. In a two-room school where two teachers were employed, two teacher terms would be taught in one year. For the consolidated schools the number of teacher terms would be the number of teachers regularly employed for the year. If for any reason one teacher employed for the regular school term was unable to complete the term her place was taken by another teacher, then both together would complete one teacher term.

During the period under study, 449 different teachers were employed in the 52 one-room schools, making an average tenure of 1.47 years per teacher. Serving the two-room schools we find 297 teachers whose average tenure was 1.44 years. The consolidated schools had a little longer record of tenure when we find 400 teachers employed over 9 years with an average of 1.9 years in the same school. If the replacements due to the War were deducted, the tenure would be raised to 2.3 years per teacher. These data are presented in Table I.

The length of time individual teachers served in one school ranged from a few weeks to 13 years. One teacher taught in the same one-room county school for 13 years, 11 of which were consecutive. Three others taught in the same two-room school for eleven

TABLE I. TEACHER TENURE BY SCHOOLS

Items	One-Room Schools	Two-Room Schools	Consolidated Schools
Number of schools.	52	18	7
Number of years covered by study.	15	15	9
Total number of "teacher terms."	780	540	759
"Teacher terms" accounted for.	646	430	759
Percent of terms accounted for.	85.4	80.0	100.0
Number of teachers included in study.	449	297	400
			(330) *
Average tenure of teachers studied, yrs.	1.47	1.44	1.0
			(2.3) *

* Number and average without direct effect of the War.

years. The tenure record for individual teachers in relation to any one school thins out very rapidly after four years. Only 3.4 percent of the teachers in the one-room schools, 2.7 percent in the two-room schools and 6.0 percent in the consolidated schools taught more than four years in the same school. On the other hand 71.8 percent, 74.0 percent, and 48.3 percent of the teachers in the one-room, two-room, and consolidated schools respectively taught one year or less in the same school. Eight years was the longest period of service in any of the consolidated schools, three teachers having remained in the same school for that length of time. Detailed data for teacher tenure years are tabulated in Table II.

This picture may not be as distressing as it seems, for a number of the teachers who taught in a school for a relatively short period had a long period of service in the schools of the County or the area. While there is a difference between people who use teaching as a stop-gap job between school and profession or as a stepping stone to get an education for some other type of work, and

those who make teaching their life work, yet longer tenure for all teachers can have important values, even in the one-room rural school. It would seem desirable for teachers to remain in the same school and in contact with the same children for three or four years at least, if they are to do the best work in guiding the child's total development.

Causes of Short Tenure

The causes of short tenure, as found in this study, may be listed under four main heads. These are (1) physical causes, (2) personal causes,

TABLE II. TEACHER TENURE BY YEARS.

Length of Tenure	One-Room Schools	Two-Room Schools	Consolidated Schools
Less than 1 year	47	30	67*
1 year	275	192	126
2 years	79	46	97
3 years	22	10	46
4 years	11	11	37
5 years	7	1	15
6 years	3	1	9
7 years	2	3	0
8 years	0	0	3
9 years	1	0	
10 years	1	0	
11 years	0	3	
12 years	0	0	
13 years	1	0	

* Came largely during years 1942-1945.

(3) social causes, and (4) special causes.

The physical causes contributing to short tenure in many of the schools of Knox County are the roughness of the topography, the lack of good roads, and the limited economic opportunities for the rural people in the County. The broken topography makes the construction of roads an expensive and difficult task. Many

roads are unimproved trails, difficult to travel in summer and impassable in the winter season except by mule or wagon. Roads and trails follow the creek bottom, and thus each creek forms a separate community with the schools situated at neighborhood centers three or four miles apart along the creek valleys. Only one paved road passes through the County. This is from northwest to southeast, as

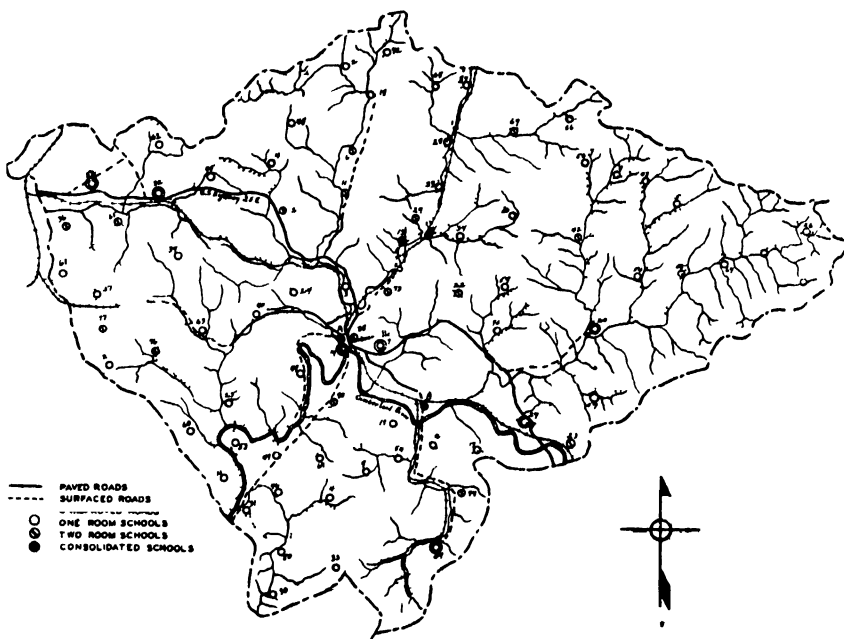


Figure 2. Location of Schools in Knox County, Kentucky.

One-room schools 1 Alex, 2 Arat, 4 Baker, 5 Bargo, 8 Broughton, 9 Upper Brush, 10 Calleb, 15 Clate, 16 Lower Coal Port, 17 Upper Coal Port, 18 Crane, 19 Davis Bend, 21 Dowis, 24 Emanuel, 25 Fngle, 26 Erose, 28 Fount, 30 Golden, 31 Goodin, 33 Green Road, 34 Green Grove, 35 Harps, 37 Haven, 39 Helton, 40 Paint Hill, 41 Hubbs, 43 Jeffs, 45 Kech, 46 Ketchen, 47 King, 48 Knox Fork, 49 Lake, 50 Lay, 51 Liberty, 53 Mackey, 54 Macroe, 55 Messer, 56 Mills, 57 Moore, 58 Myrick, 59 Paynes, 60 Permon, 61 Piney, 62 Poplar, 63 Reese, 64 Shady, 65

Springs, 68 Sprule, 69 Stoney, 70 Taylor, 71 Tedders, 75 Turkey

Two-room schools 3 Baileys, 6 Bethel, 11 Callihan, 12 Campbell, 18 Cannon, 22 Dozier, 23 Elys, 29 Girdler, 36 Hart, 38 Heidrick, 42 Jackson, 65 Siler, 67 Spruce, 70 Swan Pond, 78 Trace, 74 Trospen, 76 Wells, 77 Wilton

Consolidated schools 7 Boone, 14 Central, 20. DeWitt, 27 Flat Lick, 32 Grays, 44 Kay Jay, 52 Lynn Camp

may be seen from Fig. 2. During the past ten years other roads have been improved, but as yet the majority of the roads have no surfacing so that they must be classified as dirt roads. The large proportion of unimproved roads, and the distance of many school houses from the main highway compels the teachers serving schools in the outlying sections to remain in the district for weeks at a time without being able to get home, if they live outside of the district. Mail service does not reach each door but is sent to 38 postoffices, to which the people go to get their mail. It is little wonder, then, that the teachers serving the isolated districts change for schools in a more favorable location, as soon as possible. Before the schools were organized on a county basis many of the isolated districts paid less salary than those more favorably located, although since 1938, the remuneration has been the same, for equal training and experience.

Few of the roads which follow up the creeks are connected at the heads of the valleys, and therefore, association between creeks is limited during the winter months, and a high degree of consolidation is impossible.

Furthermore, the low economic income, both for the mountain people living from the land, and for ordinary work, prevents many people from owning cars, or the raising of much revenue to improve the roads. The main road through the county is a federal highway, while most of the other improved roads are state highways. The few miles of improved

county roads have been placed in strategic locations from the standpoint of use, and the votes which they would bring current politicians. About one-half of the schools are relatively well located in regard to the road system, while the other one-half are poorly situated.

Two years ago this past October, the writer went with the County Agent to visit a school in the northern part of the County. This school was seventeen miles from the county seat. For six miles the highway was surfaced with crushed limestone, it was graded and drained for the next six, and then for the last five miles we traveled over a wagon road which crossed the creek ten times. In places the mud was hub deep, although the winter rains had not yet begun. It seemed that we were going to get stuck a number of times, but the driver knew the road and pushed on through. He said that would be his last trip there that year. His reason for making that trip was to award some prizes to members of the 4-H club in the district which was having a meeting at the close of school that day.

Although there were two rooms in the building and 57 children were present, the school had only one teacher, and she was a lady who resided in the district. While the teacher was not highly trained and was teaching on an emergency certificate, she was doing a mighty fine job of teaching those 57 children, and she was giving them much leadership training outside of the formal classroom hours.

This lady had been prevailed upon to take the school after the county officials—in a war year—could get no one else to take such a large school in an isolated community.

There are a number of distinct personal influences which cause teachers to move from school to school. The first to be mentioned is closely associated with one already discussed. Being unable to get out of the community easily the teacher feels too much confined and becomes dissatisfied with the location of the school. This one factor frequently makes her dissatisfied with her work and with the neighborhood in general; hence the next year she either seeks a different school or another type of work.

A second personal factor is the attitude of the community toward the teacher, and of the teacher toward the people of the community. If the teacher dresses a little too well, the families of the community tend to consider her stuck up. They say that she feels too good for them, or that she puts on airs. If the community attitude compels her to change her mode of dress and deportment too radically, the teacher feels that she cannot live her own life, both of which influence the teacher to think of moving.

A third personal factor is lack of training and experience. The inexperienced teacher, with a minimum of training, is frequently placed in the more isolated or more difficult school. If she objects, she is told that the older teachers deserve the more desirable locations due to their senior-

ity. Thus she develops the attitude that she has one of the least desirable schools, and as soon as she obtains some experience, or some influence with the officials, she will insist on having a school which she considers to be more favorably located.

A final personal cause of change is that many teachers are teaching either because it is the only job available at the time, or it is a steppingstone to some other type of work. The writer has had many students in class who dropped out of college a year or two to teach for the purpose of recuperating their finances, so they could complete their college education. Some taught the regular 7 month term and completed the last two years of their college course by taking the last half of the spring semester and one or two summer terms each year. Others took extension work and completed their education during the summer. All of these factors militate against long terms in one school, as all of these teachers want schools as favorably located to educational facilities as possible.

The third group of factors causing short terms may be designated as social. An important factor in this group is the low requirements for the certification of teachers. In the 20's no college training was required for teaching in country schools. By 1930, 16 hours or one semester of college work was the minimum. This was raised to 64 hours by 1938. This gain in certification was largely lost in practical effect during the War, by the issuing of a large number

of emergency certificates. This and the comparatively low wages paid teachers in that area make it difficult to get teachers if the former 64 hour requirement is rigidly applied.

In some districts, nepotism has frequently been an important factor in deciding who would obtain the teaching position. School trustees favored relatives and friends when selecting teachers, whether or not these were the best qualified applicants for the position. Then again, until recently the attitude has been widespread that the young unmarried women should be given jobs. Hence the young woman, just out of school, was hired, rather than the older teacher with years of successful experience. Also, before the organization of the school system in Knox County on a county wide basis, teaching jobs were frequently bought and sold. The writer knows of teachers who paid the equivalent of one month's salary to have a school to teach. How could the school trustees get away with this, you ask? Merely by arranging so the teacher would board and room with one of the trustees, where the rate charged for board and room would be much higher than similar accommodations could be secured elsewhere.

Demands made by the leaders of the community upon the school teacher for leadership in the local church and other neighborhood movements cause some teachers to move on at the end of the year. The low wages paid in relation to other jobs, and the lack of books and equipment, which the teacher must frequently purchase if

she is to have them to use, cause many to change schools or go into some other occupation or profession as soon as possible. One teacher told the interviewer that when she went into one school, she had only six books for 46 scholars, and that she spent the equivalent of one month's salary for books and supplies during the winter. Some of the parents could not purchase books and others would not, so the teacher was compelled to furnish supplies or do without them.

Finally, the fluctuation in the number of children in some communities, either because of the small mines which operate only part of the time, or because of population changes—23 percent of the population of Knox County left between 1940 and 1945—caused some schools to need more teachers at one period than at another. All of these are social factors which influence the tenure of the teachers in the Public Schools of Knox County.

A final group of forces which has caused changes in teacher tenure has been listed as special factors. One of these coming infrequently, but of great influence during the period of this study, was the World War. Many of the younger men teachers were called into the armed forces, and a number equally great, both of men and women, gave up teaching for the more lucrative work to be found in the defense plants. Their places were filled partly by older persons who came back into the teaching field during the emergency and partly by persons, both young and old, who were grant-

ed emergency certificates to fill in the vacancies and keep the schools operating.

Directly related to the movement of people to defense plants is the shift of population within the County. People moved out to defense plants thus decreasing the number of children until some two-room schools became one-room schools. In addition, people moved from the more isolated farms into the villages and thus there was a shift, both in general population, and a change in teacher needs within the entire school system.

Now that the war is over, a number of G.I.'s who had been teaching are back and have been given their old positions. This will be a wholesome influence on these schools; however, it makes another break in the tenure of the teachers. These times of strain and stress place numerous problems upon the schools as well as upon the individuals within the community.

Results of Changing Tenure

We have now seen how numerous factors have united to make teacher tenure very short if not almost nonexistent. What can be said now, concerning the results of this short tenure in the schools of Knox or any other county?

Short tenure tends to retard or make difficult the development of professional pride in teaching. Thus the professional spirit is not easily developed and teaching tends to become an odd job, rather than a profession in which to spend one's active years.

Teachers, unless they develop the professional spirit and raise the standards of qualification, cannot command salaries high enough to attract the better individuals into the teaching profession. It is difficult also for the children to get the most out of their school experience, when such a short period is available to develop rapport between teacher and pupils, and between teacher and other members of the community. Possibly two brief sketches of different schools will make the meaning clearer.

At school number one, in 15 years there have been two teachers. The first of these teachers lived at the edge of the district where she taught. She is a fine little lady and a splendid teacher. One day, during the time this study was being made a group of us visited her school. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and she was just returning from the hills nearby with her group of 35 children. Each child had its hands filled with leaves, plants, pieces of bark, or other materials which he or she had collected during the afternoon's field trip. For the next week, the reading, arithmetic, and other lessons would be filled with examples taken from that afternoon in the woods. The school building, although not new, was well painted and in splendid condition. Its equipment was adequate and it was a pleasant place for the children to work and study. In fact, all of the homes in the community manifest the same interest that was seen in the school house. This lady taught in that school for 11 consecu-

tive years. She left it only at the insistence of the county superintendent that she come into town and teach in the Central High School, where her services would have a much wider range of influence. Her place was taken by a younger woman, who, at the close of this study, had completed four years of teaching in that one-room rural school.

School number two is quite a contrast to the above. Seventeen teachers have been employed in 15 years. No teacher has remained more than one year, and at the time the school was visited, a woman teacher had just been "run out," as the expression was used, and a man had been hired to complete the term. When we arrived one afternoon, this man was walking up and down the aisle in the center of the school house. He had in his hand a stick, about an inch in diameter at one end and three-quarters of an inch at the other and three and one-half feet long. The room was "brittle" with a spirit of tension. The teacher greeted us briefly and continued his course up and down the room. Scarcely a scholar turned his head. The tense attitude of the students did not relax when a class was called. Neither did the teacher put down his scepter of authority. When school was dismissed, he told us that they had run 3 teachers out that year and that he was not going to be run out. However, he did not teach in that school the next year. It is little wonder that the teachers did not remain long in that school. Little equipment or sup-

plies were available. No parental interest was shown in the school and little in the students' conduct, and the school building was dilapidated and unsightly. There were present all evidences of a poor school in a poor situation. Which was cause and which effect? It would be difficult to state. Yet few influences which would tend to cause teachers to remain more than one year were found in this school district.

The slightly higher tenure in the consolidated schools appears to be due largely to the more favorable location of the schools and the more desirable social situation in which these teachers live and work. The longest average tenure was in Central High School located at Barbourville, the county seat town. Here the tenure, over a 9 year period averaged 3.5 years. This would have been almost four years if there had not been the call to the armed forces and the attraction of defense jobs during the war period.

What of the Future?

What can be done about the situation? In a county such as Knox, it is impossible to eliminate all of the one-room rural schools by consolidation. The roads are too poor, finances are too limited, and heads of the creeks too isolated and far apart, as may be seen by checking Fig. 2. Furthermore, it will be difficult to increase the term to 9 months without more taxes for school purposes and without a desire on the part of the school patrons for a longer school term. A school

equalization fund, state wide, or even better, nation wide, will tend to place more adequate finances where children are being raised and where they must necessarily be educated.

The raising of certification standards to a level where it will be impossible for people to use teaching as a steppingstone or stop-gap job, and where the teacher will have an adequate professional status in the community commensurate with the importance of her work, is a goal toward which society must strive. In addition to these, a reorganization of the economy of the Area, so fewer people will reside back in the isolated coves and hollows, will be of social value to the County.

This will take generations to accomplish, for these people are the descendants of the early settlers and are much attached to the locality in which they live and the land on which they reside. Thus the outlook for immediate change is not bright. However, improvement will come through vision and continual perseverance. It is up to the educational leaders in Knox County to leave no stone unturned to bring about improvements, and then sometime, possibly during the next half century, the children of Knox County, and the other similar marginal counties, will have the educational opportunities which they deserve as American Young People.

The Control of Child-Spacing in University Graduate Families

By W. A. Anderson†

ABSTRACT

Sixty per cent of the married graduates of Cornell University of the classes of 1919, '20, and '21 who have children say they tried to control the spacing of all of their children, 21 per cent tried to control the spacing of some but not of all, while 19 per cent did not try to space any of their children. Whether spacing is tried or not, the length of the interval of the succeeding birth is longer, on the average, than that of the preceding birth. The chances are about two out of three that the interval of the succeeding birth will be longer than the preceding one. When first births occur in less than two years after marriage, the chances of having only one child appear to be about one in ten and of having four or more, one in five. When first births do not occur until four or more years after marriage, then the chances of having only one child appear to be one in two and of having four or more, about one in fifty.

In the work on child-spacing being done in our Department of Rural Sociology, the hypothesis is presented

that the intervals between successive births are longer on the average than the intervals between the births that precede. This principle seems to apply

† Cornell University.

TABLE I. THE PROPORTION OF THE 944 FAMILIES OF CORNELL GRADUATES OF 1919, 1920, AND 1921 WHO HAVE REPLIED TO THE QUESTION OF THE CONTROL OF SPACING OF BIRTHS, BY THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY.

Number of Children	Men			Women			Total		
	In Group- ing	No. Respond- ing	Per Cent Respond	In Group- ing	No. Respond- ing	Per Cent Respond	In Group- ing	No. Respond- ing	Per Cent Respond
1	211	125	59.2	45	24	53.3	256	149	58.2
2	299	237	79.4	56	45	80.4	355	282	79.4
3	175	132	75.4	47	38	80.9	222	170	76.6
4	58	43	74.1	19	16	84.2	77	59	76.6
5	15	14	93.3	4	4	100.0	19	18	94.7
6	8	8	100.0	3	2	66.0	11	10	90.9
7	2	2	100.0	1	1	100.0	3	3	100.0
8	1	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	1	0	0.0
Total	769	561	73.0	175	130	74.3	944	691	73.2

whether the family heads are rural or urban reared or married at different ages. It is pointed out, however, that it is not known whether this pattern of spacing is the result of biological factors or of conscious social controls.¹ This paper presents the view that our original thesis is true both in families where the control of spacing is consciously attempted and in families where it is not.

Our analysis of child-spacing is based on the intervals between the births of 2,147 live-born children to 944 graduates of the Cornell University classes of 1919, '20, and '21 who have one or more children and who provided the date of marriage, and the date of birth of each of their children.

In order to discover the differences in the spacing of children in families where conscious controls were used and those where they were not used, we asked the 944 university graduates

to reply to the following statement by checking the appropriate answer:

"In our family, we tried to control the spacing of
(check one)

- _____ All of our children
- _____ None of our children
- _____ Some but not all of children"

Of the 944 graduates, 691 or 73 per cent returned replies. Of the 769 men graduates, 561 or 73 per cent responded; of the 175 women graduates, 130 or 74 per cent replied. (Table I.) Seven of the returns are not used since the graduates returning them did not check any of the three possibilities listed. All seven of these simply state that they had only one child.

The Extent of Spacing

Eight of each ten families try to control the spacing of their children while two out of each ten do not. Of the 684 graduates, 60 per cent reported that they tried to control the spacing of all of their children and 21 per cent tried to control the spacing of

¹ W. A. Anderson, "The Spacing of Births in the Families of University Graduates," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (July, 1947), 23-24.

some but not of all their children. The other 19 per cent said they did not try to control the spacing of any of their children. (Table II.)

This is not an indication of the extent to which birth control is practiced in university graduate families. Our study of the spacing of children does not include married graduates who have no children.

In the families with one or two children, larger proportions sought to control the spacing of all of the births than in the families with several children. In the families with several children, the larger proportions sought to control the spacing of some but not of all the children. (Table II.)

There is an increase in the proportion of the families that did not endeavor to control the spacing of any of their children as the size of the family increases, for in the two child families only 16 per cent reported no effort at spacing while in the five, six and seven child families one-fifth and one-third reported that no attempt at spacing was made.

In the families with only one child it appears that there may be planning

to space the children should more than one conception occur. (Table II.) But when it is discovered that additional conceptions do not take place, no effort to space is made. Several of the respondents state that the problem in the one child family is not spacing, but why additional conceptions do not occur. Where there is a desire for more than one child but additional conceptions do not occur, the effort to space is apparently not attempted, according to the testimony. That is why, in all probability, such a large proportion of the one child families, 30 per cent, reported that they did not try to space any of their children. (Table II.)

Where spacing of all of the children is tried, 72 per cent of the families have no more than two children and only eight per cent have four or more. Where none of the children are spaced, 64 per cent of the families have no more than two children but 14 per cent have four or more. Where some but not all of the children are spaced, only 28 per cent have no more than two offspring, while 29 per cent have four or more. (Table III.) While these facts do not explain these differences,

TABLE II THE NUMBER AND PER CENT OF THE FAMILIES WHO REPORT THAT THEY TRIED TO CONTROL ALL, SOME, OR NONE OF THE BIRTHS IN THEIR FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

Number of Children	Number Controlling				Per Cent Controlling			
	All	None	Some	Total	All	None	Some	Total
1	92	42	8	142	65	30	5	100
2	207	44	31	282	73	16	11	100
3	83	28	59	170	49	16	35	100
4	24	11	24	59	41	18	41	100
5	5	4	9	18	28	22	50	100
6	1	2	7	10	10	20	70	100
7	0	1	2	3	0	33	67	100
Total	412	132	140	684	60	19	21	100

In the families with two, three, or four children, in every instance except one, more than a majority of the succeeding children are born after a longer interval than the preceding children. (Table V.) This is true whether spacing is attempted or not. The exception is in the families with four children where spacing of all the children is tried. Here only one-half of the fourth births occurred after a longer interval than the third births. The number of families with five or more children is too small to give dependable results.

The Chances of a Given Number of Births

If births occur in the manner described, it might be possible to predict the probable number of children for a family from a knowledge of the time after marriage when the first birth occurs. Our study includes far too few families to venture so boldly but these data may be suggestive for the further study of this problem.

Where the first child is born in less than two years after marriage and attempt is made to space all births, 17 per cent of the families have four or

TABLE V. THE PER CENT OF THE SUCCEEDING BIRTHS THAT OCCURRED AFTER A LONGER INTERVAL THAN THE PRECEDING BIRTHS IN 684 FAMILIES OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES OF THE CLASSES OF 1919, '20, AND '21 BY THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY AND BY EFFORT TO CONTROL SPACING.

Relationship of Succeeding to Preceding Intervals of Birth	Number of Children					
	2	3	4	5	6	7
Spacing of all children attempted						
Second longer than the first	65	70	54	100	100	
Third longer than the second		55	71	20	0	
Fourth longer than the third			50	20	100	
Fifth longer than the fourth				80	0	
Sixth longer than the fifth					0	
Number of families	207	82	24	5	1	0
No effort to space any births						
Second longer than the first	75	61	64	75	50	100
Third longer than the second		57	64	50	50	100
Fourth longer than the third			73	75	100	100
Fifth longer than the fourth				25	50	0
Sixth longer than the fifth					100	100
Seventh longer than the sixth						100
Number of families	44	28	11	4	2	1
Some birth control						
Second longer than the first	87	87	71	67	71	50
Third longer than the second		66	58	89	71	100
Fourth longer than the third			54	78	57	100
Fifth longer than the fourth				67	29	50
Sixth longer than the fifth					57	50
Seventh longer than the sixth						50
Number of families	31	58	24	9	7	2

more children, while 10 per cent have but one child. In those families, where the first child is born after four years of marriage, only one per cent have four children, and none have five or more children, while 44 per cent have but one child and 43 per cent have two children. If a first birth takes place within two years of marriage, even with spacing, the chances are about one in ten that the family will have only one child while the chances are

about one in eight that there will be four or more children. If a first birth does not occur until four or more years after marriage, the chances are only about one in a hundred that there will be as many as four children, and about eight or nine out of ten that there will be no more than two children.

When the same computations are made for the families where no attempt is made to space, if a birth

TABLE VI. THE PROPORTION OF 669 FAMILIES OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES OF 1919, '20, AND '21 WITH GIVEN NUMBERS OF CHILDREN BY THE EFFORT TO SPACE THE BIRTHS AND THE INTERVAL AT WHICH THE FIRST BIRTH OCCURRED AFTER MARRIAGE.

First Birth after Marriage Occurs	1	2	Number of Children in the Family					Total
			3	4	5	6	7	
All Births Controlled								
Within One Year	9	44	30	13	4	—		100
1 to 1.9 Years	10	57	23	7	2	1		100
2 to 2.9 Years	23	52	22	3				100
3 to 3.9 Years	32	44	15	9				100
4 to 4.9 Years	38	46	16	—				100
5 to 5.9 Years	38	50	6	6				100
6 to 6.9 Years	18	55	27					100
7	65	31	4					100
Number of families	91	201	81	24	5	1		403
No Births Controlled								
Within One Year	10	42	26	10	6	3	3	100
1 to 1.9 Years	26	37	22	13	2	—		100
2 to 2.9 Years	39	22	31	4	4	—		100
3 to 3.9 Years	56	22	22			—		100
4 to 4.9 Years	50	17	17			16		100
5 to 5.9 Years	100	—						100
6 to 6.9 Years	75	25						100
7	56	44						100
Number of families	41	43	28	10	4	2	1	129
Some but not all Births Controlled								
Within One Year	2	19	48	21	4	6	—	100
1 to 1.9 Years	8	23	38	15	10	6	—	100
2 to 2.9 Years	—	29	35	18	6	6	6	100
3 to 3.9 Years	—	33	33	34				100
4 to 4.9 Years	—	25	75					100
5 to 5.9 Years	—	—	100					100
6 to 6.9 Years	100	—						100
7	40	40	20					100
Number of families	8	31	58	23	8	7	2	137

takes place within two years of marriage, the chances appear to be about one in five that the family will have only one child while they appear to be about one in five also that they will have four or more children. If the first birth occurs after four years of marriage, the chances appear to be nine out of ten that there will be no more than two children, and one out of 20 that there will be four or more children.

In the families where attempt is made to space some but not all of the children, the chances appear to be one in 20 that there will be only one child, and one out of three that there will be four or more children when the first birth takes place within two years of marriage. When the first birth takes place after four years of marriage, the chances are one in four that there will be no more than one child and practically no chance that there will be as many as four children.

If the occurrence of the births in the three control situations are added together, when a first birth takes place within two years of marriage, the chances of having only one child in the family appears to be about one in ten, and of having four or more children about one in five. When the first birth does not take place until four or more years after marriage, then the chances of having only one child appears to be one in two and of having four or more children, one in 50.

In the families with no more than two children, 55 per cent of the first births took place in the first two years of marriage but in the families of four or more children 77 per cent of the first births took place in this interval. In the families with two or more children, 28 per cent of the first births occurred after four years of marriage while in the families of four or more children only two per cent of the births occurred after four years.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

Statement of Policy

For some time now the Board of Editors and the Editor of the Research Notes section have been considering ways by which these Notes might best further the total contribution of *Rural Sociology* to its readers. With a change in editorship of Research Notes, this seems a good time to inventory the problem and to state main lines of policy for the future. The Research Notes section (a) could include "news" notes on research reports, plans, techniques, hypotheses, and other ideas or developments of interest to research workers, or (b) it could be reserved for brief articles, quite like those which make up the body of the Journal except for length, or both types of items might be included.

It is the thought of your incoming editor that all *articles*, no matter how brief, should be published in the body of the Journal. Research Notes can then be used exclusively as a clearing house in which we will report the bare essentials of interesting research developments *before* projects have reached the usual publication stage. After all, many research workers widely scattered in space are continually inventing or modifying ideas and techniques which should be generally known to their colleagues long before the main substantive results of the research have gone through the ordinary publication mills (which, like those of the gods, do

grind slowly). At the present time, therefore, the presentation of such new plans and developments and results appears to be the most valuable function the Notes section can perform. Your Editor is anxious to receive suggestions and reactions to this proposal.

In the meantime, and in so far as this general orientation proves useful, this section will solicit items of the following types:

1. Brief statements of current and contemplated research projects of special interest.
2. New hypotheses, or innovations in study design and methodology.
3. Developments in research techniques for collecting or analyzing data.
4. Experience in research organization and administration, including the relation of research to "action."
5. Reports of preliminary research results which have immediate significance for other research enterprises.

There will always be, of course, other types of items which may be appropriate for inclusion here, if only to maintain the prerogative of editorial discretion.

As an important illustration of the "clearing house" function of this section, we are presenting below brief accounts of the current projects listed by Dr. Carl C. Taylor for the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS OF DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL LIFE, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE April 27, 1948

• Farm Population Studies

- I. A. Annual estimates of the farm population, United States and Major Geographic Divisions.
- B. This is a continuing annual project in which mailed questionnaires

are sent to approximately 55,000 farmers. Returns are processed in this Division and estimates are developed of the total number of persons living on farms in January of each year, migration to and

from farms, and births and deaths in the farm population during the preceding year. Other material used in developing the estimates include benchmark data from the Censuses of Agriculture and Population and any results that are available from enumerative surveys. The estimates are published in a report containing some comment and interpretation each year, and revisions are made in the series when new benchmark data become available. These annual estimates of the farm population tie in with many lines of work in the Bureau, including farm income to provide the income parity indexes, farm labor as an indication of changes in farm labor supply, and other special studies on population and migration.

- II. A. Quarterly estimates of the farm population by age and sex and other characteristics and related subjects. (Cooperative with Census Bureau)
- B. This project includes development of more detailed estimates on the age-sex distribution, employment status, etc., of farm population and the number of households living on farms, from national enumerative surveys made periodically by the Bureau of the Census and at irregular intervals by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The results of this continuing project are issued cooperatively by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the series "Census-RAE" at irregular intervals. Since this cooperative project was originated in 1944 the Census Bureau has done most of the survey work while the personnel of this Division have provided a large share of the planning, in-

terpreting, and drafting of reports of the surveys. This project is closely related to other types of population studies listed and provides the over-all United States level of total farm population to which the BAE series described in the preceding project are adjusted.

- III. A. Experimental and developmental work on definition of farm population and delineation of the population dependent on agriculture. (Cooperative with Bureau of the Census)
- B. Under this project aimed toward improving the definition of farm population to be used in our own series and in decennial Censuses, experimental questions are carried on survey schedules of both the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of the Census to obtain information for identifying the population dependent upon agriculture. The main objectives are not immediate development of statistics for publication but rather the development of a basis for recommending to the two Bureaus improvements in definition of farm population. Analysis is now under way of material obtained from the January Survey of Agriculture and on special questions carried by the Census Monthly Survey in December 1947 aimed at identifying the population dependent upon agriculture. It is hoped these will provide a basis for recommending classifications to be used in the 1950 Census of Population. There may be publication of some of the results but the primary purpose of the project is for administrative use. It is related to all of the farm population projects and to the farm income work of the Bureau.

- IV. A. Analysis of differentials in fertility and family size in farm operator families classified according to farm size, income, tenure, etc. (1945 and 1947)
- B. This project is focused on the analysis of the relationships between population characteristics, such as fertility and family size, and characteristics of the farms on which the population lives. Two main sources of data are used. The first includes unpublished data obtained on a sample basis in the 1945 Census of Agriculture, and the second includes tabulations from the January 1947 Survey of Agriculture. The expected end products will be one or more BAE publications presenting the significant relationships and their interpretations. The World War II period brought about a reversal of some of the normal relationships in certain areas, and analyses of these changes are exceedingly important for their bearing on future population projections. It is hoped that the April 1948 Survey of Agriculture will provide further data for this continuing project.
- V. A. Occupational attachments of farm operators. (Cooperating with Farm Labor Section)
- B. Data on the major occupation during the year and other characteristics of farm operators in the United States were secured as by-products from the surveys referred to in Project 1 of Farm Labor Studies. Tabulations from the survey of occupational attachments of farm operators in 1946 have been partly analyzed and will be further analyzed when similar results are available for the year 1947. After careful appraisal of these statistics as to their validity in reflecting a number of characteristics of part-time farmers, the statistics will probably be published in a mimeographed report of the Bureau with interpretation of the material. This project is closely related to farm labor and farm tenure and also to the projects in other parts of the Bureau on classification of farms.
- VI. A. *Preparation of War Records Monograph on Farm Population during World War II and postwar projections.*
- B. This project will involve a fairly comprehensive documentation of the changes in level and composition of the farm population brought about by the impact of World War II, set in a broader perspective of long-time changes in the farm population and prospective levels in the postwar period. It will draw upon all the relevant statistics that have been produced on farm population and migration in this Bureau and the Bureau of the Census, as well as on available local studies. A great deal of preliminary work has been done on this project which was proposed for completion at the end of this calendar year. Less than the amount of time needed was available to allot to this project and its completion is uncertain of accomplishment within this calendar year. It would provide a synthesis of the significant findings of the various farm population studies that have gone on in this Division and elsewhere during the past six years.
- VII. A. Analysis of labor force participation rates of migrants from farms to congested areas.
- B. This project involves rather elaborate statistical processes in standardization by indirect meth-

ods of data obtained by the "congested areas surveys" conducted in 1944. The statistical compilations are approximately completed, but publication of the estimates and the analyses have been delayed for lack of professional time to interpret the results and prepare a report. The results of this project may be issued as a separate report or may be incorporated into a report of one of the other projects. This project is closely related to the project on labor mobility listed in the Farm Labor Studies.

Farm Labor Studies

- I. A. Estimates and analysis of the hired farm working force in 1947 — their numbers, composition, time worked during the year at farm and nonfarm work, and their distribution by annual wage income; analysis of changes in these characteristics since 1946.
- B. The data for this project were obtained for the BAE by the Census Bureau in a survey made in December 1947. Personnel of this Division planned the questions, reviewed the schedules and instructions to enumerators, and planned the tabulation to be made. After delivery of the machine tabulations, this Division will plan and compile the presentation tables, analyze and interpret the material and issue the results in a report similar to the reports issued in the last two years. (*The Hired Farm Working Force in 1945*, and *Farm and Nonfarm Wage Income of the Hired Farm Working Force in 1946*.) This project provides information of a nature obtainable only from workers themselves, and hence supplements the wage and employment data obtained in the Bureau's enumerative surveys from farmers.
- II. A. Study of farm wages by type of farm and type of work.
- B. This study involved analysis of the farm wage data from the three BAE national enumerative surveys conducted in 1945. The study was begun in 1946 and completed in the fall of 1947. The results were published as Report No. 19 in the series *Surveys of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture*. In dealing with wage differentials by type of farm and type of farm work this study supplemented other types of farm wage studies previously issued which dealt with the employment and wage structure in agriculture on a geographic basis rather than on a type of farm basis.
- III. A. Trends in tenure status of farm workers in the United States, 1880-1940.
- B. The estimates of tenure status of male farm workers were developed by combining data from past Censuses of Agriculture and Population. By methods similar to those used by John D. Black and R. H. Allen estimates have been prepared for each State covering the 60-year period, and analysis and interpretation of the tenure trends is being made. A report will be published shortly containing the estimates, interpretation of the trends, and exposition of the method. The light this project throws on functioning or lack of functioning of the traditional "tenure ladder" ties in closely with other studies on farm labor and with studies on the occupational composition of the farm population.
- IV. A. Analysis of recent trends in agricultural employment and wages.
- B. This project was started in May 1948 and is planned as a con-

tinuing project from which results will be published in the form of articles in the *Agricultural Situation* or special releases designed to interpret the current scene in agricultural employment and wage conditions. Attention will be focused on the movement of money and real wages in agriculture, and comparative trends and levels will be observed as between agricultural wages and wages in selected nonfarm occupations. Further elaborations of this study to deal with regional and area trends in agricultural employment and wages as well as inter-industry comparisons on an area basis will be made as the project continues, and the results will appear in more technical studies or bulletins.

- V. A. Study of postwar developments in agricultural labor-management relations.

- B. In this study secondary source materials from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and from private organizations will be utilized to observe developments pertaining to labor disputes in agriculture, and in unionization of agricultural and allied workers in processing industries. The results of this study will serve primarily as reference materials for answering information or requests, and secondarily for providing an insight into possible impacts on farm labor of this type of industrial-agricultural labor interrelationships.

- VI. A. Study of labor mobility within agriculture and between agricultural and industrial jobs.

- B. In this study two major types of analyses will be made:
1. Current information from secondary sources on migratory

agricultural workers will be collated with past information obtained from BAE surveys and other studies so as to provide a basis for interpreting the current situation with respect to the volume, composition, distribution, wage and working conditions of migratory farm workers.

2. Data on farm-nonfarm migration, on nonfarm employment of persons who also do agricultural work, and other types of information will be analyzed as part of a study of factors facilitating or impeding the temporary or permanent shifts of labor between agricultural and nonfarm occupations. The influences on labor mobility of general levels of industrial activity as well as of wage and income differentials will be examined through correlation and other types of analysis. (This project will be done in cooperation with the Farm Population Section.) This project will be a continuing one and no final report is scheduled for this fiscal year. The study will be planned and preliminary work will be undertaken in the remainder of the current fiscal year.

- VII. A. Bibliography on problems of extension of social insurance legislation to farmers and farm laborers.

- B. A comprehensive survey of literature dealing with the extension of social security to farmers and farm workers and unemployment compensation to farm laborers has been under way this fiscal year and is scheduled for publication as a bibliography in the next fiscal year. This project serves the needs of various proj-

ects in the Bureau. It contributes to the projects on Farm Labor by digesting of literature which should shed light on the increasingly important problem of measures that may afford to agricultural workers the benefits of greater economic security such as has been achieved by non-agricultural workers.

- VIII. A. The agricultural labor force in California: Seasonal and cyclical between farm and nonfarm employment.
- B. This study is being initiated this year in cooperation with the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California and is part of a larger project being conducted cooperatively between the Institute and the California State Employment Service. The over-all study will provide data on the composition of the labor force in California, employment by industry and occupation, geographical and occupational mobility and other aspects of the State's total labor force. The phase of the project in which the Division is concerned is centered on the seasonal hired farm workers who shift between farm and nonfarm jobs in the course of a year, as well as with the highly mobile migratory farm workers who move with the crop harvests in the different major agricultural areas of California.

The project as now planned calls for the securing of information on schedules by personal interview from a specially designed sample of harvest workers in special crops in selected areas of California. Other data available in the State's Agricultural Extension Service farm labor project and from the California State Employment Service will also be uti-

lized to supplement the field data.

The end product of this project will take the form of a report drafted under the general auspices of the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Levels and Standards of Living

- I. A. Analysis of trends in selected items of the rural levels and standards of living, United States, Major Geographic Divisions, and States.
- B. The main purpose of this project is to present benchmark data in levels and standards of living, using data from the U. S. Census and any enumerative surveys that are available. The materials are published in a report with some comment and interpretation whenever new material becomes available. These periodic statistics on levels and standards of living tie in with farm income studies, parity price formulae, and many projects dealing with rural welfare.
- II. A. Analysis of differences between rural and urban levels and standards of living, United States, Major Geographical Regions.
- B. This project involves the statistical analysis of selected items in the level of living, taking into consideration rural and urban differences. The analysis is based primarily on a random sample of 372 counties on which about 70 items have been compared with rurality expressed in 5 percent class intervals. A report will be issued in three parts: Part I compares the level of living of rural and urban people for the United States (mimeographed January, 1948); Part II compares the same items on a regional basis; Part

III presents the trends in rural-urban differences and interprets them. This project is closely related to Projects 1 and 3, providing the basis for selecting additional significant items for the time series in levels of living and for refining the index of level of living for the United States.

- III. A. Construction and analysis of farm operator family level of living indexes for counties of the United States, 1930.

- B. This project is designed to construct county indexes of farm operator level of living for 1930 that will be comparable with those issued in 1947 by the Bureau for the years 1940 and 1945. Basic data are from the 1930 Census of Agriculture. The project includes computation of the indexes, analysis of trends since 1930, and preparation of a report containing the indexes with interpretation of the trends since 1930. This index is a continuing one in levels of living and will relate to all subsequent Censuses. It is the basic study in which the United States is delineated into areas based upon level of living.

A supplementary phase of this project is the construction of 1945 level of living indexes for 2,000 townships of Iowa from unpublished data made available by the Census Bureau. An analysis of the interrelationships of level of living and topography will take place in Iowa, in cooperation with the State College. A report analyzing these interrelations will be published.

An analysis of farm operator level of living in Washington State based upon the 1940 and 1945 indexes has been made and a report, *The Level of Living of Farm Operators in Washington*

Counties, 1940 and 1945, was issued in October, 1947.

Indexes for 1945 will be constructed for the towns of Connecticut and a report issued in cooperation with the University of Connecticut.

- IV. A. Collection and analysis of data on farm housing, including the analysis of interrelationships between quality of housing and farm income.

- B. This project involves collection and analysis of data on farm housing, including the analysis of interrelationships between quality of housing and farm income. A report will be prepared containing interpretation of the findings.

This project deals with an acute problem of current interest and concern in the fields of levels and standards of living.

- V. A. Measurement of reading patterns and library usage in Maryland, 1948.

- B. This project includes the taking of schedules in a selected county covering the use of the library facilities, the pattern of reading habits, etc. These schedules will be processed at the University of Maryland and a report will be published analyzing the statistical data. The project probes deeply into a limited area of levels and standards of living and will provide a basis for recommending changes in time series and index analysis.

- VI. A. Experimental and developmental work on definition and classification of farms to provide a basis for estimating changes in number of farms by economic size, and characteristics of farm operator families by economic size group.

- B. This project includes an analysis of Visual Analysis Cards con-

ment on the one hand and the backgrounds of the people on the other hand; (b) the annual, seasonal, weekly, and daily work rhythms of the farm people and the effects of these work rhythms upon their group activities; (c) the characteristic ways in which the rural people are organized, and the range of their contacts;

and (d) the outstanding attitudes and values of the people as related to their livelihood activities, work rhythms and organized life.

Expected end-product: Completion of a BAE publication under the caption of "Rural Life in the United States by Major Type-Farming Areas."

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Publications Received

(* Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

1. Adams, Thurston M. *Vermont Cooperatives—Their Business Activities*. Vermont Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 540. 27 pp. Burlington, Jan. 1948.
2. Alleger, Daniel E. and Hampson, Charles M. *Indicators of Florida Farm Prosperity*. Agric. Econ. Dept., Agric. Ext. Serv. University of Florida. 13 pp. Gainesville, April 1948.
3. American Association of Social Workers. *Community Organization—Its Nature and Setting*. 28 pp. New York, Oct. 1947. 25 cents.
4. Anderson, W. A. *A Study of the Values in Rural Living. Part I—A Scale for the Measurement of the Values of Rural Living*. Cornell University Agric. Exp. Sta. Memoir 277. 77 pp. Ithaca, Nov. 1947.
- *5. Beegle, J. Allan. *Differential Birth Rates in Michigan*. Michigan Agric. Exp. Sta. Spec. Bul. 346. 40 pp. East Lansing, Feb. 1948.
- *6. Bridgman, Helen. *Housing in the South*. Southern Regional Council. Vol. 3, No. 4. 20 pp. Atlanta, April 1948.
- *7. Carter, R. M. and Fenix, R. E. *Vermont's Agricultural College Graduates*. Vermont Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 541. 22 pp. Burlington, April 1948.
8. Crampton, C. Ward. *Live Long and Like It*. Public Affairs Committee, Inc. P. A. Pamphlet 139. 32 pp. New York, 1948. 20 cents.
9. Cushing, Hazel M. *Farm Marriage Preferences of College Women*. Washington Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 490. 27 pp. Pullman, June 1947.
- *10. Cushing, Hazel M. *Intelligence, Personality Adjustment, and Physical Status of Rural Children in Relation to Land Class*. Washington Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. 489. 50 pp. Pullman, July 1947.
- *11. Davies, Vernon. *Demographic Factors Related to Health Needs in Mississippi*. Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care. 38 pp. Jackson, Mar. 1948.
12. Davies, Vernon and Belcher, John C. *Mississippi Life Tables by Sex, Race and Residence 1940*. Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care. 11 pp. Jackson, Mar. 1948.
13. Farm Foundation. *Better Health for Rural People*. 16 pp. Chicago, 1948.
14. Farrell, F. D. *Kansas Rural Institutions. IV. Fifty Years of Mutual Insurance*. Kansas Agric. Exp. Sta. Cir. 245. 32 pp. Manhattan, Jan. 1948.
- *15. Felton, Ralph A. *The Art of Church Cooperation*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 63 pp. New York, 1948. 20 cents.
16. Howes, John Baxter. *A National Rural Policy for the Methodist Church*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 15 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
- *17. Hubbard, John P. and Others. *Health Services for the Rural Child*. American Medical Association. 58 pp. Chicago, 1948.
18. Institute of Inter-American Affairs. *Cooperative Health Programs of the U. S. A. and Latin America*. 21 pp. Washington, D. C., (no date given), 15 cents.

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

19. Julian, Correll M. *The Christian World View*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 16 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
20. Keene, Anna K. *Let's Figure for a Home*. University of Florida, Col. of Education. 59 pp. Gainesville, 1947. 35 cents.
- *21. Lindstrom, David E. *The Methodist Church and the Rural Community*. Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 39 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
- *22. Martin, Alexander C. *Botany and Our Social Economy*. National Wildlife Federation. 30 pp. Washington, D. C., 1948. 10 cents.
- *23. McKain, Walter C. and Flagg, Grace L. *Differences Between Rural and Urban Levels of Living. Part II. Regional Variations*. Bureau of Agric. Econ., U.S.D.A. 12 pp. Washington, D. C., Jan. 1948.
24. Mountin, Joseph W. and Flook, Evelyn. *Guide to Health Organization in the United States*. Federal Security Agency. U. S. Public Health Service. Misc. Pub. 35. 71 pp. Washington, D. C., 1947. 20 cents.
- *25. Mueller, E. W. *Christ for the Changing Countryside*. National Lutheran Council. 15 pp. Chicago, 1948. 25 cents.
26. National Planning Association. *The Agricultural Research and Marketing Act of 1946*. Spec Rep. 19. 16 pp. Washington, D. C., April 1948. 25 cents.
27. National Planning Association. *Dare Farmers Risk Abundance?* N. P. A. Pamphlet 56. 54 p. Washington, D. C., Feb. 1947. 25 cents.
- *28. Niederfrank, E. J. *Main Types of County Extension Organization and Related Social Factors*. U. S. Dept. of Agric. Ext. Serv. Cir. 448. 30 pp. Washington, D. C., Mar. 1948.
29. Padgett, Elsie. *Indoor Climate*. University of Florida, Col. of Education. 40 pp. Gainesville, 1947. 35 cents.
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Rural Church

[15, 21, 31] *The Art of Church Cooperation* by Ralph A. Felton is one of a series of publications reporting on the National Methodist Rural Life Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska in July, 1947. Following a discussion of the principles involved in church cooperation, the author describes types of cooperation within the denomination and between denominations. There are over six hundred Protestant city, county, and State councils of churches and eight national interdenominational agencies. These function particularly in the field of religious education, church extension, church architecture, relief and reconstruction in war devastated areas, and in missionary work at home and abroad. The forty-two organic church unions taking place between 1906 and 1948 have resulted in widespread cooperation. Local congregations which have been competing for many years come together very rapidly when their over-head organizations unite.

Another report contains the recommendations of the Commission of *The Methodist Church and the Rural Community*. Suggestions are given regarding the policies and programs of the Methodist Church in relation to business, labor, health, education, organizations, race, class, recreation, social welfare, government, rural-urban relations,

and leadership. The recommendations are intended to help the church become more alert to the changes taking place in rural communities and to adapt its ministry and program to the needs of the people.

A third report of special interest to rural people discusses *Land Policy and Church Stability*. This Commission recommended ways in which the church could help meet the following outstanding land policy problems: (1) Failure to recognize the stewardship responsibilities inherent in land ownership and use, (2) poor adjustment of population to the land, (3) antiquated land-lease laws and practices, (4) high land prices, (5) local customs and legal procedures which hinder the settlement and transfer of farm estates to heirs who would like to remain on the home place. Church organizations cooperating with public and private agencies operating in fields related to farm tenure and land use improvement can make a definite contribution toward the solution of these problems.

[25] The Lutheran Church has made a county analysis of the church and unchurched people in thirteen States where the Lutheran Church has her major strength, namely, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. The number of church, by leading denominations, and unchurched are illustrated with charts and maps. Population data are based on the 1940 Census. The church population is based on the 1936 Religious Bodies Census. Data of home missions expenditures, submitted by general church bodies, are for 1947. This report on Nebraska emphasizes the need and opportunities, particularly in rural areas, for the ministry of the church.

Population

[5] Michigan's birth rate is sufficiently high to guarantee a growing population for the State as a whole. Some segments in the population, however, have higher birth rates than others. The rural-farm and rural-non-farm populations, especially in areas char-

acterized by self-sufficient agriculture, have high fertility ratios. "Michigan's rural population is not only replacing itself but also is producing a surplus of more than 30 percent; the urban population . . . is failing to replenish itself by more than 10 percent." The long-time trend in the birth rate is downward, despite a recent upswing.

Rural Health

[17] *Health Services for the Rural Child* contains some of the data collected in a nationwide study undertaken by the American Academy of Pediatrics, the United States Public Health Service, and the Children's Bureau. An intensive survey has been made of hospitals, private practice of physicians and dentists, community health agencies, and the pediatric training given by medical schools. At the national, state, and local levels, facts have been gathered "to provide the tools with which to improve child health, not only for the country as a whole but for every local community."

It is estimated that there are 13 million children living in isolated areas (37 percent of the children in the United States) where serious deficiencies exist in regard to physicians, dentists, and hospital facilities. The isolated counties in the Southeast contain almost half of these children (6 million). These counties show the lowest rates of general hospital beds, physicians and dentists of any of the five regions into which the States were divided for this survey.

[43] A circular entitled *Health and Medical Care for the Family and Community* has been issued by the Extension Service in Wisconsin. Data on hospital facilities, costs of medical care, prepayment plans, and health insurance are included. An outline of a community health program recommends the study of the health facilities, health problems, existing programs, costs and availability of medical care.

[11] The proposed hospital construction program in Mississippi may be more effectively planned if demographic information is available for each hospital district. This

bulletin presents population data for 17 hospital regions. The total population, population trends, place of residence, race, births, deaths, and infant mortality are among the topics covered.

[32] *The Rural Citizen and Medical Care* contains an analysis of the opinions of nearly 600 rural people in Washington concerning medical care. Two-thirds of the respondents favored the administration of medical care on a group basis. Those who wanted a change are a representative cross-section of the rural population. Only slight variations in the results were recorded when the sample was divided on the basis of income, size of farm, years of schooling and location. The philosophy that medical care should be considered a group responsibility was brought out when nearly four-fifths of the people replied that it "was just as logical to adopt tax measures to finance free medical care as to finance free education for every child."

Levels of Living

[4] *A Scale for the Measurement of the Values in Rural Living* has been developed at Cornell University. The Likert technique was used in the construction of the scale because (1) it appears to be a valid instrument for measuring opinions, (2) it develops reliable scales, (3) no judges are needed to rank the items, and (4) the internal consistency and split-half reliability of a Likert scale can be checked quickly when used with a new group.

In finding statements that express an advantage or disadvantage of the rural environment, 250 opinions were gathered and classified into ten phases of rural living, namely, the rural environment as a place for (1) healthful living, (2) doing enjoyable work through farming, (3) obtaining the necessary education for life, (4) earning a satisfactory living through farming, (5) enjoying wholesome recreation and leisure, (6) having aesthetically pleasing experiences, (7) carrying on a sociable life as a community member, (8) obtaining the necessary facilities for a good level of living.

- (9) developing wholesome family life, and
(10) the proper rearing of children.

The scales have been used with (1) 260 Cornell University students, (2) 1001 high school students from the city of Ithaca and the village of Trumansburg, and (3) 513 men and women 20 years of age or older who lived in rural Tompkins County. The text is supplemented with 31 tables giving data on the tests.

[37] A bulletin, *How Families Use Their Incomes*, prepared by the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, contains descriptive material (36 tables and 36 figures) on the economic position of urban and rural families in the United States. It shows how families spend their incomes for food, clothing, housing, medical care, and other needs and wants. Changes that have taken place in family spending in the past ten years and circumstances that make important differences in family spending patterns are shown.

[6] *Housing in the South* is a statistical summary of the housing conditions in thirteen southern States. Farm houses, nonfarm houses and Negro houses are treated in separate sections of the report and comparisons are made between States and between the South and the rest of the United States. The data are drawn from 1940 and 1947 Census publications.

[23] In Part I of this series of bulletins on the *Differences Between Rural and Urban Levels of Living* it was shown that rural people are disadvantaged, compared with urban people, in most elements of the level of living for which there are measures. Part II compares the level of living of farm and nonfarm people in the three major regions of the United States: the North, South and West. When the incomes, housing, medical services, educational facilities and achievement, local government expenditures, and other community services were analyzed, it was found that for most items (1) the South ranked below the North and the West and (2) the farm population ranked below the nonfarm population in each region.

Miscellaneous

[10] In Spokane and Skagit Counties in the State of Washington, a study of 3,192 rural children in grades four through eight was made in 1945 "in an attempt to throw some light upon the relationship of mental ability, personality adjustment, and certain health indices to economic factors as determined by economic land use classification." The schools cooperated in giving the Otis Quick-Scoring Mental Ability Test and the California Test of Personality and in supplying data from the health record cards. Land classifications were designated by specially prepared maps using five land classes, with Class One representing the highest income level. This classification was used for the 2,042 children on farms. There were also 893 children in towns, and 257 lived in open country but not on farms.

Although no definite relationship was found between intelligence and economic land use classification, the children living in large towns and on Land Class Two did somewhat better than the others. This may be due to better school facilities and more cultural advantages in the homes and communities of these children. Land Class Five children and those in the open country scored lowest on educational achievement.

Children living on the better land classes were superior in personality adjustment as shown by (1) sense of personal worth, (2) freedom from withdrawing tendencies, (3) freedom from nervous tendencies, (4) social standards, (5) freedom from anti-social tendencies, and (6) family relations. They did less well in social skills and boys on the better land scored lowest of all groups in self-reliance.

There were no consistent differences in the gross health indices in relation to land class. Greater differences might have been shown if clinical indices of health had been available. The study showed the need for a more thorough program of immunization against communicable diseases and better dental care for rural children.

[30] *Successful Meetings for Farm People*, is the subject of a recent bulletin from

the University of Kentucky. The author points out that successful meetings require careful preparation and skillful conducting. His suggestions include the following: (1) Plan the meeting well ahead of time, (2) notify all members of the coming meeting, (3) prepare for the details of the meeting, (4) determine the order of activities for the meeting and follow it closely, and (5) close the meeting on time. The business, educational, and recreational activities should be planned to meet the needs of the group.

[36] Population growth, and expanding agricultural production, a rising level of living and changes in the level of employment, general price level, and foreign markets are among the topics considered in outlining a *Long-Range Agricultural Policy*.

[22] *Botany and Our Social Economy* is a plea for conservation. The sections entitled "Human Barriers" and "Educational Opportunity" indicate the social forces that impede conservation and suggest the kinds of social control that are necessary.

[41] A study of *Farm Inheritance and Settlement of Estates* in Montgomery County, Virginia was sponsored by the Southeast Land Tenure Committee. The area studied is largely within the Auburn Magisterial District where practically all the farms are operated by the owners. The principle objectives sought by farm owners in the transfer of their property are equality of distribution and security of the surviving spouse. Problems arise because of the lack of a clear understanding of the operation of the laws of descent and distribution and because many die without a will. Of the 106 farm owners who died between 1900 and 1946, only 39 had prepared a will. Forty percent of these wills were filed within six months of the owners' deaths. Information obtained

in 1947 from 45 land owners showed that only 11 had made wills although others planned to file them.

In making wills, the management of life estates left to widows and the subdivision of farms should be given careful attention. The authors think that: "A will, which is prepared at an early age with the functions of inheritance in mind and which is modified from time to time as family conditions and the amount of property change, would go a long way toward removing the problems in estate settlements. It would be a step forward in the continued improvement of agricultural production and the stability of rural communities."

[28] Nine major types of county extension organization are listed, diagrammed, and discussed. Although no one kind of organization is equally adaptable to all local situations, at least one plan will fit each local extension unit. Some of the social factors affecting extension organization and programs are discussed and it is upon these that sound organizational principles may be formulated.

[7] *Vermont's Agricultural College Graduates* are found in nearly 100 different agricultural occupations, but less than a fifth are farm operators. About three-fifths of the graduates live in Vermont, most of them in the smaller villages and rural areas. Nearly three-fourths of the graduates believe that their college training prepared them well for their jobs, but many made specific recommendations for curriculum improvement. The report analyzes variations in income and occupational mobility, the relation between the graduate's occupation and his college major, and the attitudes of employers towards agricultural college graduates.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis D. Duncan

Rural Life in Argentina. By Carl C. Taylor
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948. Pp. xx + 464. \$6.00.

There has long been need for more emphasis on systematic studies from other countries to provide balance in the data and give a basis for generalizations applicable outside the United States.

In view of this need, *Rural Life in Argentina* is a welcome contribution to rural sociological literature. It is based on slightly more than one year's study and research in Argentina from March, 1942 to April, 1943, while Dr. Taylor was on a research assignment with the United States Department of State. He traveled 20,000 miles in Argentina, personally interviewed more than 120 families, and gathered data on population and rural life from various governmental agencies and other sources.

The book contains 17 chapters. An epilogue written in October, 1947 is added to point out a few of the preliminary results of the 1947 population census, the first of this kind since 1914 which, with previous censuses, gives the population data for the report. Other significant developments since the writing of the manuscript are also noted.

The first two chapters of the book give a panorama of 100 days of travel in all major farming areas in the country. A more analytical approach follows, including discussions on the people, the influences of immigration, Argentine farm people, the evolution of Argentine agriculture and rural life, the settling of the country, land tenure and distribution, and rural locality groups and communities. There are also accounts of levels of living, the farm home and family, colonization and resettlement programs, agricultural enlightenment and reform, farm organizations and farm publics, and, finally, the farmer's place in Argentine agriculture.

Of the wealth of information contained in this work, only a few generalizations can be made here. These are as follows:

1. Population settlement in Argentina came about by the population centers moving from the interior toward the coast, a reverse of the process in the United States.

2. In Argentina, 74 per cent of the population is urban, about half in cities of over 10,000; and 26 percent is rural. Practically all the farm people live on isolated farmsteads.

3. Despite the high degree of urbanization, Argentina is predominantly agricultural. Farming is its greatest economic enterprise, and landowners are its most influential group.

4. There is probably no other society wherein the inhabitants prize ownership of farm land more than in Argentina, yet 44 per cent of the farmers are tenants and there is a semi-monopoly of the land in large holdings. Most of the tenants are hired men trying to ascend to ownership, not dispossessed owners.

5. Argentine agriculture is of the extensive type and is highly regionalized. With some overlapping, it falls roughly into the following type-farming areas: The cattle belt, the sheep belt, the cereal belt, the cotton belt, the sugar cane belt, the vineyard belt, the fruit belt, and the yerbamate belt. These are all described and mapped by the author.

6. Both birth rates and death rates have fallen steadily in Argentina. The birth rate declined to 24.3 in 1938; the death rate to 12 in 1934-38.

7. Physical levels of living (food, clothing, housing, etc.) are approximately as high in rural as in urban areas, but cultural levels are much lower. The rural districts have little neighborhood and community life, a scarcity or inadequacy of social institutions, and a high degree of isolation.

8. Dr. Taylor feels that the opportunities for further industrialization in Argentina are not very great and that "its choice is

between that of an imminent decline of population—within the next 25 years—or the gradual shift to a more intensive system of agriculture." (P. 86.)

This is a pioneer work and one of its important results should be to stimulate Argentines to make rural life studies of their own country. The book will be useful in rural sociology courses and is a fundamental contribution to sociological literature on Latin America.

N. L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

Farming and Democracy. By A. Whitley Griswold. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. Pp. ix + 227. \$3.00.

The theme of this well documented and well reasoned essay is that "... family farming does not necessarily produce democracy. ... There is certainly no universal law that equates agrarianism and democracy or family farming and democracy. On the contrary, historical evidence to date seems to indicate that democracy has flourished most in the few countries, with the notable exception of Germany, that have attained a high degree of industrialization and urbanization." (86-87)

The author thinks it is time we examine one of our most hoary and widely accepted ideas; namely, the Jeffersonian doctrine that owner-occupied family farms constitute a soil from which democracy and all the virtues supposedly associated with it inevitably flourish. "The romantic appeal of the symbol contrasts strangely with the economic fortunes of the reality," (5) says the author; and then goes on to quote from the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and other sources to show that "the years have not dealt kindly with the family farm." (5)

The contrasting conditions and historical evolution of democracy in the United States, Britain and France are described authoritatively as support for the main thesis, and the book ends with a discussion of "prospects" for the family farm. It is not to be saved, he thinks, by a "rain of subsidies on

the just and the unjust," or by "agrarian particularism" (214); but, neither is it doomed by technology. There are too many people in farming—family farming—living on or below the economic margin. Some of these persons and other productive resources ought to be "reallocated" to other pursuits. The aim should be not to preserve the family farm *per se*, but to get "full production, full employment— and full democracy." (214)

The author makes his point that the formula, agrarianism equals democracy, is not a universal one. Certainly the matrix of democracy—whatever that word means, and the author doesn't tell us—is much more complex. That democracy tends to arise and exist in primary groups (See C. H. Cooley) and that primary groups tend to prevail in agriculture is a thesis still susceptible to validation, as far as local units of society are concerned. That farmers have submitted to autocratic state governments is also true as the author demonstrates. Because the conditions and outlines of democracy are complicated and somewhat different from one culture to another, we may well consider further the implications of the family farm in American culture. This reviewer is not yet prepared to say that we may remain indifferent to the question as to whether we should preserve the family farm or allow unlimited concentration of property in land. Agrarianism is still a live organism and will condition agricultural policy in the United States for a long time to come.

LOWRY NELSON.

University of Minnesota.

The Hatfields and the McCoy's. By Virgil Carrington Jones. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948. Pp. xiii + 293. \$3.75.

This careful study of the rise, course and decline of the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud on the border between Kentucky and West Virginia, all of which happened between 1860 and 1920, merits wide reading because of its historical interest and extended classroom use in courses in rural sociology, the

American family and the history of American civilization. The Hatfields (West Virginia) and the McCoys (Kentucky) were rival clans with no particular enmity until the Civil War, when the Hatfields joined the Confederacy and the McCoys the Union. From that time on differences between these great family systems widened and a course of murder and destruction set in, only broken up finally by the civilizing influences of railroads, coal mining, urbanization and industrial development. Fine people, who a generation or so later were to produce doctors, engineers, lawyers, governors and great public leaders, spent many years at as murderous a family feud as Western Society has seen possibly since the one of the Schaire-Ausregisil families so ably reported for the dark ages of the West by Gregory of Tours.

Now that we have a good history of this feud and others (see my *Family and Civilization*) a good deal of American history ought to be rewritten in order for us to understand ourselves. Further, many of our ballads about this and similar encounters, should be reoriented in terms of understanding. The only similar occurrence in history about which the author seems acquainted is that famous feud used by Shakespeare for the vehicle in his *Romeo and Juliet*. It should be pointed out that, beginning with Homer, all epic poems of Western society, and historical writings of the type such as *Tacitus Germania*, deal with this same kind of native Western family system. Understanding one involves understanding the others, and understanding all is essential to a grasp of the basic family system about which we now write so much. This book is also a must for those who want to understand the coal miners' strife. Congratulations to Mr. Jones for such a fine piece of work.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

Families in Trouble. By Earl Lonon Koos with a preface by Robert S. Lynd. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 134. \$2.25.

The title of this book could have been *Low Income Families in Trouble*. It deals with urban families but the situations discussed would apply to families anywhere. The adequacy and organization of the families, a description of their troubles, and the effects of the troubles are excellently presented. The solution of the troubles does not receive much attention. Perhaps such problems are not solved.

The author points out that the stigma attached to needing help prevents full use of the services of many of the agencies that are available. The attitude of social workers and the conditions attached to applying for and receiving help deter the families in many instances. In the minds of the families private family agencies as well as public relief agencies are charities and social workers are "buttinskies."

The problem is not one of setting up institutions and waiting for people to come to them when in trouble, but of recognizing that in our involved opportunistic culture we are faced with the problem of recognizing troubles as concomitants of that culture, and then of proceeding on the basis that our institutionalized services must realistically approach those troubles in ways that can be acceptable to members of that culture. Social work publicity should be geared to acquainting the needy with a knowledge of what is available for their use rather than the potential giver with reasons for his giving.

The book contains many direct quotations and illustrations which make it easy and interesting reading.

MATTIE CAL MAXTED.

University of Arkansas.

With A Southern Accent. By Viola Goode Liddell. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. 261. \$3.00.

The author presents a record of her family extending over an epoch of economic and social change, from the post-war reconstruction of the eighteen eighties to the nineteen twenties. The place setting is central Alabama, where the author was born

and where she resides at present, but the import of the story is generally of the Deep South of cotton culture.

The father is the one clear hero of the account. He understood that his problems were those of the South generally. He saw the spread of boll weevil, the decline of cotton economy, and attempted to adjust through crop diversification, grass lands, and the introduction of pure breed cattle; and he realized the difficulty of the transition—the lack of markets, the problem of control of tick fever as the program ran counter to individualistic attitudes and ideas of free choice through local option. Perhaps the author's contribution is more substantial where she deals with changing customs in dress and manners, religious practices, superstitions, the self-centeredness of childhood and the perils of youth. She explains without apology or defense the attitude of the whites toward Negroes prevailing in that area and time.

The social scientist may gain vicarious experience and more intimate understanding of Southern culture and recent social history from the reading of this book. At least, he would find the book entertaining and witty. The increasing numbers of articles, reviews, and bibliographies dealing with fiction and biography carried in social science magazines evidence a trend toward the extended use of such materials for achieving a better appreciation of the "human element."

J. L. CHARLTON.

University of Arkansas.

Green Farm. By Ralph E. Blount. New York: The Exposition Press, 1947. \$2.00.

Here is a little book that will be a real pleasure to those people who like to know what farm life was like three-quarters of a century ago. The book, *Green Farm*, takes its name not from a farm that is green, but rather from two brothers named Green who went into east central Kansas a little less than a hundred years ago to find a good place to develop a ranch. The Greens did ranch at first, but wheat has been the main crop for well over half a century. The

author, a retired school teacher, worked on the farm as a boy with his uncles and now lives there. He makes the reader see the farm when he was a boy, and at present; not just the farm in general but the fields, rock walls, gates, the crevices in the high ledges by the river, the wooded draws leading across the farm, the songs of the birds, and the twilight.

ARTHUR RAPER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Savagery to Civilization. By Norbert F. Dougherty. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1947. Pp. 92. \$2.00. (Paper).

The author has held many responsible positions in the business world and is convinced that if we are to make further advances from *Savagery to Civilization* the business man must assume the role of leadership. The business leader is given credit for all of the advances which have been made in the last few centuries and doubt is expressed as to whether leaders in the fields of politics, religion, education and labor have made any contributions at all. He is convinced that the so-called common man is not competent to look after his own best interest.

The author seems convinced that the real basic cause of all man's troubles is the emphasis which religious leaders place on the future life. However in another chapter he blames all of our ills on over-population and suggests that rigid birth control is our only hope.

The reader will be startled by some of the statements in the book. Here are some samples: "Any official . . . who upholds the right to strike is more than a traitor." "In all history, one might surmise that the purpose of the educator has been to suppress education," "In my opinion, state governments have outlived their usefulness . . ." "Just so long as we have politicians with us who must depend upon popular elections . . . the world will get into greater and greater confusion."

C. MORTON HANNA.

The Louisville Presbyterian Seminary.

The Next Development in Man. By L. L. Whyte. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. xiii + 322. \$3.50.

A physicist steeped in Hegelian and Hellenic metaphysics writes a philosophy of history covering five stages in which he traces man's fall from innocence through the ages of conflict and moral dualisms toward the coming era of unitary man and society. Man fell from amoral innocence into dualistic sin with the birth of reason and sought salvation by creating ethical and intellectual absolutes, first under the illusion of monotheism and then through quantitative measurement of all things. But the unitary society of the future will be neither moral nor predominantly intellectual. Salvation will come through acceptance of and absorption in the developmental process.

If this is too vague (unitary thought is necessarily vague) perhaps it could be understood to mean that Unitary Man will accept the world as he finds it, but not cease to improve it.

The ages of individualism must be replaced by the coming age of community. The word "communism" is avoided, although the author thinks Russia is on the right track and ahead of all other nations in unitary thinking. She alone places social technology ahead of theological illusions, finance and competition. The U.S.A. has achieved world dominance as the result of its financial and technological superiority in the late war and can lead in the establishment of the new unitary order if it abandons its attempt at financial control of the world and gives freely of its resources to the other peoples in an effort to raise their level of life and thought. This imperialism (the word is not used) is the last great evidence of social sin. If it is not abandoned the white peoples will be replaced by the colored races. The future belongs to Asia anyway, after the U.S.A. sacrifices its monetary dominance to world community.

How does the author know all this? Mainly by intuition, which he regards as superior to reason. He picks out typical historical personalities to illustrate his interpretations and prophecies. Socrates was more normal

than Jesus, but both were conflict ridden. Nietzsche was a great prophet for those who could understand him. Goethe was the world's only perfectly unified personality.

The book is a mess, a bundle of contradictions and vague meanderings, interspersed with keen criticisms of past civilizations and much informal wisdom. Its prophecy of a coming community of peoples is gratifying, if somewhat ecstatic. However, all that is valid in this book has been better said elsewhere and less obscured by insufferable style and ignorance of social science vocabulary.

L. L. BERNARD.

Pennsylvania
State College.

Marriage for Moderns (Rev. Ed.) By Henry A. Bowman. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. xi + 544. \$4.00.

The junior college course in Marriage is rightly concerned with preparation for living a well adjusted married life, and this book is admirably built for that purpose. It is definitely not designed for a course on the family as a historical and sociological institution. Each of its twenty-six chapters, epilogue, and glossary is retained in essentials. The questions for discussion of each chapter's content are aimed at the functional needs of college students who are in some stage of the experience leading to monogamy.

The book has in a very real way grown out of the experience of the Department of Marriage Education at Stephens College. The author's thesis, that marriage is for persons who are mature, leaves out of consideration any simple set of rules for blissful harmony and aims the discussion at problems and methods suitable to people capable of college pursuits.

This second edition reflects certain new insights developed in the intervening six years. Chapter VIII, Courtship and Engagement, incorporates eighteen additions or changes. One of these is the change from "sex repression" to "sexual restraint" (p. 245-246). The description of repression in

the glossary has this new sentence added: " 'Repression' is not synonymous with 'restraint', 'control'." The changes in the text are in harmony with this emphasis.

Distinct additions to this edition include a new section on the role of religion in marital adjustment, one on the Rh factor in heredity, and the Dickinson-Belskie birth series reproduced from the "Birth Atlas" published by the Maternity Center Association of New York City.

His discussion on the role of religion in marital adjustment is a well-balanced six-page statement that contains one weak paragraph (p. 336), setting numerical analysis over against qualitative evaluation with which he associates religion.

MERTON D. OYLER.

Berea College.

The Labor Force in the United States 1890-1960. By John D. Durand. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948. Pp. xviii + 284. \$2.50.

This most recent addition to the growing and imposing series of Social Science Research Council monographs is of more general interest than its rather restricted title would seem to indicate. Not only specialists in such fields as population and labor economics, but also the statistician and the general student of sociology will find it relevant. The catholic appeal of Durand's investigation stems from the importance and timeliness of its subject—the labor force in the United States—on the one hand, and the detailed exposition of the research problems involved in handling census materials on the other hand.

After a compact description and analysis of past and future trends in the size and composition of the labor force, the author proceeds to detailed analysis of some of the demographic, economic, and cultural factors which affect it. Chapters on the war-time expansion and post-war contraction, future labor force projections, and the demographic aspects of labor force policy complete this well executed study.

Mr. Durand has an uncommonly healthy respect for the limitations of his data.

Further, he is concerned to caution the reader against a causal interpretation of his "factorial analyses." Particularly commendable is the explicit statement of assumptions and detailed descriptions of the statistical operations involved. Four methodological appendixes devoted to concise and straightforward descriptions of the calculation and use of "adjustment ratios," factorial analysis by the "method of multiple standardization with allocation of interactions," the methods of projecting trends, and the derivation of such measures as "the average number of years in the labor force" are cases in point. The author's statistical analysis of the effect of changing customs on the employment of women, which he conceptualizes as "the succession of generations," by a cohort method is simply but ingeniously done.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ.

Bucknell University.

1948 Farmers Income Tax. By Samuel M. Monatt. Chicago and New York: Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1948. Pp. 176. (8½"x11", paper); \$3.00.

Here is a manual especially prepared for everyone concerned with the federal income tax problems of the average farmer, as well as the unusual farmer, the individually-owned or partnership operated farm.

Briefly, beginning with Farm Schedule 1040F, each item, each line, is taken up, analyzed, explained, and its sound and proper treatment illustrated with representative facts and figures from a typical farm or farm activity, reproduced on actual segments of the form properly completed. The aim is to show exactly *what* to do for each item, and *how* and *why* it should be done. Nearly everything that could come up in "real-life" farm tax work is represented, its *why's* and *wherefore's* made understandably plain.

After explaining the use of Farm Schedule 1040F, the results from the schedule are carried through, *and into*, the Return Form 1040—together with the farmer's income from other sources. In the process his personal income tax problems, *off* or *on* the

farm, are thus carefully considered and discussed.

Advantages and disadvantages of reporting on cash basis, accrual basis, crop basis; other options and choices involved in Commodity Credit Loan treatment, development expenses, handling of draft, breeding, and dairy animals; livestock raisers' special inventory method, to mention just a few, are all helpfully treated. Also treated are "farm capital assets," their depreciation, methods and rates of depreciation, tax and effects of sale.

Particular attention is paid to the special problems involved in leased farms, farm cooperatives whether selling or buying type, "hedging" transactions, carry-forwards and carry-backs with special Refund Form 1045 and Refund Form 843; family labor accounting for farm products consumed on the farm or traded for farm or personal use; and in federal returns (other than income tax) to be filed by farmers; buying or selling a farm; fiscal year farm accounting, short period tax returns, changes from fiscal year to calendar year and vice versa.

Outstanding practical and helpful features, of this manual include: nearly two-score sound and proper ways to keep at "legal lows" income taxes on farm income itself and farmer's individual income; appraisal of tax values involved in sale of draft or breeding animals, operating farm as family partnership, tax benefit rule, sales v. trade-ins, standard deduction v. actual deduction, joint v. separate return, charitable contributions in farm property, etc. Detailed check lists of farm income and expenses; special "slants" on farmer-veterans out of service in 1947 and prior to 1947; farmer's federal tax calendar; and many other tax helps round out this dependable tax manual.

G. K. TERPENING.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

American Farmers' and Rural Organizations. By David Edgar Lindstrom. (Edited by Herbert McNee Hamlin).

Champaign, Ill.: The Garrand Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 457. \$4.75.

For first courses in college or advanced high school classes, as well as for workers needing a practical aid in dealing with dynamic elements of rural life, this book meets a critical need in excellent style. It is an up-to-date comprehensive, and well documented coverage of information in its field, and yields an extensive range of useful principles.

The book has five main sections: (1) an overall view of the field of farmers' and rural organizations with definitions of terms; (2) historical backgrounds; (3) the membership, organization plans, and programs of present day organizations; (4) organizational processes and principles; and (5) national policies, rural values, and human welfare especially considered. Lindstrom ably develops the often overlooked point that:

Where group influences are brought to bear on an individual other reasons than desire for economic gain may influence his appraisal of the value of organizations. Other individual appeals may be for protection, security, pride, power, comfort, pleasure, ideals, affection; add to these such social ideals as desire for new experience, response, recognition or for cooperation, and the importance of working in groups comes into prominence. (Pp. 370-373.)

Chapter XXII is a discussion of essential principles of organization, which are summarized (p. 406) as follows:

An understanding of the essential principles for organization is important to the success of any group: (1) the people concerned must feel the organization and be willing to contribute something to it; (2) the aims and purposes of the organization should be clearly outlined; (3) the officer and committee setup should be adequate; (4) the programs should be planned to carry out the aims and purposes of the organization; (5) the projects and activities should grow out of the needs and desires of the members and be carried to a successful conclusion; (6) the people enrolled as members should feel themselves a part of the organization, not only by receiving benefits, but also by being given some responsibility

in the work of the organization; (7) the organization should endeavor to cooperate with other groups and organizations working on common or similar problems; and (8) the organization should be made adaptable to changing conditions or cease operation when its function is performed.

The author restricts the uses of the book by giving only limited information on specific program procedures. For example, extension workers interested in the most up-to-date guides for planning county programs will turn to other sources—chiefly reports of recent workshops and mimeographed guides used in individual states. The book presents Illinois patterns mainly, but is not unduly weighted in this respect considering the volume of research done on the subject in that state. As related to other countries, the author overlooks the Rural Woman's Movement, and fails to mention the Danish Agricultural Societies or organization-government relationships in other countries for carrying on work comparable to that of our Cooperative Agricultural Extension System.

W. H. STACY.

Iowa State College.

Russia in Flux. By Sir John Maynard. Edited and Abridged by S. Haden Guest, from "Russia in Flux" and "The Russian Peasant and Other Studies." New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. 1p. xviii + 564. \$6.50.

This book represents a minute analysis of the social currents that set the stage for the October Revolution and of the structure of the Soviet socialist society which was built, to a remarkable degree by trial and error, in the period between the two World Wars. The author considers the Russian peasant the principal determinant of historical development ("it was the peasants and their grievances that made all the Russian revolutions," p. 10) and dedicates almost one half of his study to an analysis of the economic and political factors bearing directly or indirectly on the transformation of feudalist Russia to the land of rural collectivism. His illuminating scrutiny of

the collective farm (the *kolkhoz*), containing numerous generalizations of sociological import, is unequaled in the English literature on the subject.

The author's main thesis is that the Soviet society can be explained only in part in terms of a Marxian blueprint, and that its basic features are derived from a new application of the traditional Russian institutions. The utter subordination of the church to the state, the unqualified authoritarianism, the organization of fear in the form of systematic terror by the government, rural collectivism, and "congregationalist" emphasis in social philosophy are the guiding principles of both the old and the new regimes. Even the "Party" is not new; it is a lay church and its members a lay priesthood, fighting heretics and supplying the state with officials.

However, he finds that despite its negation of the fundamental rights of political democracy, its "terrifying efficiency" in suppressing the dissemination of truth, and its censorship of scientific inquiry and artistic pursuits, the Soviet system is more beneficial to the Russian people than was the Tsarist regime. Soviet society has given the peasant "the advantages of *grande culture* without the incubus of landlordism, and has avoided the burden of peasant indebtedness, ordinarily so grave a feature of all peasant societies." (pp. 409-410.) The woman, traditionally an inferior member of the patriarchal society, has "gained greatly in freedom and human dignity." (p. 409) The industrial worker has more economic security than either his Tsarist predecessor or his Western European counterpart. Hundreds of non-Russian ethnical groups, most of which were deprived of many elementary rights during the old regime, have been granted a great deal of freedom for cultural self-expression. However, the author is careful to note that despite the genuine accomplishments of the Soviet policy for nationalities it still is not the "miracle of completed performance which the propagandist would have us believe." (p. 473) Regional nationalism is systematically channeled into an indisputable subordination to

what is identified as "Soviet patriotism."

To sociologists interested in social planning, the place of the individual in socialist society, social mobility, rural socialism, socialist "class structure," and related topics this work offers a great treasure of pertinent and reliable information. The book is based on authoritative Russian sources, serious foreign studies, and first-hand observations made in the 1890's and in the 1930's.

A. VUCINICH.

Orangeburg, New York.

Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics. By Oliver Cromwell Cox. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948. Pp. xxxviii + 624. \$7.50.

This book offers a provocative analysis of the problem of bourgeois-proletarian relationships in contemporary society from the viewpoint of one who seems convinced that the Marxian class-struggle conception provides the basic key to the power relationships and power struggle of our times. In this framework the author also views the many aspects and facets of the race problem.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I is devoted to the study of the fundamental characteristics of a caste system. The data are taken almost entirely from already published materials on the Hindu caste system in India. The intimate relationships between such factors as religion, occupation, and the role of women to the caste structure are explored in some detail. Cox argues that the origin of the class system may be found in the success of the Brahmins in their struggle with the Kshatriyas for hegemony in the social order. The first portion of this book provides a much needed critical examination and integration of the vast body of materials on caste in Hindu India.

Part II is concerned with the growth of social classes out of the estate order of feudal Europe. "Thus, this was the supreme organizational triumph of capitalism: the shattering of the social estates, and the ascendance of individualism" (p. 147). He

differentiates a social class and a caste essentially on the basis that "... with reference to the social order, the caste is a status-bearing entity, while the social class is a *conceptual* stratum of status-bearing entities." Cox argues that the loosening of the social order with the advent of capitalism was followed by a new kind of social organization based on the using and viewing of the laboring population as a factor of production to be exploited. Thus, capitalism is innately opposed to human welfare and develops an ideology to support its hedonism backed by force when necessary. Political classes, antagonistic conflict groups, then emerge to maintain and to destroy the existent social order. This is the basis of the class struggle and the presentation and the outcome of this struggle are highly Marxism in flavor (but admittedly so).

Part III views the problem of race relations in the perspective of capitalism as the etiological factor. He attempts to show the techniques through which the ruling white group in the South maintains its power and creates conflict situations to support the ideology of the innate inferiority of the Negro. Most of the presentation is tenable, but the whole problem of race relations is thrown into a conflict nexus which precludes other frames of reference that may offer incisive insights to the problem.

Cox soundly criticizes the work of Warner and his students as being superficial and fires his loaded guns at "the mysticism" of Myrdal, and the naïveté of Park and Benedict. His approach is sort of a Sorokinism in reverse. After his analysis and his definitions, he proceeds to show the "inadequacies" and "fallacies" of others who do not use his concepts or adhere to his unilateralism.

This will undoubtedly be a highly controversial book. It is an admixture of first rate analysis and sophisticated unilateralism in the deep tinge of Marxism that underlies Cox's approach to race relations. If he only realized that even those who disagree with us may have some contribution to make, he would have a much more acceptable work. The serious student of social

stratification and race relations, however, in this reviewer's judgment should rate this work a "must" book.

NEAL GROSS.

Iowa State College.

The Place of Psychology in an Ideal University. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. Pp. 42. \$1.50.

This report was prepared by a commission of twelve distinguished authorities in psychology and related fields under the chairmanship of Dr. Alan Gregg, Director for the Medical Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation, appointed by President Conant, to advise on the future of psychology at Harvard. The report emphasizes the importance of the nature of the individual exposed to the educational process in contrast with so many recent books and reports that emphasize the nature and purpose of the learning process.

Although the science which comprises the interaction of organism and stimuli cannot consistently disregard either organism or environment, the Commission maintains it cannot lay claim to the whole field of human behavior and its derivatives. In other words, such areas of conceptualized institutional behavior as economics, political science, history, or parts of sociology are not, as such, part of the central subject of psychology. Sociology and psychology are different fields although related in the study of group behavior. The report concludes that undergraduate and graduate instruction in psychology should serve these four purposes: 1) As part of a general college education, 2) as a subordinate but valuable adjunct in preparation for other fields (e.g., education, law, medicine, business administration, the ministry, engineering, etc.). 3) as a subject of academic research and teaching, and 4) as a field of applied professional activity—psychotechnology, personnel work, educational and vocational guidance, clinical psychology, etc. It recommends an introductory course of two semesters, but does not favor placing psychology among required courses. It feels an improvement of the teaching of psychology

would encourage some of the professional schools such as medicine to require psychology for entrance, just as mathematics is required for entrance to schools of engineering and chemistry is required for entrance to medical schools. In turn, such action could hardly fail to aid departments of psychology in improving their teaching.

ROLAND R. RENNE.

Montana State College.

Integration of the Humanities and the Social Sciences: A Symposium. Southern Methodist University Studies No. 4. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1948. Pp. vii + 92. Paper \$1.50; Cloth \$2.00.

Since the core of both the humanities and the social sciences is an interest in humanity, it appears that the chasm between the fields could be narrowed or the two integrated for the mutual advantage of both. But in our culture the student of the humanities tends to dwell on the creation of past generations, while the social scientist is becoming more and more of a specialist. Students in either field tend to be oblivious to all else, although each should be able to make very valuable supplemental contributions to the other.

With the foregoing thoughts in mind sixty educators from many sections of this nation met at Southern Methodist University in the fall of 1947 to discuss ways in which the two fields of knowledge might be integrated. The papers presented at the meeting and the gist of the ensuing discussions comprise this volume. In addition to the theoretical implications resulting from such integration, the monograph brings out specifically the problems confronting those contemplating curriculum revision in universities. The final consensus developed at the meeting was that integration of the fields is both possible and desirable and the solution may most readily be approached by offering general university courses which cut across departmental lines.

JOHN C. BELCHER.

University of
Mississippi.

Community Planning for Peacetime Living.

Report of the 1945 Stanford Workshop on Community Leadership. Edited by Louis Wirth, Ernest R. Hilgard, and I. James Quillen. California: Stanford University Press, 1946. Pp. vii + 177. Paper \$1.50.

"The purpose of the Workshop (held August 10-19, 1945) was to assist volunteer lay leaders to prepare themselves more effectively to meet their responsibilities for community service and to consult together concerning policies of work and plans of action for their local communities."

Rather than a lay leaders' workshop, it was obviously a top level conference which gave opportunity for representatives of the various participating groups to get a preview of postwar needs and programs, and to explore possibilities of community cooperation in functional areas and localities where common needs call for cooperation instead of competition among overlapping specialized service agencies.

The report is divided into three major parts:

1. A sociologist looks at the community.
2. California leaders analyze the community's problems.
3. Special interest groups report their discussions and findings

The first part is a summary of eight lectures by Professor Wirth which set the stage for the conference. He said, "Not only must we heal the wounds of war; we must also find an adequate means of satisfying the new appetites generated during the war." This can best be accomplished by leaders working together on a community basis and in a democratic manner. "Our incentive lies in the great gap between what we have and what we might have."

We must provide for mass participation and lay leadership based upon local responsibility. Effective planning cannot be left to the experts alone. It requires the participation of the citizenry who ultimately will be affected and pay the bill. "We must lay the foundation in our communities for communion among men—a communion which lowers the barriers of caste, creed, and

station. We must learn to stake out goals that are neither too puny nor too Utopian. We must develop the instrumentation by which a mass democracy can function."

As one reads Part II of the report one can sense an attempt, not always successful, to break through the smugness of organizational and agency representatives. We must plan for youth. Farm problems are essentially the same kind as city problems. Schools should help in all phases of planning, but there is no plan for the development of the schools. Veterans should be taken care of locally. In intercultural relations the question is, have we done what we can; little thought is given to what might be done. Needed integration and co-operation among various agencies and organizations is mentioned and thereafter ignored.

Part III is characterized by a wealth of suggestions concerning problems to be met and lists of things to be done. However, there is a minimum of suggestions as to how to proceed. In the process of planning, participation by the people is largely forgotten. There appears to be a very real question whether a central planning agency can be established which will fire the imagination and enlist the support of the people strongly enough to curb the interest groups and plan for the community as a whole.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College.

General Education in the Negro College.

By Irving A. Derbigny. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 255. \$3.00.

This little volume appraises the programs of general education in Negro colleges from data collected in a survey of twenty Negro institutions. Almost every type of college having such a program is included in the sample; an adequate cross-sectional view of the programs of general education as practiced in these institutions is thus secured from the data. The findings of the study together with the author's evaluation are presented against the background of the changing forces of American life which pro-

vided the matrix out of which general education programs on a widespread basis developed. Included, also, in the background material is a review of the various objectives of these programs and types of curricula devised for their attainment. These materials are taken from studies of general education programs in white institutions, for, as the author points out, the present study represents the first investigation of such programs in Negro institutions.

The general tenor of the author's assessment is sharply critical in nature. He finds that there are various programs of general education in operation in Negro institutions; that the purposes of such programs are not clearly stated and, usually, these stated purposes bear little relationship to the offerings devised for their attainment; that there is a notable lack of unity among the objectives claimed for specific offerings, the branches of the survey courses, for example; that small provision is made for intimate understanding of the backgrounds of students and little recognition given to individual differences; that guidance programs connected with the programs are limited and that, in general, the evaluations of the degree of effectiveness are inadequate. A few notable exceptions among the colleges, at least on some of the charges, are noted.

It is clear that the author analyzes his findings within the framework of his special predilections regarding the form which general education for this minority should take. This is done by frequent interpolations rather than through a systematic exposition of the author's viewpoint on the subject. Since, in the judgment of the reviewer, frequent biases are revealed, it would have been better if the author had given a more explicit and systematic account of his views. Moreover, the manner of presentation tends to conceal certain contradictions in the author's philosophy. In addition, it must be noted that the volume is not well edited, many mistakes having gone unnoticed.

Many of the author's criticisms are valid and his suggestions for improvement should

be helpful to workers in this area of education. The volume should serve the purpose of stimulating persons responsible for the development of such programs to further inquiries and critical examination.

G. FRANKLIN EDWARDS.

Howard University.

Situational Analysis—An Observational Approach to Introductory Sociology.
By Lowell Juilliard Carr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. Pp. xiii + 178. \$2.50.

According to Professor Carr, "In every observational science except sociology the methodology of observation is the core of the beginning course." *Situational Analysis* was written to "break a tradition" by making a conformist out of introductory sociology in this respect. A slim volume, it is designed to be used either as a guide book for a course emphasizing observation and note book reporting, or as a supplement to one of eight standard texts. Following every chapter there are supplementary readings and textbook references, and, except for the first chapter, instructions for the notebook assignment. Name and subject indexes and a selected bibliography are provided.

Professor Carr deserves congratulations for being willing to depart from the conventional pattern of the introductory source in attempting to make the field of sociology more meaningful to introductory students. His approach certainly seems worth experimenting with. In this reviewer's judgment, his emphasis on the development of an independent and critical attitude toward the content of various media influencing public opinion is likely to be especially helpful. But his approach might well place more emphasis on elementary statistical methodology if the "methodology of observation" homologue to other sciences is to be adequately carried out.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

Michigan State College.

History of Pennsylvania. Second Edition.
By Wayland F. Dunaway. New York:

Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. Pp. xiii + 724. \$6.65.

This is a traditional history of Pennsylvania from its last aboriginal period as of about 1600 through World War II. The first half deals with temporal events to 1790 and the second half since then. Each half of the political-historical narrative is followed by summary chapters which deal with population, economics, transportation, social life, religion, education and the development of the arts and sciences. Excellent bibliographies at the end of each chapter make the work authoritative. However, for some reason, Tom Paine never gets mentioned.

The importance of the work to the sociologist comes from the great influence of Pennsylvania since its first founding by William Penn upon the formation of American patterns of life. In the East settled the Quakers, in the middle the Pennsylvania Dutch and on the border the Scotch-Irish, those embryonic shirt-sleeve Americans who plunged through the Appalachian-Ozarks region or down the Ohio to create that muddle culture so important until after the Civil War. As such it should be scanned carefully, particularly its first half, by those who really seek to understand the American scene.

From the critical point of view, it should be suggested that the work is too much "Pennsylvania" and too little "America," and too much traditional history with too little of a grasp of the essential themes of American social life which pass everywhere through its pages. The first half of the work repeatedly deals with the modified feudal system as it was transplanted to America. Yet one reads almost the whole work before he gets even a faint idea of what is meant by "proprietary colony" or a quit-rent system of land holdings. We constantly see the Scotch-Irish and other elements poised at the entrance to the Cumberland region and the head waters of the Ohio, yet we never are told specifically why, as soon as these people move over the hills or down the valley, Presbyterianism is going to change to camp meeting religion or how their do-

mestic family system is going to revert to the "feudin' and fightin'" of the primitive blood vengeance type.

Nevertheless, the work is a contribution to our field in that it, along with other monographic studies of the early local histories of our country, gives us a steadily increasing documentation of the formative sociological facts in American life. This will be appreciated more as the genetic point of view comes to the forefront in our science.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

Brensham Village. By John Moore. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948. Pp. xi + 239. \$2.75.

A work of fiction of this type is difficult to evaluate, although as light entertainment it surely has some justification for existence. Perhaps one steeped in the lore of the English countryside would find the book accurate in description, subtle to an astounding degree, and replete with situations of the most humorous type. On the other hand such a qualified critic might judge the work to be merely a succession of skillfully turned phrases about a way of life of which the author had little or no intimate knowledge. Certainly the rural sociologist can find more trustworthy sources for facts about rural life in England.

The book consists of seven parts with titles of "The Hill," "The Cricket Team," "The Darts Players," "The Frost," "The Groupers," "The Syndicate," and "The Bomb," respectively. In the first of these are presented thumb-nail sketches of the village, its setting, and the idiosyncrasies of its inhabitants, from the Mad Lord whose crusading, communistic daughter set great value upon the pickled remnants of an ancestor who had participated in the Crusades, to the low caste Fitchers and Gormleys, always feudin' 'n fightin', always present and sure to enliven any social gathering.

Parts II and III contain more sketches of village folk, the first treating their out-of-doors' activities and the second depicting

the intimacies of tavern life, with barely enough narrative to hold the sections together. The extreme dependence of the farmers and villagers upon the vagaries of the seasons is the theme of Part IV, and Part V is given over to description of the impact of the Oxford movement upon the village. In many ways this is the most humorous portion of the account. The villain of the story is the Syndicate, the company which seizes every opportunity to gobble up the land and deprives the villagers of the age-old privileges they have enjoyed.

The effects of World War II are traced in the final part. But even the bomb did little to shake Brensham from its customary groove.

T. LYNN SMITH.

Vanderbilt University.

The Direct Primary in Idaho. By Boyd A. Martin. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1947. Pp. ix + 149. \$3.25.

This book represents a compact historical and comparative study of the operation of the direct primary in a state which, in the last three decades, has adopted, repealed, and readopted a primary law. The major portion of the volume consists of a careful reporting of the development of the concept in American politics generally, as well as the history of its particular operation in Idaho. The most valuable section embodies an attempt empirically to evaluate the results of its operation in terms of (1) a poll of "expert" opinion and (2) tables and graphs showing the comparative numbers of candidates, minority and majority nominations, geographical distribution of offices, and cost to candidates under the direct primary and convention methods of nomination.

Dr. Martin is well aware of the limitations of his data and makes them explicit where he draws inferences. He seems, however, unfamiliar with standard polling procedures and this, together with the absence of base figures for reported percentages, seriously detracts from this portion of the research. The author concludes that the

direct primary law has, in general, been a success and a weapon in the hands of the voters despite certain defects. The final chapter lists a number of recommendations aimed at obviating the discovered deficiencies.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ.

Bucknell University.

Discovering Ourselves. Second Edition. By Edward A. Strecker and Kenneth E. Appel in collaboration with John W. Appel. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xix + 434. \$3.50.

As the title suggests, this is a non-technical introduction to the field of mental hygiene. First published in 1931, this book has been widely used in beginning courses as well as having found a place in the libraries of vocational counselors, clergymen, and others whose occupations require them to know something about mental hygiene in advising on personal problems. The reviewer notes that his copy is from the eighth reprinting of the second edition, the book having been revised in 1943. This number of reprintings seems to assure that the popularity of the book has not been declining.

The second edition has been changed by the addition of three new chapters dealing with the emotions, fear and anger. These were contributed by John W. Appel, a colleague of the two major authors in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania. Written in the same general style as the other chapters, the continuity of the book has not been disturbed by the introduction of this new material. Another major change is in the addition of a 39 page appendix of questions on the individual chapters. Of these questions the authors say "In searching for answers, one will experience practical exercises in psychiatric therapy and promote one's own mental health." This tone of reassurance is found throughout the book and constitutes one of its merits for the troubled reader.

It is regrettable that the first eight chapters dealing with "Conceptions of Modern Psychology" were not thoroughly revised

or deleted in the second edition. In chapter three, one still finds William McDougall's classification of instincts. In chapter seven the authors observe that "There are three great complexes which chiefly dominate the thinking and determine the action of the majority of adults. They are the ego complex, the sex complex, and the herd complex. The instincts and emotions may be grouped under these complexes." Following this is a list of instincts including those of acquisition, construction, play, gregariousness, suggestion-imitation, and appeal. The authors note that in this grouping and terminology they were guided by the conceptions of A. G. Tansley.

The last thirteen chapters of the book deal with the major mechanisms of behavior including chapters on such concepts as rationalization, dissociation, identification, and sublimation. Drawing upon their extensive experience as psychiatrists, the authors handle these mechanisms with skill. For the layman who wants a book on mental hygiene for greater self-understanding, these chapters can be recommended.

RAYMOND F. SLETTÖ.

The Ohio State University.

Graduate Work in the South. By Mary Bynum Pierson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. xii + 265. \$4.00.

This book gives a history of graduate work in the South, catalogues some of the obvious influences in its development, and describes present practices in the administration of such work. This is done in quite detailed fashion, on some points institution by institution. The descriptive material is supported by statistical tables. Those in the appendix alone take up one-sixth of the book. Progress and achievements are measured, says the author, "by the quantitative and qualitative standards for degrees." In the nature of the case the quantitative gets far more attention.

There is little effort at interpretation or evaluation until the final chapter on Progress and Perspectives, and even here much of the material is presented in quotations

from committees and authorities and is of rather conventional content, reminiscent of countless discussions at faculty meetings on requirements for the M. A. and Ph. D. degrees.

Sociological factors are all but totally absent in the discussions. The influences noted in the development of graduate degrees are wholly educational and stated in terms of various reports, of foundation grants and the like. There is no discussion of the functions to be performed by graduate work nor how these are changing in certain areas nor of the experimentation with new degrees, as for instance the Doctor of Social Work, as new professions arise.

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER.

Teachers College, Columbia University.

War Without End. By Powell Spring. Winter Park, Florida: The Orange Press, Inc., 1947. Pp. ix + 306. \$2.50.

Peace Through Principle. By Powell Spring. Winter Park, Florida: The Orange Press, Inc., 1947. Pp. viii + 349. \$2.50.

The first of these volumes of essays seeks to describe the actual results of our occupation of Germany. As an associate of the University of Human Science at Dornach, Switzerland, and long a resident of Europe, the author writes from first hand experience, and endeavors to awaken American public opinion from its "colossal degree of indifference and lethargy" by weighing our policies in Germany in the light of certain basic principles of democracy. He contends that our so-called de-Nazification has really become in practice a policy of re-Nazification, and that the "unity of Europe has been destroyed by the virtual imprisonment of the German people within their borders" in "the first nation-wide concentration camp in the history of the human race." Though we defeated Hitler in battle, we have adopted his principles and practices in our occupation of Germany, using "war-like measures in times of peace." We have isolated the German people from cultural intercourse with the rest of the West and have adopted economic policies which mean the death of the German economy. Especially is our theory

of collective guilt incompatible with the democratic ideal of respect for the individual. Democracy cannot be achieved by totalitarian means.

In *Peace Through Principle*, the author carries his argument further, and discusses some of the fundamental principles upon which lasting peace must be established. The basic principles have been outlined in the apparently forgotten Atlantic Charter. He indicates some of the chief obstacles to peace as: (1) the non-democratic principle of the veto exercised by the Big Four in the United Nations Organization; (2) the habit of seeing evil as a national trait; (3) the nationalization of news, and (4) heavier reparations than a nation can pay and keep a healthy economy. Great stress is placed upon the contribution which cultural exchange can make to an enduring peace, and the author contends that the re-establishment of international travel is a prerequisite to world understanding, and he sees little hope of peace until a genuine peace conference including all nations on a democratic basis is held. One vital truth emphasized again and again is that the unity of nations lies above rather than between them, "only through a common loyalty to the great fundamentals of democracy can nations find unity," and only through free cultural interchange between peoples can this loyalty be achieved.

EUGENE SMATHERS.

Big Lick, Tenn.

A Reader in General Anthropology. By Carleton S. Coon. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. x + 624. \$3.90

Professor Coon says his purpose in presenting this book is to select eye witness accounts from the abundant studies of cultures as wholes, some of them not easy to obtain, and to organize them on seven levels each progressively more complex than all which precede it. Level Zero is Life in the Trees, Carpenter's elaborate study of Gibbon society, and Level VI is One Complex Political Institution, represented by The Athenian Democracy and Imperial Rome. He measures degrees of complexity by (a) The

Specialization of Individuals, (b) Amount of Trade, (c) Number of Institutions to Which an Individual May Belong, and (d) Complexity of Institutions.

Because space does not permit more adequate treatment, only Levels I and VI will be cited here to illustrate the logic and workability of this arrangement of source materials. People living on Level I have no full-time specialists, have very little trade, have only one simple institution—the biological family and each individual can therefore belong to only one institution. On Level VI nearly everyone is a specialist in some kind of activity; there is almost complete exchange of products; an individual may belong to hundreds of institutions; and the State is a complex institution with hierarchies of many interlocking departments; equilibrium being maintained by an elaborate system of inter-departmental control. The other four levels move progressively from the simplicity of Level I to the complexity of Level VI.

It is impossible to name here the 20 selections presented, from 1 to 4, to represent each level, and the reviewer does not claim competence to pass on their excellency in comparison to others that might have been selected. He deems it more important to discuss the purpose, method and accomplishment of the whole as a text book in social science.

The author's purpose is to present "by orderly procedure" studies of cultures, "direct, personal observations and reporting of facts, who did what to whom, when, where, and in what fashion." He as much as says that by such a procedure prediction is made possible. He extols the quantitative method or approach because in it "lies the thesis that the main stream or streams of human culture must have proceeded from simpler to more complex." But only by the assignment of societies studied to Levels, by interlineated paragraphs, and sometimes by introductory and concluding remarks are the source materials quantified. It is a question whether other social scientists would appraise these as adequately constituting a quantitative approach.

The author, of course, could do nothing about the absence of quantitative data in the studies he selected but until those who attempt to study whole societies do more adequately quantify both their observations and their presentation of them, "the men who have tried to avoid studying the complexity of modern society" will not "possess the tools with which to explain fully. (Preface p. vi.)

This book was avowedly written to serve as an elementary text book in cultural or social anthropology. If I were to teach such a course I would most certainly select it and would make great use of the author's own professional contributions to it. It is a valuable contribution to general readers of whom there should be many. It is also a contribution to social science methodology. But probably its greatest contribution to social scientists is its demonstration that all fields of social science are required to understand a complex, modern society. Even Imperial Rome was not as complex as a non-totalitarian society like democratic America. Each such society is more than "One Complex Political Institution" because it has had diverse origins, is interpenetrated by components of dozens of cultures and in its various parts operates on all of Coon's six Levels and more. Professor Coon sets a task which he and the anthropologists alone cannot complete for its completion will require the synthesis or integration of all the social sciences.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D. C.

CHECK LIST OF BOOKS

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Boletin. Ano VI, No. 2. Lima, Peru: 1947. Pp. 172. (Free) Three anthropometrical studies of school children.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland B. Tate

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28-30

In attempting to obtain guidance from members of the Rural Sociological Society in making plans for the meeting to be held this year two questionnaires were sent out: the first to a sample of seventy members of the Society; the second to the officers of the Society. We allowed three choices, and received the following results after weighting first choices as 3, second choices as 2, and third choices as 1:

Meet alone at Saint Mary's Lake in Michigan in August—77

Meet with the Scientific groups in Cleveland in December—53

Meet with the American Sociological Society in Chicago in December—107

Since the poll went out, Franklin Frazier has written saying he would welcome two joint programs with the American Sociological Society.

Each of the officers has indicated that both in terms of preference and anticipated attendance, the plan to hold the Rural Sociological Society Annual Meeting in Chicago in December with the American Sociological Society takes priority over any alternative proposal. Accordingly plans are being made for the Rural Sociological Meeting to be held at the Congress Hotel in Chicago December 28-30th in conjunction with the American Sociological Society. Reservations may be made by writing directly to the hotel.

Special meetings may be held either immediately prior to or immediately following the regular meetings in order to permit certain groups to get together and discuss problems of mutual interest. The Extension sociologists represent one such group; members of the American Library Association particularly interested in rural library work have indicated a similar desire. We are investigating further the degree of interest in

such special meetings and will make announcements regarding plans in the December issue of *Rural Sociology*.

Charles P. Loomis, President

Edgar A. Schuler, Chairman

Planning Committee for the annual meeting

Brigham Young University. Two new members, Mr. Ray Canning and Mr. Wilford Smith, have been added to the Department of Sociology for next year. Both men have their masters degree and are studying at the University of Southern California and the University of Washington, respectively, for the Ph.D. degree.

The Department of Sociology was one of the sponsors of a Family Life Institute held at the University during the week of June 21-25. Dr. Howard E. Wilkening of the University of California at Los Angeles was a special lecturer.

Cornell University. Professor L. S. Cottrell, Jr., resigned as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology July 1, 1948 to become Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Cornell University. Professor Robert A. Polson was appointed as Acting Head.

Professor W. A. Anderson sailed from China for this country on June 30. He arrived in San Francisco July 24 and after visiting with his daughter and her family in Seattle, Washington returned to Ithaca in August.

Dr. William W. Reeder has been appointed to an assistant professorship. His duties will be teaching and research.

Dr. Howard E. Thomas joined the staff on July 1, 1948 as an associate professor to work on the farm labor phase of the department's expansive program. He is not new to Cornell since he received his Ph.D. here in June 1945. Last year he taught at Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Professor R. C. Clark spent four weeks

in Bethel, Maine, on the teaching staff of the Second National Training Laboratory in Group Development. He served as coordinator for clinics in special areas of group discussions, conference planning, communication and socio-drama. He also served as coordinator for the eight agricultural extension persons present, four of whom were from Puerto Rico. Harold Capener, a graduate student, also attended this training laboratory.

William E. Skelton is to be an assistant in the department during 1948-49. He is working on a 4-H leadership study.

Harold Capener, Lee Coleman and William Forsyth are continuing their studies in the Odessa area.

Edward Moe is making a community area study in Richfield Springs-Van Hornesville. He will be an assistant in the department with the beginning of the fall term.

Kansas State College; University of Nebraska. Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station has just published *Rural Communities and Organizations*, a study of group life in Ellis County, Kansas. It is a cooperative study with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Authors are A. H. Anderson, U.S.D.A., Social Science Analyst at Nebraska's College of Agriculture, and Randall C. Hill, Professor of Sociology, Kansas State College. It is a 51 page bulletin in a series of studies carried out in counties selected to represent major types of farming areas in the United States. Ellis County is representative of the Central Wheat Area.

Ohio State University. A highly functional approach is being undertaken in the teaching of rural sociology courses in the Ohio State University College of Agriculture. In order to make these courses of greater service to students emphasis is on facts, principles, and practices of effective living in modern society. Special attention is given to personality development, marriage and family living, occupational adjustment, and group participation including discussion techniques.

The rural sociology section is continuing its cooperative research in mental and social

health in western Ohio. Funds for this social science program have been provided largely through the Division of Mental Hygiene, Ohio State Department of Public Welfare. These monies come in part from State appropriations and in part from allocations under the terms of the National Mental Health Act. This project, started in Miami County in 1946, is being extended to other areas. Emphasis is on problems of personal and social adjustment in the family, in education, in industry, and in neighborhood and community.

Dr. M. Taylor Matthews has joined the staff to make special studies of adjustment problems of migrant families from the Appalachian-Ozark Mountain areas to Ohio. R. H. Woodward of Iowa will join the research staff to make special studies of school mental health. Dr. A. R. Mangus is serving as Research Director.

Among the practical outcomes of this project is the establishment of the Upper Miami Valley Guidance Center in Miami County. This is the first center of its kind to serve rural people.

Purdue University. Dr. Harold E. Smith formerly of the University of Akron has joined the staff as assistant professor of Agricultural Sociology. A graduate of Penn State, Dr. Smith took his advance degrees at V. P. I. and Cornell. He will do research and extension in the fields of community organization and leadership.

Dr. J. Edwin Losey in charge of Agricultural Sociology has been named director of the annual Rural Leadership School. Formerly operating out of the Administration Office of the University the school is now one of the regular short course offerings of the College of Agriculture.

University of Puerto Rico. Professor Clarence Senior has resigned as director of the Social Service Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, to become associate director of the Puerto Rican Migration Study at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

Mr. Simon Rottenberg has been appointed acting director of the Center.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

University of Connecticut. The Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station announces the publication of Bulletin No. 261, "Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut," by Henry W. Riecken, Jr. and N. L. Whetten.

Dr. Whetten has been requested to prepare a paper entitled "Sociology and the Conservation of Renewable Natural Resources" to be presented at the Inter-American Conference on Conservation to be held at Denver, Colorado, from September 7 to 20, 1948.

Dr. Walter C. McKain, Jr. is preparing a paper entitled "Emerging Population Patterns in Connecticut that offer a Challenge to Librarians" to be delivered before the Library Institute meetings at Yale University, November 10 and 11, 1948.

DePauw University. Pre-registration in the Department of Sociology indicates a record enrollment for 1948-49. Mr. Raymond Mulligan who joined the staff last year as instructor has been advanced to assistant professor. There are now four full time men in the Department. Rural sociology receives a rather minor interest as the majority of DePauw students are from urban areas.

Harvard University. Harper & Brothers is bringing out in November a new volume by Carle C. Zimmerman on *The Family of Tomorrow*.

University of Illinois, College of Agriculture. David E. Lindstrom is the author of two books now available for college and general use. One entitled *American Farmers' and Rural Organizations* is published by Garrard Press, Campaign, Illinois; the other, entitled *American Rural Life*, is published by Ronald Press, New York.

Clinton L. Folse has been added to the staff as assistant in research. His first job probably will be to help organize and get under way a new project on a community approach to soil conservation. He is working for his Doctor's degree at Louisiana State University and will complete his thesis this fall.

University of Kentucky. The Department has established a social research Consultation Service for the purpose of assisting the citizens of Kentucky in their efforts to gather and interpret facts about their local communities prior to launching a community wide program; improve the efficiency of the organizations for which they are responsible, and analyze the significant social trends of the day as an aid to better planning for business, local government, education, or church work.

The Social Research Consultation Service is primarily advisory. It exists to help community, institutional, and club leaders conduct their own surveys but members of the Sociology Department will be available for consultation in any stages of a given project. The purpose behind the service is not necessarily to encourage more surveys (many communities and organizations are almost "surveyed" to death), but to be sure that the surveys which are made possess real scientific merit and will prove useful when far-reaching community or organizational decisions have to be made.

University of North Dakota. Dr. T. Wilson Cape, Acting Head of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Division of Social Work has passed away at age 55. He was a native of Wisconsin, a graduate of its University, and formerly President of the American Association of University Professors.

University of Wisconsin. Carl C. Taylor served as visiting professor of rural sociology during the summer session. He offered advanced courses in rural, social trends, and rural social regions. The enrollment in his courses included graduate students from several foreign countries as well as all sections of the United States.

George W. Hill served as chairman of the Governor's Committee on the Resettlement of Displaced Persons. His preliminary report of the findings of a state wide survey to determine the number of refugees who could be absorbed in Wisconsin has been submitted to the Governor.

J. H. Kolb has recently been named chairman of the University Graduate Division of the Social Studies. William H. Sewell is secretary of the Executive Committee of the Social Studies.

A. F. Wileden taught a course in rural social trends in the Summer School for Extension Workers which was held on the campus, June 28 to July 17.

John R. Barton who was recently named to the Governor's Library Committee is currently engaged in a study of rural libraries in Wisconsin. This research is sponsored by the graduate school.

Graduate assistants in rural sociology for the academic year 1948-49 include: James B. Tarver, B. S. Texas A. & M., M. A. University of Wisconsin; William A. DeHart, B. A. Brigham Young University, M. A. University of Minnesota; Margaret L. Bright, B. A. University of California, M. A. University of Missouri; Frank E. Rector, B. A. Phillips University, M. A. Oklahoma A. & M.; Harvey Schweitzer, B. S. Northern Illinois State College, M. A. Michigan State College; and June H. Gardiner, B. A. and M. A. Utah State College. Pablo Vasquez, B. A. University of Puerto Rico, M. A. University of Wisconsin, was awarded a scholarship by the University of Wisconsin for the year 1948-49.

Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. The courses in Agricultural Journalism that have been in the Rural Sociology Department for twenty years have been transferred from the department to a Department of Journalism in the Liberal Arts

School. This was caused by an increase in enrollment in these courses and increased interest in Journalism in our department at A. & M.

The department sponsored the Third Annual Rural Church Conference at A. & M. from June 28 to July 2. Ten denominations cooperated in this project. Outstanding leaders in rural church work in all denominations participated. Enrollment was larger than any of the previous conferences.

The department has under way at the present time the following research projects: (a) Rural Health Problems and Needs by Counties and Type-of-Farming Areas in Texas. (b) The Critical Study of Co-operative Hospitals in the United States, with Special Emphasis on Texas. (c) Infant Mortality with Maternal Deaths by Counties and Type-of-Farming Areas, with Special Emphasis on Racial Aspects.

The University of Connecticut. Dr. James H. Barnett has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, succeeding Dr. James Lowell Hypes, the retiring chairman. Dr. Hypes will remain a full-time member of the teaching staff of the Department. Mr. Harry Posman, a graduate student of Columbia University, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology for the academic year.

The University of Chicago Press has recently announced the publication of "Rural Mexico," by Dr. Nathan L. Whetten, Professor of Rural Sociology and Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Connecticut.

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Changing Fertility Differentials Among Farm-Operator Families In Relation To Economic Size Of Farm*

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ABSTRACT

Special tabulations of population data from the 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture provide the basis for computing fertility ratios for the farm population classified according to economic size of farm lived on. States vary in the relationship between fertility of farm families and economic class, some showing the traditional negative relationship, others showing no clear direction of relationship, and still others showing a positive relationship. Among the last group, selected States showed a greater rise in the birth rate during World War II among high income farm operator families than among low income families.

The level and course of birth rates in the prewar decade, during World War II, and thus far into the postwar period have received increasing attention from the general public and from population analysts in the United States and other countries. Dramatic changes in current fertility rates have no doubt played a part in stimulating recent re-examination by several writers of some of the conventional measures used for levels and trends in population replacement.¹ In the Uni-

ted States, for example, within the 15 years 1933-47 fertility measured on a current basis has ranged from levels "below replacement" — if continued for a long time—to levels that if continued would maintain rapid growth of the population ad infinitum. Population statisticians have seen their statistics documenting both types of

J. Hajnal, "The Analysis of Birth Statistics in the Light of the Recent International Recovery of the Birth Rate," *Population Studies*, I (Sept. 1947), 137-164.

Alfred J. Lotka, "Evaluation of the Methods of Measuring Net Fertility," Paper presented at the Demographic Statistics Section of the International Statistical Institute, International Statistical Conferences, Washington, D. C., Sept. 18, 1947.

Christopher Tietze, "Differential Reproduction in the United States: Paternity Rate for Occupational Classes Among the Urban White Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, IL, (Nov. 1943), 242-247.

P. K. Whelpton, "Is Family Size Increasing? An Analysis of Order of Birth Statistics for Native White Mothers, United States, 1920 to 1946," U. S. National Office of Vital Statistics, *Vital Statistics Special Reports*, Vol. 23, No. 16, Aug. 27, 1947.

_____, "Reproduction Rates Adjusted for Age, Parity, Fecundity, and Marriage," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXXI, (Dec. 1946), 501-516.

T. J. Woofert, Jr., "Completed Generation Reproduction Rates," *Human Biology*, XIX, (Sept. 1947).

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¹ Important recent contributions on methods of measuring fertility and population replacement methods include the following:

situations used and misused by propagandist groups which have ends to be served by frightening the public either over the dire consequences of a prospective declining population and eventual extinction, or over the ever-increasing drains on natural resources that would result from a continued growth in population. Protagonists on either side can document their case by the fertility record of some part of the last 15 years.

Significant advances have been made in development of more stable measures for reflecting fertility than the conventional annual net reproduction rate and as these measures come into wider use, the public may get a less confused picture of current and prospective future performance of the population with respect to replacement. But even with the most refined data and methods of measurement of population replacement available to the most sophisticated population analyst, precise projections or predictions into the future are still not achievable. It is quite possible that they may never be. Nevertheless, the great practical significance of future levels and rates of change of a country's population offers a challenge to demographers to analyze past changes in their components so that the effects of different factors on different groups can be better understood and provide a better basis for predicting that, given the operation of specified factors in the future, such and such effects on the fertility of specified groups would be likely to occur, while different effects would be expected in other groups.

The writer shares with many others the following general interpretation of fertility trends in the United States. From an earlier state of large family tradition, a minimum of family-limitation practices, and very high fertility levels there has been a transition over many decades to a fairly generally accepted small-family pattern, wide practice of family limitation, and comparatively low fertility levels. The "long-time downward trend in the birthrate" has been brought about as an increasing proportion of the nation's families adopted the idea of the small family and then, with increasing success, the practice of family limitation. In the past, the factor of overwhelming importance was the shifting of families from the non-family-limitation to the family-limitation group—a shift which may have occurred in several stages and may have taken more than one generation for a given family and its progeny. Data are not available to plot the distribution of families at present according to the degree to which they have made this shift², but one can infer from Census statistics on number of children ever born or on birth statistics by order of birth that it can be only a relatively

²In the Indianapolis study conducted by the Committee on Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, it was found that among "relatively fecund" couples, 42.1 per cent had had the number of children they had planned and an additional 31.4 percent claimed to have had no more than desired, with only 26.5 percent having more children than wanted, and about three-fourths of these having only "one too many." P. K. Whelpton, and Clyde V. Kiser, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility: VI The Planning of Fertility," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXV, (Jan. 1947), 63-111.

small fraction of the families of the nation who have not made a substantial shift from the very large family pattern.³

Even though statistics are not available to document precisely the extent to which the families of the United States have achieved control of their family size, it is obvious that this factor cannot have anything like the amount of influence in the future that it has had in the past in its effect on the course of the birth rate. Of much more importance will be the various factors that affect the size of family which married couples want and feel they can afford and care for. These factors may be divided into those making for larger and those making for smaller families. Of the first sort are the joys and satisfactions of parenthood, other values inherent in religion or other aspects of the culture of a group, the ability to afford the initial costs of having a child, and the sense of economic security that leads couples to believe they will be able to support and educate another child until his maturity. Of the second sort are the trouble, work, and personal inconveniences of child care, and the immediate and long-time expense involved. In addition, the direction of effect of certain factors re-

lated to war and national security is not always predicable.

Some of these factors that are now operating to affect levels of fertility and which will perhaps operate more importantly in the future, as the once primary factor diminishes in importance, present difficult and perhaps insuperable measurement problems. Moreover, as several factors operate simultaneously, even if they were measurable, the allocation of given effects on manifested fertility to the several factors might not be possible. Nevertheless, beginnings can be made by attempting to analyze differential responses in fertility among groups to given situations that combine various factors.

For example, T. J. Woofter, Jr. in "Trends in Rural and Urban Fertility Rates," has re-examined available data and found between 1910 and 1940 "some widening of the gap between birth rates on the farm and in the city" instead of the reverse, as has been commonly assumed, although he concludes that migration may be obscuring changes in indigenous fertility.⁴

It is with a similar approach that the data on farm-operator families presented here have been examined. Current differentials among economic classes of a group relatively homogeneous (occupationally and geographically) gave rise to questions as to how the differentials changed in sharply contrasting situations.

³In 1940, the proportion of women ever married just completing the child-bearing period (aged 45-49 years) who had borne more than 6 children was less than 10 percent, while nearly four-fifths had borne not more than 4 children. 16th Census of the United States, *Population, Differential Fertility, 1940 and 1910: Women by Number of Children Ever Born*, Washington, 1944, p. 7.

⁴T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Trends in Rural and Urban Fertility Rates," *Rural Sociology*, XIII, (March 1948), 3-9.

Special tabulations from the 1945 Census of Agriculture Sample provide data by age and sex that permit computation of the conventional fertility ratios—number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women aged 20-44—for the farm population in January 1945 classified by economic size of farm lived on.⁵ As defined in the 1945 Census, the farm population included households of resident farm operators, landlords, relatives of operator, and hired workers living on farms, and households having other connections with the farm lived on but not other households living in rented dwellings on farms.⁶

The classification of population into seven classes according to the "economic size" of farm lived on represents only an approximation to a classification by total family income, even for farm operator households. It should be recognized that in the four highest classes (Class I through Class IV) some farm operator families have income from nonagricultural sources and others do not. Also, all

operators in Class V reported 100 days or more of work for pay or profit off the farm in 1944 and in many cases this may have increased the family's total income above that of families in higher farm income brackets. Moreover, Class VII includes not only the lowest income group but also some miscellaneous farms. For these reasons some irregularities in relationships are to be expected.

Comparisons of fertility ratios computed from the 1945 Census of Agriculture Sample with ratios from the 1940 Population Census or from results of current sample surveys suggest that there was considerable underenumeration of children under 5 years of age in the former. It is likely that the underenumeration was greater on the low income farms than on the high income farms since previous checks on underenumeration have shown that underenumeration is higher in areas of low income.⁷ The fertility ratios presented for the lower income classes are probably biased downward because of differential underenumeration. However, one would expect the bias to be less in the case of the ratios restricted to the population in farm operator households (as shown in tables 3 and 4) than in the case of ratios for the total farm population (as shown in table 1), because the report on operator's households was probably more frequently given

⁵ This classification, developed jointly by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

⁶ This last class of households was included in the 1940 Population Census definition of the farm population and is included in the definitions used in the current surveys and series of the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

⁷ See 16th Census of the United States, *Population, Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910, Standardized Fertility Rates and Reproduction Rates*, Washington, 1944, Appendix A, "Completeness of Enumeration of Children Under 5 years old in the Censuses of 1940 and 1910," pp. 32-33.

TABLE 1. RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE TO 1,000 WOMEN AGED 20-44 IN THE FARM POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE OF FARM LIVED ON, UNITED STATES, MAJOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS AND STATES, JANUARY 1945.¹

Area	All farms	Economic size class -						
		I	II	III	IV	V (off-farm work)	VI	VII
United States	629	630	619	616	649	636	631	607
New England	495	486	543	508	553	514	471	416
N. New England	584	697	634	600	641	604	512	480
S. New England	396	361	443	374	436	412	403	366
Middle Atlantic	550	604	589	537	549	563	562	508
New York	566	649	625	564	568	601	552	459
New Jersey	416	503	457	389	337	454	236	436
Pennsylvania	561	622	603	535	567	553	593	549
East North Central	589	605	623	605	576	585	474	579
Ohio	546	787	677	588	488	511	410	527
Indiana	593	636	645	533	647	577	495	609
Illinois	544	562	567	572	486	581	424	503
Michigan	628	551	673	661	592	643	525	669
Wisconsin	655	620	678	652	654	689	586	655
West North Central	640	652	645	654	638	596	588	602
Minnesota	734	737	804	731	719	756	721	671
Iowa	653	715	649	645	715	413	620	592
Missouri	589	566	622	592	585	613	581	567
North Dakota	735	819	655	734	791	758	841	967
South Dakota	659	789	659	616	688	861	673	918
Nebraska	598	603	537	634	600	570	490	513
Kansas	540	541	600	581	494	464	359	523
South Atlantic	676	656	667	667	710	685	646	642
Delaware-Maryland	545	635	569	518	621	496	394	540
Virginia	654	740	645	612	650	737	611	626
West Virginia	659	602	691	746	645	720	525	655
North Carolina	684	684	791	718	705	667	608	628
South Carolina	752	688	688	680	797	705	735	765
Georgia	687	687	637	678	730	621	688	622
Florida	606	550	753	533	593	666	632	599
East South Central	677	589	573	604	677	734	684	681
Kentucky	679	591	626	538	627	846	690	734
Tennessee	614	595	577	544	592	695	608	652
Alabama	704	686	538	707	721	666	726	683
Mississippi	709	461	420	787	736	710	700	641
West South Central	616	652	603	582	640	596	613	616
Arkansas	635	529	571	726	661	611	565	669
Louisiana	685	778	790	711	721	712	638	594
Oklahoma	649	576	656	573	697	637	694	628
Texas	567	627	549	524	561	542	607	592

TABLE 1. (Continued)

Area	All farms	Economic size class ²						
		I	II	III	IV	V (off-farm work)	VI	VII
Mountain	655	695	645	662	654	616	614	666
Montana	670	599	698	660	742	571	550	669
Idaho	693	711	730	692	676	546	808	729
Wyoming	593	505	416	665	693	667	646	591
Colorado	603	671	568	600	631	523	542	602
New Mexico	623	755	525	586	546	656	578	693
Arizona	673	809	649	737	517	566	523	687
Utah	747	843	864	788	702	721	730	638
Nevada	653	658	602	500	788	875	598	400
Pacific	531	606	540	453	523	595	534	461
Washington	565	520	609	496	568	601	565	568
Oregon	544	577	649	514	503	567	645	488
California	508	628	493	410	503	612	387	393

¹ Ratios computed from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from the "master sample" and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

by a member of the household than in the case of nonoperator households.

The fertility ratios computed for seven economic classes of farms in each State gave a rather mixed picture, with some States showing a negative relationship of fertility with economic class, others showing a positive relationship, and a greater number showing no clear-cut relationship, positive or negative (table 1). Examination of the distribution of households by connection with the farm lived on revealed that the great majority of hired workers' households were on the higher income farms and that fertility ratios for the farm population living on these farms reflected a mixture of fertility of farm-opera-

tor, farm-laborer, and other types of families. In Ohio, for example, 49.5 percent of all households living on Class I farms (those with \$20,000 or more value of products sold, traded or used by farm households in 1944, or with a lesser value of production if the current value of land and buildings exceeded \$70,000) were farm-laborer families, compared with less than 1 percent on the two lowest classes (table 2).

Even with this element of heterogeneity keeping the fertility ratios of the farm population from reflecting solely fertility of farm operator families, certain geographic differences in the relationships were apparent from the ratios computed for the total farm

population. In the Southern States, a negative relationship of fertility and economic size of farm lived on was more common, while the tendency to a positive relationship was clearest in Ohio and New York and evident with some irregularities in other urbanized Northern States.

Because the positive relationship, which existed after the fertility ratios had been adjusted for the age composition of women within the age range 20-44 years, departed from the traditionally observed inverse relationship of fertility and economic status, special tabulations were carried out for Ohio and New York. Fertility ratios were then computed for the population in households of farm operators who lived on the farms they operated (table 3). In Ohio, the strong positive relationship still held, although in New York the relatively higher ratios for the two top classes

were sharply lowered, showing that it was the high fertility of farm laborer and other nonoperator families that had caused high ratios in the total population on these farms.

The 1945 Census of Agriculture was taken as of January 1945, a time during World War II when the maximum number of men were out of the civilian population and engaged in military service. In many cases this led to a young wife, whose husband was in the armed forces, living with her parents or parents-in-law, with the result that fertility ratios were affected by both primary and secondary families in the household. Also the presence of grandchildren living in the household without their mother affected the fertility ratios for the resident farm-operator population. Consequently additional tabulations were made to permit the computation of ratios of children of head of household under 5

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIED DWELLINGS ON FARMS BY CONNECTION WITH THE FARM, FOR FARMS CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE CLASS, OHIO, JANUARY 1945.¹

	Percent	Percent	Percent	Relative of operator	Hired worker	Other and unspecified
All classes	100.0	91.5	1.6	2.3	3.3	1.3
I	100.0	39.3	2.4	3.7	49.5	4.5
II	100.0	69.6	4.5	8.5	15.0	2.4
III	100.0	90.0	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.0
IV	100.0	95.5	1.2	1.3	1.3	.7
V (off-farm work)	100.0	96.6	.2	.5	1.4	1.3
VI	100.0	96.9	.5	1.9	.5	.2
VII	100.0	96.6	.6	1.5	.7	.6

¹ Data are from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from a sample of the "master sample" farms and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

years of age to wives of head aged 20-44 years and female heads aged 20-44. These ratios are shown in the last two columns of table 3, unadjusted and adjusted for age composition of women in the child bearing ages. In Ohio, it is clear that the association of fertility with economic class is positive for primary families in resident farm-operator households. Each of the

three highest classes has a ratio higher than the average of 689 per 1,000 for all classes and each of the four lowest classes has a lower ratio than the average. The results are based on a sample and differences between adjacent classes are in general not significant. Nevertheless, the excess of the ratio of 789 for the three top classes combined, over the ratio of

TABLE 3. COMPARISONS OF RATIOS OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED 20-44 IN THE FARM POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE OF FARM LIVED ON, OHIO AND NEW YORK, JANUARY 1945.¹

State and Economic Class ²	Total farm population			Farm operator households		
	Unadjusted	Standardized for age Composition of women 20-44 years ³	Unadjusted	Standardized for age Composition of women 20-44 years ³	Ratio of children of head under 5 to 1,000 wives of head and female heads 20-44 years	
					Unadjusted	Standardized for age ³
Ohio—all classes	546	546	558	558	689	689
I	787	799	707	743	865	912
II	677	639	678	645	882	828
III	588	581	622	613	761	747
IV	488	486	508	506	623	633
V (off-farm work)	511	524	542	550	618	619
VI	410	420	421	434	636	682
VII	527	543	522	537	630	649
New York—all classes	566	566	539	539	686	686
I	649	637	372	331	573	589
II	625	620	567	570	736	769
III	564	551	547	535	708	674
IV	568	573	551	555	768	813
V (off-farm work)	601	620	601	618	665	665
VI	552	566	542	552	785	841
VII	459	465	449	450	537	537

¹ Ratios computed from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from the "master sample" and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

³ An indirect process of standardization was used with the age composition of all women in the 1945 farm population of the State as the standard, and the pattern of age-specific fertility ratios among 5-year age groups of the rural-farm population of the United States in 1940 assumed to hold among the women on the farms of each economic size class in 1945.

624 for the four bottom classes combined, is 27 percent and this indication of the direction of the association is significant. In New York, the association is not clear-cut and the ratio of 709 for the top three classes exceeds that of 677 for the bottom four classes by a much smaller percentage.

These ratios reflect birth rates from January 1, 1940 through December 31, 1944. The latter half of the period was one of extraordinary prosperity for farmers in the United States. In Ohio, the average realized net income from farming operations (including government payments) per farm operator was 168 percent higher in 1944 than in 1939 on an unadjusted basis, or 95 percent higher when adjusted for changes in prices farmers pay for commodities used for living. The question arose as to how this increase in income along with other factors of a wartime situation might have affected the pattern of fertility differentials among farm-operator families within a State.

Accordingly, ratios were computed that would approximate a measure of the fertility of these same families in the 1935-39 period, namely ratios of children aged 5-9 years to women aged 25-49 years. Weaknesses in the measures for the purpose at hand are clearly recognized. Two of the more important are that the underenumeration of children aged 5-9 years was probably much less in the 1945 Census of Agriculture than the underenumeration of children under 5 years of age, and that the 1945 classification of family by income position in 1945

may not be at all correct for the 1935-39 period.

In both Ohio and New York, the higher income groups showed greater increases in fertility from depression to the prosperous war period than the lower income groups (table 4). With the three upper classes combined and the four lower classes combined the results can be briefly summarized as follows (recognizing that due to underenumeration of children under 5 years of age, the comparison of "fertility" ratios for the two periods understates the increase that actually took place). In Ohio, the high-income group fertility ratio increased by 20 percent, while the low-income group ratio increased by only 2 percent. In New York, the corresponding changes were an increase of 17 percent and a decrease of 2 percent.

Clearly the upper income groups manifested a greater increase in fertility in response to changed conditions than did the low-income groups. Several factors may have operated to produce these differentials in response.

(1) Because the upper income groups probably had better techniques at their command for controlling fertility during the depression, there may have been more "postponed" births in this group which made for a sharper increase in fertility when times became good.

(2) In the upper income groups, the husband may have been more frequently able to qualify for an agricultural deferment from Selec-

TABLE 4. COMPARISONS OF FERTILITY RATIOS REFLECTING MARRIED FERTILITY OF PRIMARY FAMILY IN 1935-39 AND 1940-44, FOR RESIDENT FARM OPERATOR HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC SIZE OF FARM LIVED ON, OHIO AND NEW YORK, JANUARY 1945.¹

State and economic size class ²	1935-39 fertility ratio ³	1940-44 fertility ratio ⁴	Change 1935-39 to 1940-44
Ohio—all classes	550	689	39
I	521	865	344
II	635	882	247
III	691	761	70
IV	609	623	14
V (off-farm work)	677	618	-59
VI	537	636	99
VII	660	630	-30
New York—all classes	628	686	58
I	357	573	216
II	620	736	116
III	591	708	117
IV	707	768	61
V (off-farm work)	704	665	-39
VI	645	785	140
VII	562	537	-25

¹ Ratios computed from unpublished tabulations of information obtained in the household section of the 1945 Census of Agriculture from the "master sample" and "large" farms.

² This classification, developed jointly by the BAE and the Census, is based on combined criteria of value of farm products sold or used by farm households in 1944 and the 1945 value of the farm land and buildings, and, in the case of the three lowest classes, information on off-farm work of the farm operator in 1944. Group VII contains some miscellaneous farms. For a more precise statement on the classification, see *United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Special Report, 1945 Sample Census of Agriculture*, pp. 15-16.

³ Ratio of children of head of household aged 5 through 9 years to 1,000 wives of heads and female heads aged 25 through 49 years.

⁴ Ratio of children of head of household under 5 years of age to 1,000 wives of heads and female heads aged 20 through 44 years.

tive Service, when size of farm enterprise was used as a basis for determining the "war units" required for such a deferment. This could have led to a greater frequency of periods of prolonged absences of husbands on the low-income farms and prevented as great a rise in births.

(3) Wartime prosperity may have led to relatively greater gains for high-income than for low-income farmers, thereby producing a

greater positive effect on their rates.

Data are not available to weigh the effect of each of these possible factors, and it is possible that others not mentioned here may also have had effects.

Propositions relevant to the general matter of fertility patterns and trends in the United States that are suggested by the data presented here, although not proven by them, are as follows:

(1) The customarily observed negative relation between fertility and economic status may be a relationship characteristic of populations in a transition stage from uncontrolled fertility to controlled fertility; since it seems likely that a great majority of the families of the United States have gone a substantial distance in making this transition, the negative relationship may be expected to diminish, and it is possible that when the transition is virtually complete for all families, a positive relationship between fertility and economic class may be far more common within occupational groups.

(2) With a greater proportion of the families controlling fertility, we may in the future expect much greater fluctuations of the birth rate than in the past, if we continue

to have business cycles and wars, since a larger proportion of families will be able to postpone births, have these births at a later period, and even "borrow" births from the future if strong enough factors are operating to make families not want or want births during a given period.

(3) Insofar as methods are concerned, the need is supported for population replacement measures based on periods longer than one year or even five years or on much more detail with respect to parity, age of marriage, etc.

(4) Finally, these data illustrate the great need for more studies that probe into the psychological and economic factors which affect short-run fertility rates and the size of completed family desired.

Mutirao or Mutual Aid*

By J. V. Freitas Marcondes†

ABSTRACT

Mutirão, a folk custom of mutual aid, is a highly developed institution in rural Brazil. It serves as a convenient device for mobilizing the help of neighbors in consummating large tasks requiring speed. No cash wages are paid. However, the institution imposes on each beneficiary a moral obligation to reciprocate when called upon. The organizer of a *mutirão* is also expected to provide food, drinks and recreation during the day and evening of the work. The *mutirão* probably originated spontaneously and independently in many primitive societies. In modern and in some town communities the *mutirão* institution has been used to provide community facilities which cannot be otherwise obtained: e.g., airports. For the most part, the work of the *mutirão* is confined to private forms and accomplishes such tasks as clearing land, cultivating and harvesting large staple crops, building roads and houses, and repairing dams.

Mutirão is a term used in Brazil to designate a group of workers, usually in a rural area, called upon in an emergency by a neighbor to aid without remuneration in completing rapidly a particular piece of work. When a farmer needs to make a road, clear brush, plant, cultivate, or harvest speedily but lacks sufficient help to carry out his tasks, he calls on the *mutirão* to come to his assistance. Most of his neighbors respond to his call, thereby placing him under the obligation of reciprocating. The day almost always ends in a fiesta which strengthens a moral obligation between the one who sought the cooperation and those who participated. The *mutirão* is only one form of mutual aid, but it is one of the most highly developed and institutionalized members of that species.

Consider one actual case of the many personally observed. In 1943, while the war was at its height, the heads of the United Nations appealed to the farmers to increase their acreage. In the *município* of São Luiz do Paraitinga, located between the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the two principal cities in Brazil, a modest farmer decided to plant a big acreage of corn, one five times larger than usual. In order to prepare the soil and plant the seeds, he resorted to the *mutirão*, and 24 neighbors came to help. Later when the corn was two feet high, it was absolutely necessary for the entire field to be cultivated quickly since the weeds were already beginning to choke the plants. This cultivation had to be completed within a week's time or the farmer stood to lose a good share of the crop. This man lacked funds to pay for enough labor to cultivate his field, and even though he had had the money laborers were not available. Therefore he again organized a *mutirão*, and 32 workers came to help

* The original study on which this article is based was prepared as a term paper in Professor T. Lynn Smith's Seminar in Rural Sociology at Vanderbilt University. The author gratefully acknowledges his many helpful suggestions and criticisms.

† Vanderbilt University and the University of São Paulo.

him. They worked from 8 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. without respite, but in a holiday spirit, singing, and drinking sugar cane rum or *aguardente* which was served several times during the day. At night they assembled on the *terreiro* (the clean, hard-packed plot of earth about the house) for the home was too small to accommodate all of them inside, and enjoyed themselves with music, singing and dancing. Through the *mutirão* this farmer saved his crop at the opportune moment and later harvested a larger crop than ever before, thanks to this healthy practice of cooperation.

The *mutirão* system has been in use in Brazil for a long time. Today it is restricted to those regions where agriculture has not been affected by the influence of the machine and of the concomitant commercialization. It may be said, however, that it remains strongest in small communities and districts where the amount of available labor depends upon the size of the family. In these regions there is a definite lack of hired workers, and even the wealthier planters prefer to lease parts of their estates, offering them to tenants who pay either one half, one third, or one fourth of the harvest as rent. It is these lessees, tenants or croppers, and the small proprietors who still maintain the traditional *mutirão*.

The *mutirão* seems to be a universal institution, as old as man, but it is still little known by scholars. There is even a lamentable confusion regarding the basic concept itself. Many writers, including some sociologists,

fail to make the necessary distinctions¹ between cooperation in general and the cooperative movement based on Rochdale principles. Cooperation is a broad genus in the studies of social process, and it includes several species, types of mutual aid. Professor T. Lynn Smith was the first sociologist to indicate that:²

Among human beings, however cooperative activities range through all degrees from such rather unconscious spontaneous reactions as are exemplified in all the pioneering practices of neighboring and mutual aid to the calculated contractual form of united effort typified by the farmers' cooperation marketing associations, or credit unions. In primary groups unconscious mutual aid is widespread; but as social differentiation proceeds, mutual aid tends to be replaced by cooperative activities based more on deliberate conscious efforts. Finally, in highly differentiated and heterogeneous societies such as industrialized states, organized governmental police powers evolve and enforce all sorts of activities for the public good. Ross has called this compulsory cooperation.

Perhaps for purposes of analysis, cooperative efforts may best be considered as being *contractual* or *non-contractual*. With competitive cooperation which

¹ P. Krapotkin; *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*, (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1902); Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples* (B. Quain's article, pp. 240-280 is an exception) (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1937).

² T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 479-480.

grows out of social differentiation and the development of impersonal relations, these varieties of cooperation include the principal modes of working together in human society.

The contractual type of cooperation is characterized by a juridically constituted organization, with specified obligations between the parties and other legal elements, including regulation on the part of the constituted powers. These types have little interest for our study, which is specifically in the non-contractual domain. One should indicate, however, that it is non-contractual merely from the juridical point of view, since the *mutirão*, as we have seen in its definition, also has a contractual aspect, although it is of a strictly *moral* order. We may add that cooperativism is an economic doctrine that embraces *formal* institutions, and cooperation is a sociological field where *informal* institutions exist, of which the *mutirão* is a typical example.

Although there are no regulations or juridical laws for the informal types of cooperation, and despite the variability of the institution, there are four fundamental elements which characterize all types of *mutirão*, namely: 1) the necessity of executing a task rapidly; 2) the collaboration of neighbors, almost everyone appearing at the appointed hour, in response to a call from the one needing help; 3) the moral obligation of reciprocating at the first opportunity, a tacit spontaneous contract consecrated by the mores; 4) and, finally, the important

recreational function, which is promoted enthusiastically by the organizer of the *mutirão* to the extent of his economic means. This consists of furnishing the common meals; almost always providing *melhoradas*; supplying a generous supply of *aguardente*; and making provisions for singing, dancing, and *desafios* which last until morning.

Usually the day chosen for the *mutirão* is a Saturday or the day before a holiday so that everyone can rest the following day. At these gatherings there appear, generally, all the members of the family, including the wife and children, for whom there is work also, either in the preparation of the meals, or in serving them, for lunch and afternoon coffee are served where the men are working in order to save time.

Names and Designations

The names and designations describing this mutual type of organization vary greatly. In Brazil they differ from region to region, and often within the same state they have various names. There are more profound differences between different countries. However, notwithstanding the variety of the terminology, the institution is always the same. A Brazilian scholar³ has published a short geographical terminology to which we shall add other terms catalogued by us, taken from various states of Brazil and from foreign countries.

³ Helio Galvão, *Boletim Geográfico* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística 1945, N. 29.), pp. 723-731.

1. Brazil

Amazonas: Aiuri, Ajuri, Ajuricaba, Mutirum, Potiron, Potirum, Putirum, Puxirum.

Pará: Mutirão, Mutirom, Mutirum, Putirão, Potirom, Potirum; Maranhão: Estalada, Mutirão Putirão;

Piauí: Adjutório;

Ceará: Adjunto, Adjuntório, Rio Grande do Norte: Adjunto, Adjuntório, Adjuda, Arrelia, Faxina;

Paraíba: Arrelia, Bandeira,

Batalhão;

Pernambuco: Adjunto, Côte, Pega-do-Boi;

Alagoas: Adjunto;

Sergipe: Adjunto, Adjuntório, Batalhão;

Bahia: Adjuntorio, Batalhão, Boide-Cova;

Espírito Santo: Mutirão, Putirão;

Rio de Janeiro: Mutirão, Putirão;

São Paulo: Ajuda, Muchirão, Mutirão, Puchirão, Putirão, Putirão;

Paraná: Muchirão, Mutirão, Puchirão, Putirão;

Santa Catarina: Muchirão, Mutirão;

Rio Grande do Sul: Adjutório, Puxirum;

Mato Grosso: Mutirão, Traição;

Minas Gerais: Batalhão, Mutirão, Muxirão;

Goiás: Mutirão, Suta.

2. Portugal

Beira: Carreto;

Minho: Bessada, Esfolhada.

3. France: Filouas

4. French Guiana: Mauri

5. Dutch Guiana: Kweki

6. Haiti: Combite

7. Cuba: Junta, Cobija, Guateque

8. Dominican Republic: Timoum

9. Canada: Corvè

10. United States: Threshing Ring,

Quilting Party, Husking Bee,

House Raising.

The most complete study of the analysis of the synonymy enumerated above with which I am familiar is that of Plínio Airosa,⁴ Professor of Tupi Guarani in the College of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters, of the University of São Paulo. This specialist organized the foregoing terms into three large groups; in the first are included all the words which begin with the letter "p"; in the second group those which begin with "m"; and in the third group, the remaining words, as follows:

1st. group	2nd group	3rd group
Puxirom	Muxirom	Ajuricába
Puxirão	Muxirão	Ajuri
Putirom	Mutirom	Ajutório
Putirão	Mutirão	Adjutório
Puchirão	Muchirão	Adjunto
Pichurum	Michurum	Batalhão
Puxirum	Muxirum	Banderia
Putirum	Mutirum	
Potirum	Motirum	
Potirom	Motirom	

After a minute study of the words of these three groups, Airosa reduced them to two groups and finally to one single group, since all the words listed are but corruptions of *Tupi-Guarani* and dialectal compounds used by Indians and later by the people of the country. The linguistic transformations constitute a well-known social fact. However all the corruptions and terms cited and synonyms of *mutirão* studied to date, ultimately in the last analysis mean: "work together," "united," "to help in clearing, fishing and hunting."

⁴Plínio Airosa, *Términos Tupi no Português do Brasil* (São Paulo: Revista Grafica dos Tribunais, 1937), pp 175-183.

Sources of Mutirão

There are some that defend the Indian origin, claiming that the *mutirão* is in Brazil a culture complex inherited from the Indians.⁵ Prominent writers such as Caio Prado Junior, and Herbert Baldus are of this school. The strongest argument they present is that before the discovery of Brazil, in 1500, the Indians already practised the most varied types of mutual aid. Many of them base themselves in names and designations still in existence, to explain the origin of this institution.

Many of the early chroniclers support this point of view. Some of them, Father Fernão Cardim for example, refer to the white man's exploitation of "the art and manners of the Indians," in exchange for wine, obtaining their cooperation in the work cultivation.⁶ Friar Ives d'Evreux, cited by Helio Galvão,⁷ gives indication that he had knowledge of the *mutirão* among the Tupinambas in the State of Maranhão.

Other analysts, however, among them the distinguished anthropologist Arthur Ramos,⁸ the greatest authority of the Afro-Negro studies in Brazil, maintain that the *mutirão* is of the African origin. Carefully weighing the cultural aspects of this

institution in Brazil, Ramos finds distinct traces of mutual aid, especially in certain recreational aspects, among the primitives Negroes of other countries. The survivals that still remain and have not undergone total acculturation attest to the validity of this belief.

Writers of distinction in other countries, such as the Herskovits, in their study of the Island of Trinidad,⁹ defend the thesis of African origin. These writers show that the systems of cooperation in Brazil are paralleled by the *Cavap* of Trinidad, the *Timoun* of Haiti, and the *Kweki* of Dutch Guiana. They give sufficient proof of the spirit of cooperation among the Negroes.

There are still others who claim the *mutirão* in Brazil is of Portuguese origin, because the institution is widely used in Portugal. It is of course true that Portuguese literature is rich in studies of mutual aid. To illustrate we may point out the novelist Julio Diniz¹⁰ who in an excellent chapter analyses the fiesta of the *esfolhada*, the Portuguese term given above as synonymous with *mutirão*. But this does not prove that the institution originated in the Iberian Peninsula.

Our own point of view is opposed to any theory which allows for only one single origin of the *mutirão*. We are opposed to the "mania of monogenesis." Mutual aid is a social phenomenon among the more primitive

⁵ J. Figueiredo Filho, "Mutirão, 'Adjunto' Nordestino. Origem Ameríndia," *Sul America*, Rio de Janeiro, N. 91, December, 1942, pp. 26-28.

⁶ Padre Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1939), p. 152.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 729.

⁸ Arthur Ramos, *As Culturas Negras no Novo Mundo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1937), p. 209 (notes 264 and 369).

⁹ J. Melville Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits, *Trinidad Village* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 62 and 290.

¹⁰ Julio Diniz, *As Pumlãs do Senhor Reitor* (Rio de Janeiro: Dois Mundos Editora Ltda, 1943).

peoples all over the earth. Even among the irrational there is a group tendency, a protective element, as pointed by Kropotkin. Man in time of need always requests the help of his fellows. In the societies where primary groups prevail cooperation always have a spontaneous aspect, but as civilization enters and social differentiation proceeds, cooperation gradually assumes a more conscious character. However, even in the super civilized societies there is some residual of mutual aid but it exhibits a contractual and formal aspect. That is why the *mutirão* is rarely encountered in an urban center.

From the above discussion we conclude that the *mutirão* in Brazil should not be explained merely in terms of Indian, African, or Portuguese culture. Rather it resembles an amalgam of all the ethnological-cultural factors that entered the national territory, taking on different colorations in the various sections of the country. In the South, even Germanic elements have now been incorporated in the mutual aid institutions, as has been described by Emílio Willems.¹¹

Some Types of the Mutirão

The *mutirão* is practiced for various purposes. The types best known in the rural Brazilian areas, and sometimes in small urban centers, are those organized for the following purposes:

1. *The Felling of Trees*—The *mutirão* for the *derrubadas* of forests is

practiced in pioneer zones. The laborers assemble, bring axes, swinging blades, hoes, ropes; and by the end of the day a large expanse of forest has disappeared to give space for the planting of crops. It still continues to be practiced in the states of Paraná, São Paulo, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais and Goiás.¹²

2. *Clearing of brush*—Annually *mutirões* are held in places already used for crops. To clear brush is distinguished from the cutting of trees since the work is light and axes are not necessary. The laborers depend upon swinging blades (bill hooks, or ditch blades) and hoes. The clearing of brush ends almost always with a big fire at nightfall. This type is found in all parts of Brazil and has a great variety of names.

3. *Preparation of the soil*—After the trees and brush have been felled and fired, comes the preparation of the soil. In some cases holes must be opened; in others, large beds must be thrown up. Almost always they prepare the soil and do the sowing in a single day so that the crop will grow uniformly. The *mutirão* is employed for types of work throughout almost all of Brazil,—in all places where agricultural machinery has not yet appeared and where the manual work is difficult.

4. *Cultivation*—This type of *mutirão* is principally in the weeding of

¹¹ *A Aculturação dos Alemães no Brasil* (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1946), Chap. XI.

¹² In describing briefly the various types, we omit the recreational aspects, but in each of them, after the work, or sometimes during the work, the participants enjoy themselves in dances. The *jongo*, the *caterêta*, *moçambique*, the *cana verde*, and the *desafios* are the most popular of these.

corn, beans, rice, and tobacco in South Brazil; and in the North, in the cultivation of cocoa and cotton. Synonymous terms are *batalha* and *batalhão*, cited by Helio Galvão, practiced in the state of Paraíba, in the município of Princesa Isabel:

The farmers in a locality, or neighbors, assemble on prearranged days for a *batalha* in the fields of one of them. They will next plant the crop of a third, a fourth, a fifth and thus help each other as is necessary. Those *batalhões* are organized to cope with emergencies on a farm where weeds are so profuse as to choke the plants.

5. *Harvesting*—There are many products that cannot remain long in the field because the rain, sun and dew will damage them. To handle these expeditiously the *mutirão* is organized, the laborers sometimes bringing horses and oxen to help in transporting the harvest. Beans are often harvested in the morning, spread on *terreiros* in the center of the field, and then threshed and sacked in the afternoon. When the *mutirão* is over the beans are ready for storage in the *paiol*. Some of these very beans are served the laborers at the dinner where reigns a great holiday spirit with music and dancing.

6. *Clearing of pastures*—On the cattle ranches of São Paulo and Minas Gerais many *mutirões* are organized during the winter. The laborers are divided into two groups: one group working in front with scythes to clear the brush, and the other coming behind with hoes to chop out noxious

and useless plants. Generally among the workers there are singers to enliven the task.

7. *Road Work*—This type of *mutirão* is practiced in all parts of Brazil. It is not always carried out by mutual aid, but frequently the country people decide to pool their efforts in order to repair their own roads. This is generally an annual affair.

In the *município* of São Luiz do Paraitinga I observed a *mutirão* where a farmer with the help of sixty people, divided into three groups, constructed a new road to connect his farm with the road in the neighboring *município* of Natividade. The first group went in front felling the trees and underbrush with axes and scythes; the second, with mattocks and hoes, prepared the road bed; and the third made the ditches, built two small bridges, and did the final grading. By the end of the day two miles of new road had been built. Today it is used by all the people who live in the area, because the new route is shorter than the old.

This *mutirão* was the most festive of all that I have witnessed. Early in the morning the guests began arriving at the farm house, where coffee with milk and *bolão* were served. They began the work in good spirits commencing immediately to sing. Almost everyone improvised verses. All of the verses had as a theme the farmer, the road they were making, or "our scribe" (The latter referred to the author of this article, a stranger to them, who had been invited to take notes, pictures, and observe the *mu-*

tirão). Among the verses used is the following:

Vou cantar mais outro verso,
Ai, ai, morena, eu vou cantar
Vou agora dar um viva
Pr'a os companheiros despertar.

To which another singer answered:

Ai, ai, agora pr'o patrão,
Ai, ai, morena eu vou cantar
Outro verso pr'as cozinheiras
Antes da hora de almoçar.
Eu vou carpir pr'o patrão
Ai, ai, com a companhia inteira
Vamos fazer bonita estrada
Pr'a passar moça solteira.

A little later a third one sang and his mates answered loudly, with plenty of enthusiasm:

Um viva
Pr'o patrão
e outro
pr'o nosso escrivão.¹³

And thus they worked all day long.
At night, the dancing lasted until

¹³ The following translation is literal and does not adequately express the idea of the *sertanejo*. The verses sang in the *caipira* dialect have another flavor and meaning. This is the second translation since the materials first went from the dialect to Portuguese and then from Portuguese to English:

I shall sing another verse
Ai, ai, my brunette, I shall sing
I shall give a hurrah
To wake up my friends.

Ai, ai, now for the farmer
Ai, ai, by brunette, I shall sing
Another verse for the cooks
Before lunch time.

I shall cut the grass for the farmer
Ai, ai, with the entire company
We shall build a beautiful road
For a maiden to march along.

A hurrah
for the farmer
and another
for our writer.

dawn, with great enthusiasm both inside the house and on the *terreiro*, where the *desafios* took place.

8. *Construction of houses*—In all the states of Brazil, under a great variety of names, is found the *mutirão* for building houses. The cooperators build the houses of *taipa* (wattle and daub) or more commonly of the *páu a pique* or palisade walls. By the end of the day the house is finished. We observed a *mutirão* of this type in northern Paraná. Twenty men began work early in the morning, and at night the house was complete.

9. *Building or repairing dams*—The *mutirão* for this purpose is practiced frequently in the north because of the long droughts, where the building of dams is necessary. The *mutirão* for repairing of dams are very common and are almost always regarded as urgent.

10. *Manufacture and repair of nets by fishermen*—In the *município* of Ubatuba, on the coast of the State of São Paulo there is a manufacturer of nets who, when he is swamped with orders for new fishing equipment or requests for repairs, asks for the help of fishermen friends. In a single day they catch up on the work. In the north of Brazil the fishermen also get together to repair the fishing tackle.

11. *Tench fishing*—This variety is very much in vogue in the cities along the coast, like Ubatuba, Caraguatuba, Itanhaen, and so on. The fishermen get together at the proper season and leave in the morning in dozens of canoes with their nets and

other apparatus. At sunset, under the curious eyes of their fellow townsmen who observe the last tasks, they collect their catch, sell part of it and divide the rest. The money resulting from the sale of the fish belongs either to the organizer of the *mutirão* or is distributed among the ones that took part.

12. *Shelling corn*—The *mutirão* is much employed for this type of work in almost all of Brazil. It is also known in Portugal, under the name of *esfolhada*. During the threshing, there is music, songs and the telling of jokes. At night comes the dance. We have observed this type in the *municípios* of Bragança, Cunha, Redenção, and São Luiz do Paraitinga all in São Paulo. The workers sometimes shell a dozen sacks of corn per day.

13. *Preparation of tobacco*—The *mutirão* for this purpose requires a large number of persons who work only a few hours, generally in the evening or at night. This type of work if long continued produces headaches. It is widely used in the state of Bahia.

14. *Transportation of timber*—When large trees have been felled in places to which accessibility is difficult, a *mutirão* is organized to transport the logs to more accessible locations. Sometimes the guests bring animals, principally if large logs must be moved. In Portugal this type of mutual aid is called *carreto*.

15. *Manufacture of hammocks*—In Ceará and other parts of Brazil the hammock is in general use, people preferring it to an ordinary bed. This

accounts for the highly specialized manufacture of hammocks in the north. This industry is still a domestic one and the artisans are mostly women. When a worker receives a large order or when the orders have accumulated, she organizes the *mutirão*. Most of the participants are women, and it is said they work hard although they talk too much.

All the cases previously described have been private enterprises; but there are others of an official nature. Such *mutirões* are organized and directed by persons occupying official positions. For example, one was used in 1936 by the Federal governor of the Território of Acre for the construction of an airfield. Lacking sufficient funds to build the field, this official organized a huge *mutirão*. More than a hundred persons came, including all the local officials. In a few days airplanes were able to land at one more point of national territory.

Another official enterprise of this type, about which we have at our disposal a wealth of documentary material, was carried out in the *município* of Senador Firmino, in the state of Minas Gerais, under the sponsorship of the prefect, Professor Cicero Torres Galdino. In a letter to us dated September 2, 1946, this official indicates that ever since it was very young the *município* had only a small income and urgently needed public services. Then he adds:

Without other means to practice the proper function, I happened to remember the mutual system,

and the only solution was the *mutirão*, all together.

Six years ago I organized the first *mutirão* and with that one and others were built 110 kilometers of road; three grammar schools; several big bridges; and countless little ones. In addition swamps and marshes were drained, new streets laid out and old ones levelled.

In another letter dated September 21st, 1946, the same official tells of 56 *mutirões*, for various purposes, which took place between September 7, 1940, and August 5, 1944. In the *mutirão* of May 1, 1941, 964 workers took part (this is the largest of all *mutirões* carried out in Brazil and perhaps in all areas where the social process of mutual help is known). That day, under great pressure, 3,545 meters of roads were built over mountainous terrain and crossing the highest point of the *município*, at an altitude of 1,005 meters. The road that connects Senador Firmino and Braz Pires is estimated by an engineer to be worth 500,000,00 *cruzeiros* (\$25,000) and was completely built by *mutirões* without cost to the *município*.

With the help of the local newspaper—“O Firminense”—and by means of manifestos the prefect conducted a truly educational campaign, in collaboration with the parish priest who urged the people to cooperate wholeheartedly. (Almost all the *mutirões* began with a Mass and a sermon delivered by the priest). All the local population collaborated, including the women who prepared the meals for the workers.

The prefect did not overlook the children and, on November 16, 1940, ordered the distribution of a manifesto, which we present in translation:

To the children of Senador Firmino:

I would be committing a mistake, considering the orientation I gave to the road construction of Senador Firmino-Braz Pires, if I did not ask as I do now, for the help of the children of this town.

All the social classes, all the citizens, the young people of both sexes, everyone in general, have lent their valuable assistance to the great work that is now under construction.

Only the children are missing. To them I myself appeal asking for the help of their vigorous little arms and their growing generosity, to come to work in a special *mutirão* of their own.

Children of all ages and both sexes, came to rejoice in a day of work, enrolling your name along with your parents in the present unforgettable task. In the future, your descendants will know of your youthful example in striving for the greatness of the nation.

Instructions

Day of the *mutirão*: November 30, 1940, work beginning at 10 o'clock.

The children will provide themselves with hoes and mattocks of any kind; they will assemble in the Getúlio Vargas Square and from there, they will go in joyfull procession to the road, with the prefect and other persons who would like to attend the parade.

The girls will ask their parents for help in obtaining pro-

visions for the meals. The food secured will be delivered at our residence, thereby permitting the distribution of lunch before 12 A.M. on the day of the *mutirão*.

I ask the families, schools, private houses of instruction, and people in general, to set an example in this event, stimulating the children in the duty that everybody must perform to increase the prosperity of the fatherland.

As we see, the initiative of the prefect demonstrates eloquently what can be done with the help of the mutual aid. This type of solidarity

was so widespread that very rarely was there a Saturday when *mutirão* was not resorted to and as result, a higher degree of prosperity was evident in the section. Suffice it to say that the municipal's revenues were increased five fold.¹⁴

In conclusion, we can say that besides the practical aspect that mutual aid represents in itself in a very valuable way, there is still the social aspect that is incommensurable. Many marriages are arranged on such occasions.

"Dia do Municipio," *O Firminense*, Jan. 1, 1945.

A Contrast In The Rural Social Organization Of Rabun County, Georgia and Franklin County, Washington

By Robert E. Galloway†

ABSTRACT

A comparative analysis of a typical county in the Northwestern Wheat-fallow sub-region of the Wheat Belt with one in the Southern Appalachian Mountain sub-region of the General and Self-sufficing Type Farming Region, show that there are great and significant differences in the structure of their respective rural social organization. These differences tend to be associated with differences in the type farming, the ecology, characteristics of the people, and in the traditions of the people.

The purpose of this paper is to contrast the rural social organization in two far-separated counties. Rabun County is in the northeastern section of Georgia, part of the *Southern Appalachian Mountain* sub-region of the General and Self-sufficing Type-of-Farming Region. The whole region extends from Maine southwestward

along the Appalachian Mountains, fanning out into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia, and including the Ozark Mountain area of Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma. Franklin County in southeastern Washington at the fork of the Snake and Columbia Rivers, belongs to the *Northwestern Wheat-fallow* sub-region of the Wheat Belt

† Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

which extends through the Great Plains, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington.

General Characteristics

Rabun County has certain of the basic characteristics of its Region: a mountainous terrain with narrow valleys along creeks and rivers, a high ratio of population to natural resources, generally low standards of living, and a simple unmechanized type of farming directed towards subsistence.

In contrast, Franklin County has certain of the basic characteristics of its very different Region: rolling plains, a semi-arid climate, high standards of living, extensive mechanization, high value of farms, farm implements and machinery, high gross income, low ratio of population to natural resources, and a farm economy based upon wheat.

The characteristics of the physical environment, the population, and the agricultural economy have definitely conditioned the type and pattern of the rural social organization and the extent of participation in group activities in each county. An examination of comparable data for the counties (Table 1) suggests that the rural social organization is greatly influenced by: differences in topography, soil resources, climate, population characteristics, history and background of the people, size of farm, degree of mechanization, average gross income, and type of farming.

Contrast in the Physical Environment

The mountainous terrain in Rabun County has been the most influential

factor determining the settlement pattern and the ways in which the people of the county live. Settlement was restricted to the many narrow isolated valleys along the creeks where cultivable soils were to be found. The terrain made the building of roads difficult and expensive thereby retarding contacts of the valley settlements with the outside. Isolation of these groups greatly impeded community and county-wide organization and participation. At the same time the homogeneity of these isolated neighborhoods has been strengthened by intermarriage which has built up blood relationships that have considerable significance.

The topography, soils and climate of Franklin County have all been important factors influencing the settlement pattern and the type of rural social organization found in the county. A topography, consisting of a desert plain to rolling uplands, encouraged a scattered open-country settlement pattern which depends upon the town for economic, religious, educational, recreational, cultural and most social services and activities. The soils and semi-arid climate limit the land that can be cultivated without irrigation to 68.7 percent of the area of the county. They bind themselves to extensive wheat and livestock operations on farms that average over 1,800 acres with farmsteads that are from 1 to 10 miles apart.

Contrast in the Characteristics of the Population

The settlement of Rabun County was started in the 1780's by Revolu-

tionary War veterans who were given grants of land for their service to the Nation. The early settlers were predominantly descendants of the Scotch-Irish who had previously lived in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. They were freedom loving yeoman farmers who wanted land and homes of their own and were willing to brave the wilderness and Indians

TABLE 1. COMPARABLE DATA FOR RABUN AND FRANKLIN COUNTIES
1945.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT	Rabun County	Franklin County
Total Land Area (Square miles)	369	1,262
Elevation (feet)	3,000-4,600	300-1,200
Average Annual Rainfall (inches)	70.96	9.96
THE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS—1940		
Total Population	7,890	6,309
Urban (Per cent)	0	62.0
Rural Non-farm (Per cent)	33.3	12.9
Rural Farm (Per cent)	66.7	25.1
Population Density (persons per sq. mile)	21.4	05.1
Fertility Rate	661	338
Persons under 20 per 100 Persons of Productive Age (20-64 years of age) (Number)	93.8	49.3
Level of Living Index	72.	126.
Median Size of Family (Number)	4.1	3.5
THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY—1945		
Land in Farms (acres)	52,320	554,657
Per cent of Total Land Area	22.2	68.7
Cropland (acres)	18,563	272,486
Per cent of Cropland on Farms	35.4	49.1
Average Size of Cropland per Farm (acres)	18.7	1001.
Average Cropland per Farm Person (acres)	4.6	244.6
Average Size of Farm (acres)	55.4	1,846
Number of Farms	944	300
TREND IN SIZE OF FARMS		
1860-1945 (decreased)	-893.8%	—
1910-1945 (increased) ¹	—	+195.3%
TREND IN NUMBER OF FARMS		
1860-1945 (increased)	+291.3%	—
1910-1945 (decreased) ¹	—	-51.6%
Per cent of Farms over 1,000 Acres in Size	0.1	41.3
Major Crop	Corn	Wheat
Vegetable Acreage (acres)	496	118
Farms having Tractors (per cent)	2.8	54.7 ²
Average Gross Farm Income (dollars)	770.72	15,025.90
Value of Farm Produce used by Farm Household, per Member (dollars)	110.43	82.42
Value of Farm, (land & buildings per farm) (dollars)	2,284.00	33,427.00
Value of Implements and Machinery per Farm (dollars)	159.00	5,766.00
Tenancy (per cent)	25.8	16.7
Persons Employed in Agriculture (Per cent)	54.4	24.5

¹ Homesteading period to last available census.

² Each wheat farm in Franklin County has at least one "caterpillar" tractor.

and to make the necessary sacrifices to secure them. The settlement of the county has been by homogeneous groups who have maintained most of their folkways and cultures down through the years. At no time has there been any appreciable number of foreign-born persons or Negroes in the population.

The population of the county has always been rural without an urban place of 2,500 or more persons. The first census in 1820 showed a population of 524 persons for the county. There have been three waves of migration into the county; between 1820-1830, 1870-1880 and 1930-1940. There have also been two periods of relatively large out-migration between 1900-1910 and 1940-1945. The population of the county has never been very large—7,890 persons in 1945. The rate of natural increase has been high due to a high birth rate and a relatively small out-migration. Not only does the population constantly press upon its natural resources but the adult population is forced to support an unusually large number of young people.¹

The county is not only entirely rural but its population is 66.7 percent rural farm. The rural farm population of Rabun County ranks low according to the "Level of Living Index"² with a score of 72 in 1940, compared with a score of 72 for the State and 100 for

the Nation. Housing is generally poor and over-crowded. Modern conveniences are missing in most of the farm homes. In 1940, according to the Census, 78.9 percent of the farm dwellings were without running water, 12.5 percent were without either inside or outside toilets, 64.8 percent did not have radios, 81.4 percent were without electricity, 90.7 percent were without mechanical refrigeration, and 94.8 percent did not have telephones (Table 2). The people of Rabun County stand in a world of modern conveniences as a pioneer society in terms of levels of living.

Rabun County is an example of the survival of a primary society in this country with its traditions, folkways, mores, characteristic mode of speech, superstitions, and theological beliefs that have changed little through the years.

The settlement of Franklin County came approximately a century after that of Rabun County. It was intimately related to the coming of the railroads. The first permanent settlement at the terminus of the Walla Walla branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad was begun in 1871. The pioneers were mostly railroad workers who settled in villages. Prior to 1900, farming was confined to a small area along the Snake River which was used for stock-grazing. Settlement on a large scale began soon after 1900, and coincided with the introduction of wheat farming to the county. The railroads which owned every other section of land in the county promoted the settlement. The population in-

¹ In Rabun County there were 93.8 persons under 20 years of age per 100 persons of productive age, (20-64 years) in 1940 compared to 49.3 persons in Franklin County.

Hagood, Margaret Jarman, *Rural Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States*, USDA, BAE, October 1943.

creased from 486 in 1900 to 5,153 by 1910 and practically every desirable 160-acre tract had been homesteaded by the end of this period.

In contrast with Rabun County, the population of Franklin County is predominantly urban. The rural population accounts for only 38 percent of the total, while the rural-farm population accounted for only 25.1 percent in 1945. Approximately half of the county's estimated 1943 population of 13,035 inhabitants lived in the county seat town of Pasco, and over three-fourths of the population is located in the southern apex of the county.

The ratio of population to the land is relatively small with a density of 5.1 persons per square mile; outside the town of Pasco the density is only 1.4 persons per square mile. This coupled with a low rate of natural increase creates a comparatively open opportunity for the youth of the county.

The level of living of the rural-farm population of Franklin County, with an index figure of 126, is above the average of the State (124) and the Nation (100). (Table 1). A high percentage of the farm families have modern conveniences (Table II). These figures include both the wheat and truck farms of the county. The wheat farmers have a much higher level of living than do the truck farmers; in fact, the index figure for the wheat farmers alone would probably equal that of any farm group in the nation.

The wheat farmers are of varied origins. They include first and second generation Germans, Belgians, Canadians, Russians, French, and Scandinavians as well as "old-line" Americans from the middle-west.

Early settlers brought with them the tradition of deep moldboard plowing and relatively small farms. Those who came directly from the Old

TABLE 2. LEVEL OF LIVING IN RABUN AND FRANKLIN COUNTIES
(Selected Items for Rural Farm Population)

	Rabun County	Franklin County
persons per room	74.2	87.2
1. Percentage of occupied dwellings with fewer than 1.51		
2. Percentage of occupied dwellings with radios	35.2	84.2
3. Percentage of occupied dwellings with running water	21.1	46.1
4. Percentage of occupied dwellings with mechanical refrigeration	09.3	49.3
5. Percentage of occupied dwellings with central heating system	00.8	0.94
6. Percentage of occupied dwellings with electric lighting	18.6	52.2
7. Percentage of occupied dwellings with bathtub or shower	12.0	29.3
8. Percentage of occupied dwellings with telephones (on farms)	05.2	40.8
9. Percentage of farms on improved roads	52.6	89.8
10. Percentage of farms reporting autos of 1936 or later models	08.9	43.0
11. Median grade of school completed by persons 25 years of age and over	6.8	8.6

Source: U. S. Census, 1940

World, accustomed to living in densely populated village communities, practiced intensive agriculture. There was little in their heritage, except their pioneer spirit and energy, that suited their new environment. They had to forge a new way of life. New techniques of farming and suitable tools had to be developed. Deep moldboard plowing gave way to discing, harrowing and cultivating to rotating rod-weeding. Small farms gave way to farms of thousands of acres, and scattered isolated homesteads replaced those in the village.

These fundamental changes, together with the sparsity of settlement and the absence of closely-knit communities of distinct nationality groups, were responsible for the rapid disappearance of their traditional way of living. Today, less than forty-five years after the homesteading period, one has the impression that here is a distinctly new life, for only among the German people who live in and near the town of Connell is there evidence of the survival of the old.

The present wheat farmers are the end product of a sifting process which has been going on since the homesteading period. These are the men and women who were able to survive the long, trying 20-years of learning how to dry-farm, to weather the sandstorms and droughts, to withstand depressions, and to live in isolation. Within one life span a change was wrought from the poverty and hardships of pioneer farming to the success of the large-scale and highly mechanized wheat farming of today.

Contrast in the Agriculture

The farm economy of Rabun County has been essentially domestic. Each family earns its livelihood at home in a rather direct way. Gross cash incomes are small (average \$770.72 in 1945) and purchases are confined to necessities—principally clothes and the few staple foods that they can not produce on their farm. Their tools are few and simple, for mechanization has made little headway.

The average size of farm decreased from 522 acres in 1860 to 55.4 acres by 1945. The average acreage of crop land per farm was 18.7 in 1945, giving a per capita crop acreage of 4.6 acres for the rural-farm population. This is inadequate to maintain even the most modest level of living. A typical farmer in this county plants about half of his cropland to corn which is the basic feed for his stock and food for his family. Many of the farmers own no work stock, but depend upon a neighbor who will loan or rent a horse or mule when needed. Only 515 (49.7 percent) of the 1,037 farmers in the county reported having either a horse or mule in 1940.

In contrast, the farming in Franklin County, since the time of homesteading, has been essentially wheat farming. These operations are extensive and about as highly mechanized as that found in any group of farms in the Nation. Mastering the technique of growing wheat in an area that has less than 10 inches of rainfall in a year has been a long and tedious undertaking. Successful wheat farming in the county was made possible

through the development, by the farmers themselves, of new and suitable techniques, tools, and machinery. There were two stages in the development of the present type of farming. First, while dry farming was being learned, equipment that would conserve moisture and prevent the blowing of the topsoil was developed. Using the technique of "summer fallow," with half of the wheat land lying idle each year, using the "Wheatland" disc plow and the rotating rod-weeder, answered these needs. Next came mechanization, which included the shift from horsepower to Diesel power, to the motor truck, and to the self-propelled combine, and the shift from sacking to bulking of harvested wheat. Wheat farming here has reached a high stage of mechanization, with all the economies and efficiencies of large-scale operations.

In Franklin County the farms have steadily grown larger. The average size of farm has increased from 640 acres in 1910 to 3,118 acres in 1945. The average farm had 1,001 acres of cropland in 1945—over fifty times that in Rabun County. The per capita acreage for the rural-farm population was 244.6 acres. The average gross income on the wheat farms was approximately \$33,000 in 1946 from the wheat crop alone.

Contrast in Rural Social Organization

Rabun County has a pattern of social organization that is typical of the mountain societies throughout the Southern Highlands. The social organization developed by these low-income, self-sufficing mountain folk is

characterized by its simplicity, love of home and family, kinship, informality, visiting, and highly integrated neighborhoods that are centered around a rural church or a one-room rural school.

The principal concerns of these mountain folk are the old human concerns; the struggle against nature, then marriage and children, care of the family, hard work, plain food, the companionship of friends, freedom, religion as they see it, and the mystery of life, death, and the hereafter. The family surpasses all other groups in the allegiance it commands, with neighborhood and kinship groups occupying a significant place in their lives. Social interaction within these groups is basically informal.

While rural social organization has changed little in the hinterlands of the county, a more complex pattern is developing along the central belt extending north and south through the center of the county, where the population has concentrated during the last forty years. This area has access to modern transportation, power lines, towns of moderate size, and the best agricultural lands in the county.

The transition from a primary to a secondary society taking place here is a very slow and tedious process. Traditions and ways of doing things are not easily given up and cultural lag is very apparent. The simple and informal social organization formerly seemed adequate to meet the unpretentious needs of a self-sufficing people. But with the invasion of higher standards of living, education, and

social institutions which was accompanied by a decline in the traditional self-sufficient farm economy, the established ways of meeting situations and developing security seemed to fail. The infiltration of the Great Society with its newer standards of living, its educational and health requirements, its ways of earning a living, and its modes of travel created new wants, which the self-sufficient economy could not satisfy. So the county has become more and more dependent upon the State and Federal Governments for aid and assistance for their schools, health and welfare programs, and for subsidies to bolster their inadequate farm economy in order to bring it in line with that of the rest of the country from which it cannot remain detached.

Rural social organization in Franklin County, on the other hand, has been formulated rather recently and it tends to be formal in nature. The social organization developed by the high-income wheat farmers is characterized by its seeming formality, special-interest nature, lack of neighborhood social interaction, absence of rural churches, and dependency upon the town-centers for economic, social, educational, religious, cultural, and recreational services and activities.

The principal concerns of a wheat farmer are the welfare of his family, maintaining a good living, conserving the moisture, educating his children, getting high wheat yields, and getting good prices for wheat. The immediate family is relatively stable, exerts a strong degree of social control over

the children, and is the most important unit of social interaction among these farmers. A wheat farmer is proud of his farm home and home life. Kinship groups have not been important and are just beginning to be large enough to have a degree of social importance.

Contrast in the Family

The family is the most important unit of social organization in both Rabun and Franklin Counties. Ties are strong within the family with significant emotional relations among its members. However, there are differences in the attitudes, values, characteristics, fertility, level of living, and stability of the farm families of the two counties.

Families in Rabun County have been prolific. Sons and daughters have usually married within the neighborhood or with near-by people and moved farther up the hillsides or into the smaller valleys that finger out of the larger valleys. Kinship groups became concentrated within the neighborhoods; then as population pressures grew, forcing family members out of the neighborhood, kinship ties began to extend beyond neighborhood limits. Kinship ties are noticeable in the churches, the schools, and in other neighborhood activities. The influence of these groups is often felt in county-wide organizations and activities. Some kinship groups have grown so large that they have lost their ingroup character, but visiting along kinship lines is still prevalent and has a real part in the lives of the people. The

women in Rabun generally work more than the men do. In addition to her work in the home, a farm wife helps in the fields, with her husband and children.

In Rabun, the parents' attitude towards schooling of their children varies, but most parents would like to have their children help earn the living for the family as soon as they are large enough to work, instead of going to school. This accounts for the low school attainment of 6.8 grades—the median grade of school completed by the rural farm population 25 years of age and over.

The farm families in Franklin County are relatively small. The average size is around 3.5 persons. During the depression of the thirties there was a tendency for the sons and daughters to leave the farm, but during the past few years of high wheat prices, some sons have gone into partnership with their fathers and some have been started on farms of their own, by their fathers. The wife of a wheat farmer cares for the home and children. She seldom works on the farm except perhaps to drive a grain truck during the harvest, and perhaps to feed the stock and poultry, with the children's help. The education of the children is of prime importance; they usually finish high school and many go on to college.

Apparently there is seldom a broken family in Franklin County. In Rabun there were 36 divorces compared with 62 marriages, in 1945. Most of the divorces in Rabun County were among the younger farm families that were

broken up during the war. The divorces were explained locally by the many hurried "war marriages" of youths in their teens, at the beginning of the war.

Contrast in Locality Groupings

The pioneers of Rabun County settled the valleys and protected coves and were hemmed in by mountains, some of which reach a height of more than 4,600 feet. These settlements became neighborhoods whose boundaries have changed little throughout the years. In areas where the mountains are high and the valleys few the neighborhoods are isolated and scattered. In the less mountainous areas, the valleys are more plentiful and contiguous and the neighborhoods are in clusters. Neighborhoods are the locality groupings in which social interaction, leadership, group activities, and social control function most effectively. There are 77 neighborhoods in Rabun County which are grouped into 11 communities (Figure 1).

A community here consists of from three to fifteen neighborhoods which have a feeling of "belonging" and a desire to work with this particular community. These communities fall into three categories: well organized, poorly organized, and virtually unorganized. The most highly organized and integrated communities were found to be centered around a trade center, or around the county seat, or to have several social activities centered in the area. The communities that were centered around an open-country consolidated school were usually poorly organized with a limit-

NEIGHBORHOODS & COMMUNITIES IN RABUN COUNTY, GEORGIA.

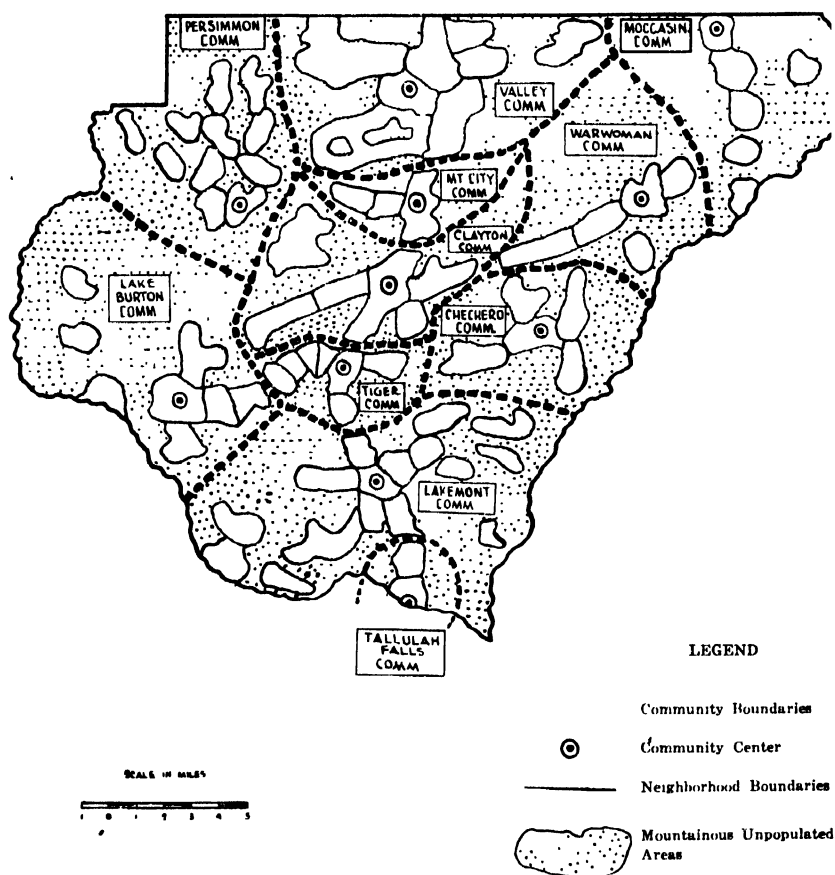


Fig. 1. Neighborhoods and Communities in Rabun County.

ed social interaction at the community level. The communities that had neither the trade center nor the consolidated school around which to rally were virtually unorganized. The school districts and trade areas did not tend to be important locality groups, in Rabun.

In Franklin County the traditional rural open-country neighborhoods have disappeared. Those of the homesteading period (1900-1910), centered around a cross-roads store or rural school, disappeared when their services and activities were shifted to the larger trade centers. The shift that has been taking place over the past two decades was primarily due to the decrease in the farm population and to technological developments including new methods of merchandising in the larger trade centers. Economic, social, educational, and religious services and activities for the rural population shifted from the open-country to the towns. One-room rural schools were consolidated with the town school. The contacts with the outside expanded.

Communities, the trade areas, and the school districts are equally important geographic areas, in which farm people and farm groups function. There are sub-areas within some of the communities, in which a limited social interaction takes place, but they do not assume the role of an integrated neighborhood. The boundaries of the communities and trade areas in this county are coterminous, and as the trade areas change the boundaries of the communities follow. The close

relationship between the community and trade area follows the pattern of social and economic services which are located in the trade and community center. When the services and institutions are located in the trade center, there remains no integrating force in the open-country to compete with the trade center for the farmers' patronage. The boundaries of a school district do not usually coincide with those of a community and trade area but there is a tendency for them to become more nearly coterminous as the consolidation of the schools proceeds. School districts are important locality groupings. Each is an independently operated unit with its own school board, superintendent of schools, tax levies, and school buildings. The people apparently value the school districts more than the other locality groupings, for they constantly fight to retain these districts whereas they give little resistance to the changes in other locality boundaries.

There are three communities in Franklin County (Figure 2). All are town-country communities, which are town-centered. There were 12 communities in 1920, but they have decreased in number gradually since that time. As automobiles and good roads greatly increased the radius of a farmer's travel, he "passed up" the cross-roads and smaller trade centers to trade in the larger towns. The cross-roads stores have disappeared and the smaller trade centers have declined. Economic services are now concentrated in the larger towns. As schools were consolidated and shifted

COMMUNITIES IN FRANKLIN COUNTY, WASHINGTON.

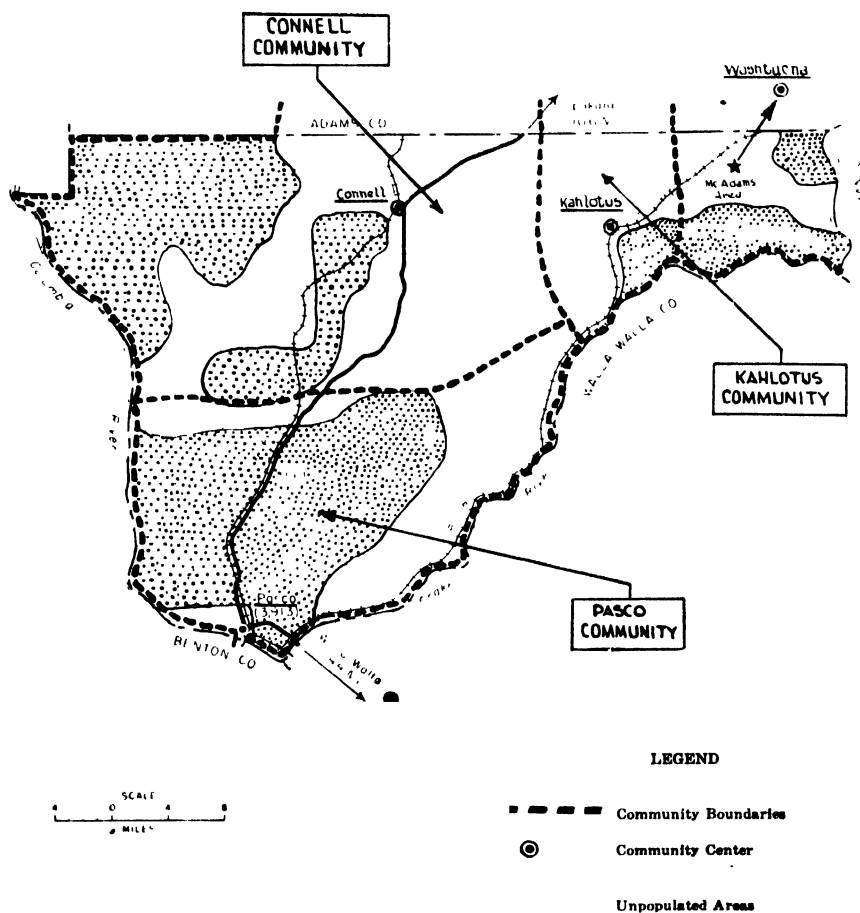


Fig. 2. Communities in Franklin County.

to the larger places, these places became the community centers as well as the trade centers, for the farmers and their families.

The differences in interest between the town and country folk are gradually being replaced by a spirit of cooperation, in an effort to secure the best advantages and facilities for the community. There are, however, no distinct boundaries between the communities. The people on the edges of a community affiliate with one community as much as the other—a clear indication that the community boundaries are still in transition.

Contrasts in Group and Organizational Structures

So-called formally organized groups in Rabun County are likely to be small and are generally divided by sex, status, and special interest. They operate as informally as possible. The dominance of primary group experiences, with their informality, is reflected in the structure and functions of organized groups. Thus the neighborhood loyalties and ways of doing things hinder community integration and the development of county-wide organization. Organizations usually get their impetus and leadership from the outside. Without these, they are likely to disappear. Cooperative organizations (such as the medical and dental association and the purchasing and marketing association of the Farm Security Administration, later the Farmers' Home Administration) collapsed when the agency withdrew its leadership. With the exception of

the Home Demonstration Clubs, the organizations draw the majority of their memberships from the upper income group of farm families.

The farmer organizations functioning in Rabun County include: the Farm Bureau, the Rabun Gap Home Industries Cooperative, the Soil Conservation and Improvement Association, the Home Demonstration Clubs, F.A.A. Clubs and the 4-H Clubs. They are all sponsored by outside leaders. The farmers will take part in an organization that is being formed to meet a crisis, but after it has been met their interest lags.

Social interaction in Rabun County takes place primarily through informal contacts and informal groups. Visiting within kinship groups, with neighbors, at the country store, along the road, at church, in town on Saturdays, and at the courthouse during "court week" is the most popular form. However, most of the visiting takes place within the immediate neighborhood. The exchange of work and tools by farmers within a neighborhood is another informal contact that is highly valued.

By contrast, a wheat farmer of Franklin County prefers to carry on his economic and social group activities through groups which are organized more or less formally. Some of the farmer organizations function on a locality basis, but they are more often based upon the special interest of the farmers, and are often county-wide in scope. Membership in organizations is large but actual participation tends to be relatively small. There

is an overlapping of membership in the different organizations, while several farm families do not belong to any organization.

The farm organizations functioning in Franklin County include: the Grange, the Agricultural Conservation Association, Connell Grain Growers, Kahlotus Cooperative Elevator Association, the Connell Grange Supply, and the Big Bend Electric Cooperative. The Boy and Girl Scouts are very active and include many of the wheat farmers' children. The 4-H Clubs are active in some of the rural areas.

The Grange, Big Bend Electric Cooperative, 4-H Clubs, and the Agricultural Conservation Association received their impetus from the outside; the other farmer organizations were organized from within by the local farmers who run them. The farmer cooperatives in the county are unusually successful. They were organized from within to meet a recognized need that was not being met by any going organization. These cooperatives were copied after others in the State, but it was through the initiative and hard work of the local wheat farmers that they were organized and are successfully functioning.

Informal group activities here consist primarily of visiting, hunting, and fishing. Visiting is not restricted to the vicinity in which a farm family lives, for distance means little to these farmers. Consequently the range of contacts is wide. Most of the families have friends and relatives in town, and visit them frequently. Visiting at the country stores or filling station is

generally absent in Franklin County. There is a minimum of visiting on the streets in town on Saturday. The wheat farmers often form informal groups of four or five friends, on an age-group or special-interest basis, and these groups get together frequently. Small groups of farmers who live in close proximity often pool their resources to build a party telephone system or a grain elevator. There is little exchange of work and tools between wheat farmers primarily because the farm operations must be done at certain times to conserve moisture. Each operator owns a complete outfit of mechanized tools and equipment, which he uses to a maximum during the farming season. Most of the farmers, because of their isolation, have become independent, self-reliant, and self-contained, depending little upon group relationships.

Contrast in Leadership

Although there is little class consciousness in Rabun County, patterns of leadership in the neighborhood are rather rigidly set according to kinship, experiences, and traditions. The individual who usually takes the lead in church and usually assumes the responsibility in cases of emergency is accepted as the established leader of the neighborhood group. Leaders in neighborhood affairs are often inconspicuous, and because of their informal way of doing things it is frequently hard for the outsider to spot them. These leaders often find that they are lost when they try to function above the neighborhood level. When community or county-wide or-

ganizations are established the preference for informal action prevails, and so-called formal organizations function informally.

In Franklin County agricultural leadership comes from all parts of the county and from all segments of the farm population with the exception of the hired farm workers. However, the expression of farm leadership is generally limited to the granges and other farmer associations, and through county politics. Because of the special interests of most organizations and the limited areas served by them, there is frequent overlapping of the leadership in the different organizations. The agricultural leaders are well known to all through their work in formal organizations. They are usually progressive men of middle age or younger who possess the qualities of honesty, modesty, sound judgment, and good speaking ability. Leadership in local agricultural associations and organizations is likely to be a prerequisite to assuming leadership on the county political level, and above the county level.

Contrast in Schools

The consolidated schools in both Rabun and Franklin Counties play an important part in the educational and social life of the people. In both counties a consolidated school building is usually the center of social activities of any community. Although the people have been protestingly reluctant to give up the one-room rural schools, which had been the center of social activities in the rural areas, few rural one-room schools remain.

The so-called mountain schools located in and near Rabun County have been influential in the lives of the farm people and the social organization of the county. Organized around the turn of the century, they are semi-public nonsectarian institutions, supported by both private and public funds. They are primarily industrial or trade schools, established to make available to every neighboring farm child a school, where he can be taught and thus be better equipped to make a living in the county. The Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School, in the northern part of the county, maintains several farm units for families who want to improve themselves by taking adult education while continuing to farm. In addition, there is a school farm on which the children can work as part of their vocational agriculture course and at the same time help pay their way. The students who live any considerable distance away board at the school. One of these mountain schools is frequently in the forefront of its community's self-consciousness, and always it stands in the background wherever community-wide interests are concerned. No real understanding of the operation of social organizations and the people's part in common enterprises is possible in Rabun without an awareness of the way these schools have impinged on the community and the county, and the reactions of the people to the influences they have set in motion.

These mountain schools have influenced the public school system of the

county by encouraging it to have vocational work (including agricultural and commercial courses) taught in all the secondary schools, and by having agricultural and homemaking courses taught in the upper grades of the elementary schools.

In Franklin County the schools are public institutions supported by local and state funds and geared primarily toward college preparation. Vocational courses are now restricted to commercial courses teaching shorthand and typing, but there is some agitation for the inclusion of vocational agriculture in the curriculum of the high school. Perhaps principally because the schools are controlled, supported, and administered by the local school districts they are a motivating force in the communities and are usually the center of community activities. The people take great pride in them and furnish their school districts with adequate funds to maintain well-equipped school plants and good educational standards.

Contrast in the Role of the Churches

The roles of the churches in the lives of the people in Rabun and Franklin Counties are very different. Rabun County has forty churches, or one for every two hundred persons in the population, and six churches outside the county serve some of the people of the county. Twenty-eight churches are in the scattered rural localities. All are Protestant, with only four denominations represented. The Baptist is the leading denominational group in point of numbers, with 23 white churches and one for Negroes

and a total membership of over 2,000. "The Church," in general, is held in esteem by a large majority of the people. The social interaction provided by the churches attracts people to them, although they are probably largely unconscious of this motivation. Church life for many continues to be merely attending the preaching service, with little concern over the church as an organized group. It is difficult to maintain any strong organization in the churches of the county although the organizations and activities built around the churches are numerous and are fairly well attended. They include women's missionary societies, young people's societies, Sunday Schools, revivals, church suppers, homecomings, and Vacation Bible Schools.

Franklin County has only one open-country rural church. It is German Lutheran, located north of Connell. During the homesteading period, Sunday Schools were held at the school houses in several of the rural areas, but only one remains active. The nineteen churches in the county represent fourteen denominations. The Roman Catholic Churches have the largest total membership—they have approximately 25 percent of the total church membership of the county. According to a church census in 1936, less than 30 percent of the county's population were church members. The number of those who take part in church activities is much smaller. The sparseness of settlement in the open-country retarded the establishment of rural churches there, and most rural

families were too far away to take much part.

Few of the wheat-farm families attend church regularly, and some say they haven't gone for years. They are just not strong church goers. They do not seem to consider the absence of church life as a deprivation or a loss. The social interaction provided by the churches attracts townspeople, but it does not seem to influence the farm families to the same extent. Apparently sermons heard over the radio have replaced those of the town churches in the homes of many of the wheat farmers.

Relation of Agencies to Patterns of Organization

Rabun County has a greater dependency upon outside agencies than

does Franklin County. Because of the difference in social organization in the two counties, the agencies function differently.

In Rabun County, they tend to work through established groups whereas in Franklin County they work through individuals. For example, the county agricultural extension agent in Rabun County functions through a county Agricultural Planning Committee and the Farm Bureau, whereas the county agent in Franklin County functions through local leaders and individual farmers

Agencies in both counties attempt to work with the natural locality grouping. By so doing they probably reach as many farmers and farm families as could be expected.

Ministers on the Move: A Study of Mobility in Church Leadership

By Myles W. Rodehaver†

ABSTRACT

An analysis of the frequency of and reasons for minister's mobility as revealed in a study of 196 ministers in a small, liberal Protestant church. The reasons given for changing from parish to parish are examined in terms of Thomas' "Four Wishes." The rapid turnover of ministers in rural churches is considered in relation to rural leadership and rural institutions.

The study upon which this report is based was instituted in an effort to apply the method of critical analysis to a problem which has concerned many of the Protestant denominations. The problem is that of the

short pastorate¹, the tenure of such brief duration that constructive work on the part of the minister and his people is rendered difficult. With its antecedents in the early days of the Protestant mission, the problem has

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¹ Defined as a pastorate of less than three years' duration.

come down through the years. The function of the short pastorate once was positive in that the urgency of the new gospel for a frontier people required rapid dissemination. Emphasis now, however, is upon building from the foundations so hastily laid and this is not accomplished by fleeting contacts. While the problem is of long standing, its solution has neither been found nor, it would appear, conscientiously sought. The situation is reminiscent of Mark Twain's classic comment on the weather, "Everyone talks about it, but nobody does anything about it." It was in an effort to do something about it, to gather reliable data and to suggest possible solutions, that the present study was undertaken in the spring of 1947.

The universe of study comprised the 402 ministers of a small "liberal" denomination. Those who cooperated were promised anonymity. They were asked to record their moves, giving dates, places, salaries involved, and reasons for moving. In addition, they were requested to offer general reasons for the mobility of ministers and to suggest solutions to the problem. They were encouraged to give frank and candid answers, since it was felt that attitudes are important in a study of this nature. As is the case with survey approaches in which the questionnaire is used, this study suffers from a lack of total response. Sixty percent of the ministers addressed returned the questionnaire. However, not all were complete in their replies. Fourteen were rejected for this reason. Thirty-one ministers

of another denomination, but holding dual fellowship, were excluded from the sample to make the results representative of the denomination studied. The results, then, are based on the answers supplied by 196 ministers having the requisite fellowship status with their denomination.

TABLE 1. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Region	Number	Percent
New England	104	53.1
Middle Atlantic	40	20.4
South	9	4.6
Middle West	36	18.4
Rocky Mountain	1	0.5
South West	1	0.5
Pacific	5	2.5
Total	196	100.0

Many of the respondents were in middle-life, the mean age being 51.2 years. However, nearly one-fifth were 70 or over, and when the twenty-nine men with inactive status were eliminated the average age dropped to 47.0 years (Table 2).

The men averaged 22.6 years in the ministry, one-half of them having served less than 20 years (Table 3).

The mean income was \$2,719 for the 167 men actively serving churches and

TABLE 2. AGE DISTRIBUTION

Age (Years)	Number	Percent
20-24	2	1.0
25-29	14	7.1
30-34	20	10.2
35-39	29	14.8
40-44	24	12.2
45-49	11	5.6
50-54	17	8.7
55-59	12	6.1
60-69	29	14.8
70 & over	38	19.4
Total	196	99.9

TABLE 3. YEARS OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Years of Service	Number	Percent
Under 10	48	24.5
10-19	49	25.0
20-29	28	14.3
30-39	23	11.7
40-49	19	9.8
50 & over	29	14.8
Total	196	100.1

the median was \$2,593 (Table 4). These figures include the rental value of the parsonage if one was provided. The value was estimated at fifteen percent of the base salary and was added to the later.

The short pastorate occurs under two circumstances. First, with a studied policy of moving men in order to accomplish certain ends, as in episcopal-type churches, tenure is likely to be brief, except when the prestige of a local church is sufficient to influence the superintendent's planning. Second, with relative freedom of choice on the part of both contracting parties, as in congregational-type churches, pastorates are sometimes short because freedom of choice and wisdom of choice are not sufficiently correlated! Under the first named condition, in spite of occasional hardships, the system seems to work with at least a modicum of efficiency,

largely perhaps because the people have come to accept it and to expect incidental maladjustments from time to time. Under the second condition, where neither polity nor policy encourages the practice, the short pastorate seems to have an adverse effect both on the parish and the minister. The denomination studied is of the congregational type. The function of the superintendent is largely advisory. Churches are free to select their ministers with or without the help and guidance of denominational officials. In turn, ministers are free to move from church to church as the demands of the spirit (or the flesh!) may dictate.

One hypothesis of the study is that ministers move about with relative frequency because they lack recognition, the wish for which is a basic motivating factor in human behavior. But there was no wish to set up a straw man and then clothe him in the raiment of made-to-measure cases. The wish for recognition is only part of the classificatory schema which includes the wish for response, for security, and for new experience. Using the Thomas² classification as a frame of reference, the motives of the ministers studied may be categorized. To illustrate: the financial factor appeared in the list of reasons offered for frequent moving. Obviously, *security* is the wish to be satisfied. Men move because they desire an opportunity for "wider service". Here the wish is for new *experience*. Again, they move

TABLE 4. INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Income (Dollars)	Number	Percent
Under 1,500	13	7.7
1,500-1,999	22	13.1
2,000-2,499	48	28.7
2,500-2,999	27	16.2
3,000-3,999	38	22.8
4,000-4,999	14	8.4
5,000 & over	5	3.0
Total	167	99.9

² W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, (Boston: Little Brown Company, 1927).

because they feel that no further constructive work can be done where they are. Here is a felt lack of *response*. And because the city pastorate is attended with greater publicity, the urge to leave the rural field is based upon the wish for *recognition*. But while such a classification is convenient, its very generality fails to provide an adequate explanation. Men move for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the urge is to be explained on the basis of promptings requiring fulfillment. Sometimes the reasons involve factors beyond the control of the ministers themselves. In other words, at times the "system" is to be indicted. Greater clarification will result from an examination of the data presented by the ministers themselves.

On the basis of the answers supplied, nine comprehensive reasons for moving were set up (Table 5). Heading the list, on the basis of the number of times it occurred, was the "financial" reason, which constituted 27.4 percent of the total. Under this heading are included such reasons as insufficient salary and the attraction of a higher salary. It should be borne in

mind that possible guilt feelings may have militated against offering this as a reason for seeking a new pastorate. Previous conditioning operates to make such frankness appear undesirable, since the service motive should be uppermost in the life of the ministry. Hence, it is relatively easy to rationalize on this point. It is possible that the financial reason actually weighed more heavily than the ministers were ready to admit. The basis for this statement exists in the data concerning financial returns for the work. Approximately half the ministers receive less than \$2,500 per year in salary. (Table 3). Further analysis reveals that the mean starting salary in the past ten years has been \$1,603, omitting all student pastorates. The urge to climb the financial ladder has a valid basis.

Second only to the financial reason was the "desire for wider service" which comprised 26.0 percent of the total. Worthy as the sentiment expressed may be, there exists a possibility of rationalization. If it appears impossible to work with the members of a given church, the old admonition

TABLE 5. REASONS FOR MOVING

Reason	Number of Times Offered	Percent
Financial	196	27.4
Desire for Wider Service	186	26.0
Incompatibility	107	15.0
Health	62	8.7
Educational & Cultural Advantages	59	8.3
Attraction of a Larger Place	38	5.3
Lack of Denominational Cooperation	31	4.3
Attraction of a Smaller Place	20	2.8
To Enter the Chaplaincy	7	1.0
Other Reasons	8	1.1
Total	714	99.9

to "shake the dust from off your sandals" is eagerly followed. The rationalization occurs when the *new field* is confused with the *field of wider service*. Another confusion results from equating the larger place with the wider service!

"Incompatibility," offered 15.0 percent of the times, includes many factors. Sometimes it refers to lack of cooperation on the part of parishioners. A factor closely related to this is the "bossism" practiced by certain influential persons in the local church. Here the comments of the ministers are revealing "The parish was too smug" or "There were too many stubborn reactionaries in the church". Sometimes the inability to adjust is to be traced to factors outside of the church itself, including community hostility or indifference.

"Health" was the reason given in 8.7 percent of the cases. Here again is a fertile area for rationalization. There is little reason to question the vast majority of cases in which such a reason was offered. Heavy demands upon a minister's nervous energy undoubtedly affect his health. A certain amount of experimentation to find the proper climatic conditions is indicated by the facts. Yet in some instances "poor health" can become a convenient excuse for failure to adjust to a situation.

Eight and three-tenths percent of the moves were made for "cultural and educational advantages". Here, more than in the other reasons listed, the personal desires of the minister and his family come to the fore. In

some instances the man wished to further his own education in order to improve his status in the denomination. In other instances there was a realization of the inadequacies of certain rural schools. Many moves to city churches were undertaken to overcome this deficiency. Indeed, "educational and cultural advantages" as a reason is closely related to another reason; namely, "the attraction of a larger place".

This "attraction" accounted for 5.3 percent of the total. A minister may desire not only the actual advantages which a larger place offers but also the greater opportunities which he *thinks* exist, plus the prestige which goes with the city church. Here one of the great problems of the rural church comes to light. The rural church is traditionally the "stepping stone" to the city church. Men trained in theological schools for a ministry which is essentially urban in character feel that they are merely marking time until the call comes that will rescue them from their purgatory. One comment emphasized another aspect which, though of real importance, is oftentimes overlooked. "Rural men are of little consequence at our conventions". It is the city man who most often appears in the limelight. It may be argued that the charge is absurd, but the frequency of its occurrence indicates that the slight is felt by rural ministers, and men's attitudes must be given consideration. Such comments as that quoted above reveal a strong wish for recognition. Finally, the attraction of the larger

place is related to the attraction of the greater financial returns.

Of the remaining reasons, "denominational lack" led the others with 4.3 percent. The "lack" does not represent hostility necessarily, although in some cases a decided umbrage was in evidence. The most frequent charge in this connection was that denominational officials had misrepresented churches to prospective candidates, that they pictured budgets in glowing terms, or that they cried, "Peace. Peace" when there was no peace in a given parish! Comments on the seeming indifference of denominational leaders throw light on another aspect of this problem. "A man is put into a church and allowed to rot!" "The superintendent never darkened the door of my church in all the years I was there!" The minister feels that either he or his church is unimportant.

In the continual search for adjustment as complete as possible, some ministers were attracted to smaller places, 2.8 percent of the reasons offered falling in this category. Adjustment difficulties become more evident in an urban environment. In the larger places there is less opportunity for informal contacts. There is a definite lack of that intimate response which some persons require in greater measure than others. After experience in a larger place, there is often a sincere desire to "dig in," to "put down one's roots" in the community.

Finally, war-time service accounted for one percent of the reasons for moving. Entrance into the chaplaincy requires no special comment. While

some psychologists might speak of "patriotic separation" motivated by the desire to escape from one's wife, one's job, or other personally disturbing factors in one's environment, it would be presumptuous to discount the more worthy motive of service which impelled men to leave the relative security of the parish for work which demanded courage and sacrifice.

Regardless of the validity of the reasoning involved, the factors suggested by the ministers themselves are important. Whether or not they represent the *real* reasons, they are the reasons which the men believe to be correctly stated. In other words, they represent attitudes which function in the integration of personality.

In an effort to determine which group in the ministry moves from place to place with the greatest frequency, certain factors were analyzed to see which of them were associated with mobility. Hypotheses were tested, with results not always as expected. For example, it was felt that marital status would affect stability scores³, but the usual stabilizing influence of wife and family were not in evidence. The married ministers moved about as frequently as the unmarried, there being no significant difference. When mean stability scores for the two groups were compared, the

³ Scoring device involving the ratio of length of ministry to number of parishes served. The number of "service years per move" was computed for each man. Thus, if a minister's total length of ministry were twenty years and he had made five moves, his stability score would be 4.

critical ratio⁴ was 1.8. The reason is perhaps to be found in the urge to achieve financial security for the minister's family. The effects, other than financial, upon those family members are obvious, but the urge for financial betterment remains. In this connection it should be noted that two out of every three moves represented an ascent, however slight, up the socioeconomic ladder, while approximately one out of five involved dropping to a lower rung. When the total length of ministry was divided into two periods, comprising the first ten years of service and the period beyond ten years, and the two periods are compared, the figures take on added significance. Movement up the scale is somewhat easier in the early phase of a minister's service. Four out of five moves involve an increase in salary, whereas only one in ten is to a lower level. In the later phase, however, only one-half of the moves are to a higher income level, whereas nearly a third are downward. With respect to horizontal mobility, a similar phenomenon is noted. About one in ten moves in the early ministry are on the same economic level, whereas in the later ministry one in five represent no change in economic status.

Certain other factors, however, were associated with mobility. Men trained in the denomination's own theological schools tended to be more stable than those receiving their training elsewhere. When mean

stability scores were compared the critical ratio was 2.8. Those who entered the ministry after having engaged in a different occupation for a period of time were more stable than those who began their parish work immediately upon graduation, with no gap between high school and college. Here the critical ratio was 2.5. Perhaps the age and greater maturity of these men were factors in bringing about this result. It is possible that experience has taught them that stability has some bearing on the successful achievement of an objective.

As was expected, age and number of years in the ministry were correlated with stability. When age and stability were correlated, the Pearsonian coefficient was .54. The result was .34 when stability and years in the ministry were correlated. While neither figure is high, the correlations are significant. It is evident that frequent moving takes place in the early years of one's ministry. As one respondent has suggested, "The men know that they have to make their connections when they are young and have the bargaining power". This is made clear in the reasons offered for moving by the younger men. The attraction of a larger place and the drive for financial advancement stood high on the list, along with the factor of educational advantages for the minister or his children. Health reasons and incompatibility were advanced more often by the older men, the foregoing reasons being minimized. No apparent difference existed with respect to the desire for wider service, but here

⁴ Critical ratio based on the formulae:

$$\frac{M_1 - M_2}{E_D}$$

the proffered reason, as has been pointed out, may not have been the real reason.

Men with the Doctor of Divinity degree had the highest stability scores of all the respondents. When the mean scores of the honorary doctors was compared with the score for all others, the critical ratio was 6.0. The honorary degrees, however, were a function of stability. In other words, these men received the degree in part because they were stable.

One factor failed to run true to form. The consensus has been that the "successful" men of the denomination are more stable than the "unsuccessful" men. Surprisingly enough this does not appear to be the case. Several qualified judges were asked to submit lists of the twenty "most successful" and the twenty "least successful" ministers. From the returns submitted, composite lists were prepared. While the "most successful" men had a stability score somewhat higher than that of the "least successful," statistical analysis failed to show a significant difference. The critical ratio was 0.7. In other words, in the opinion of the several judges as evinced by their choices, moving frequently did not seem to diminish a man's effectiveness as a parish minister. Examination of the lists reveals that the men chosen as "most successful" have had one or more long pastorates in recent years, such tenure entering into the classification to insure their inclusion in the "successful" category. What may have been overlooked is the fact that early in their ministries

these men also moved about frequently. In fact, some of the shortest pastorates recorded were associated with these "most successful" men!

While stability scores did not appear to have any appreciable bearing on the effectiveness of the ministers, the comparisons of the "most successful" and the "least successful" men did not portray the actual situation without a measure of distortion. The effects of short pastorates are far-reaching and of serious consequence. That the men themselves are cognizant of this fact is apparent from a consideration of their personal comments on the matter. A review of these is revealing. While frequent moving may accomplish some good results, in the opinion of the men the effects are generally detrimental.

The minister's leaving a church may relieve an intolerable situation. Experimentation may uncover a "free pulpit" where the man with a liberal message can carry on his work without a feeling of frustration. Furthermore, a church may rid itself of a misfit, although such action merely transfers the problem to another locus. Some of the men felt that moving about keeps men and churches from "getting in a rut". The necessity for continuous readjustment, however, detracts from the merit of this observation. The suggestion that "men are enabled to do an intensive piece of work" may be dismissed as untenable, since the "intensive work" may in actuality be the sort of "flash-in-the-pan" activity to which the men themselves object. Likewise, the sugges-

tion that movers might consider themselves to be "trouble-shooters" employed to build up a church is dismissed as sheer rationalization. The fact that a high rate of mobility "permits several successive churches to get a good man on his way up" appears to offer small advantage indeed to the churches involved.

Most of the men, including those with low stability scores, recognized the dangers inherent in the pattern. The effects on character were evaluated with particular insight. The danger exists that men will "run away" from a difficult situation, that they will dodge their responsibilities as ministers. No problems are solved by putting them out of mind, nor is their solution necessarily any nearer merely because they have been transferred to the shoulders of another person. The ministers make no lasting impression on the community. Their families have no roots. Constant moving represents a drain on financial resources, and the family is affected by way of a lower plane of living. Ultimately, according to the men themselves, ministers become cynical or, disilluminated, they leave the ministry for some other field of endeavor.

The church "loses face" in the community when it has a reputation for being unable to hold its ministers. Parishioners, discouraged by constant change and a lack of continuity in the program, drop away. Certainly the church loses when it must expend a disproportionate amount of its energies in locating a new minister as the result of one brief pastorate after an-

other. While frequent periods without the services of a minister may operate, as one suggested, to build up a reserve of lay leadership, the evidence points in the direction of greater success when minister and people cooperate in the venture. Leaderless congregations may survive, or even flourish for a time, but such is the exception.

Some ministers, perhaps through the very process of winnowing and sifting, seem to find their place and settle down to pastorates of relatively long duration. Others, for one reason or another, appear to be constantly on the move. The records show that each man on the average, has served four churches (Table 6). About a third of the men (33.6 percent), however, have been "settled" over more than four churches. This takes on added significance when it is realized that many of the men involved are in the younger age groups, a factor which makes it possible to assume that they have not made all the moves they are going to make before retirement age. A breakdown of this highly-mobile group shows the extent of the pattern.

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF CHURCHES SERVED

Churches	Number	Percent
1	10	5.1
2	34	17.4
3	43	21.9
4	43	21.9
5	23	11.7
6	14	7.1
7	11	5.6
8	4	2.0
9	5	2.6
10	6	3.1
11 & over	3	1.5
Total	196	99.9

Eleven and seven-tenths percent have served five churches. Seven and one-tenth percent have ministered to six churches. Five and six-tenths percent have been in seven churches. Two percent have moved seven times and find themselves in their eighth church. Two and six-tenths percent have "tried out" nine churches, another 3.1 percent, ten churches. One and five-tenths percent have been in eleven or more churches.

The effects of the problem, its extent, and some of the underlying causes have now been mentioned. Some of the solutions suggested incorporate proposals set forth by the ministers themselves. Others are the writer's own. Some are not feasible, perhaps, while others have definite merit.

Because of a frank recognition that the basic cause may lie within the individual minister, it was urged that the denomination take steps to weed out men who are obviously unfitted for the ministry. Presumably this process would begin before ordination. More rigid requirements for entrance into theological schools would, in the opinion of some respondents, eliminate many "problems" at the start. A weeding out process during the course of training would eliminate others. Others suggested special training for the rural ministry, since it is the rural churches which, with few exceptions, fail to hold their ministers. Other men would purge their own ranks of incompetents, although no machinery for this delicate task was suggested.

An internship program would enable young men to gain experience, to

"get the feel" of the ministry, to have a taste of the "success psychology" before encountering difficult situations. A "big brother" system reminiscent of the swimmer's "buddy system" would make someone responsible for younger men as they try to make an adjustment to their new work. One suggestion involved a five-year apprenticeship before ordination. Another proposed a "minister to ministers," someone to whom a man could take his problems before they became insurmountable.

A counseling service, under denominational aegis, would provide an instrument for resolving problems where ministers found themselves in difficulties. Another suggestion, called for an unbiased commission to study the facts in the case and make recommendations. Still another involved the abolition of annual contracts in favor of a "gentlemen's agreement" to give the minister a greater feeling of security. An informal understanding (legal contracts would appear to militate against the "professionalization" which some of the men urged) that a minister be given a minimum of five years to establish his program would help. It might be added that a more adequate pension system, plus group life and health insurance, would provide a feeling of security. In this connection, salary equalization and subsidies would obviate the necessity of the quest for higher salaries.

Because the "candidating system" fails at times to place the right man in the right church, some of the ministers would have it abolished in favor

of a more businesslike approach, incorporating personal interviews and the analysis of previous records.

The wish for recognition impels men to move in the hope, ultimately, of being called to an "important" church. It is not enough to assert that *all* churches are important. There is a hierarchy. The feeling is common in the ministry that there are certain "D.D. Churches". If a man succeeds in "landing" one of them, recognition is supposed to be certain and inevitable. While such a feeling may not have a basis in fact, it does indicate an attitude which colors a minister's approach to his work. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the attitudes of men set apart for leadership are important in the life of any movement.

The short pastorate has deleterious effects upon the growth of the local church and, therefore, on the progress of the denomination as a whole. In the latter sense it represents, perhaps, just another aspect of Leopold von Wiese's historic dilemma of the church. More important to the rural sociologist is the effect upon one of the important institutions of the rural community. That the phenomenon of the short pastorate, though it is denomination-wide in scope, is asso-

ciated with the rural church is indicated by the fact that the pastorate of ten years, or even five, is extremely rare in the rural churches. Many an urban church of the denomination studied can boast of pastorates of ten years or more. The ministers do the greater share of their moving in their early years, and these years are spent in the smaller places. The implication is obvious. If a high mobility rate relegates the rural church to the status of the stepping stone, we are failing to provide the kind of leadership which the rural community needs. The quality of the rural community is measured by the effectiveness of its institutions. If rural community planning comes within our orbit, we must recognize the problem of the short pastorate and see it as part of the larger problem of leadership-mobility in rural institutions. The high turnover of rural teachers, the "practice" practice of young physicians in rural areas before they move to the city, the apprenticeship on the small town paper before the call to the metropolitan daily, these are part and parcel of the phenomenon which draws from the rural community its leadership potential. It is from this frame of reference that the problem of the short pastorate is seen in its full implications for rural life.

Horace Greeley, Agrarian Exponent of American Idealism

By Roland Van Zandt†

ABSTRACT

Horace Greeley's utopianism is interpreted in terms of his agricultural backgrounds and his agrarian philosophy. Greeley became an ardent disciple of Fourier and played an active part in organizing many American utopian communities. His agrarian critique of contemporary society led him to anticipate many of the viewpoints which have come to dominate the modern mind.

The Background of Greeley's Agrarian Philosophy

The city had not absorbed him into its typical life . . . he never fitted naturally as part of the hurrying, business-minded crowd; he was not of that crowd and never could be. He longed to get away from it.

—HENRY L. STODDARD

If the American of the twentieth century would like to be dropped suddenly into the distant world of his own origins and become intimately associated with an experience which only survives as a condiment in the nation's imagination, he could not do better than to read Horace Greeley's account of his early childhood and youthful wanderings.

The early chapters of Greeley's autobiography, *Recollection of a Busy Life*, read like an idyl of some forgotten Arcadia.

He was born, according to this account, into a long line of pioneer farmers on February 3, 1811, at Amherst, New Hampshire. His grandfather "owned and worked small farms successively in Hudson, Pelham, Nottingham, and Londonderry".¹ His father was a farmer, either as an owner or day laborer, in New Hampshire, Westhaven, Vt., and finally in Erie County,

Pa. Greeley himself worked in the fields as a farm laborer until he was fourteen years old when he started his newspaper career by becoming apprenticed to a printer in East Poultney, Vt. Greeley always considered this divergence from the familial pattern a major mistake, and in language which has been familiar to us since the time of Virgil, extolled the life of his ancestors:

Happily, living in frugal plenty, almost wholly on their own products, spending much of their time in vigorous exercise in the open air, and having but one doctor within call, they had great tenacity of life; so that the funerals were few and far between.²

The same opinion was expressed about the people of his own life-time who were still living in his ancestral village of Londonderry: "Simple, moral, diligent, God-fearing, the vices of modern civilization have scarcely penetrated their quiet homes. . . ." ³

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¹ *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: 1869), p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

In old age, speaking about his own life, he declared, "I should have been a farmer. All my riper tastes incline to that blessed calling. . . . Were I now to begin my life anew, I would choose to earn my bread by cultivating the soil."⁴ Such statements give the proper orientation of Greeley's mind. They place him in the same agrarian — not to say "pastoral" — tradition that has been an important part of the American consciousness since the time of Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*.

The basic clue to Greeley's mind is that it was formed in the period between 1811 and the date of his arrival in New York City in 1831, and was ever after oriented to an agrarian mode of existence. It is to be remembered in this connection that Jefferson, the formulator of American agrarian philosophy, had been dead only five years when Greeley arrived in New York. Indeed, the America of his imagination and dreams was the same America of Jefferson and his contemporaries, and this was a country predominantly agrarian, ruled by farmers and planters, and geared to their political philosophy. Thus Greeley was fond of saying throughout his life that "the great men who framed . . . the Federal Constitution, who ruled the country throughout the next generation, and thus laid the foundations of our National policy, were . . . for the most part connected . . . with the Farming or Planting interest..."⁵

To maintain this interest and the agrarian philosophy became the ruling passion of Greeley's life.

This passion is the common denominator behind the bewildering variety of his opinions and activities. If Franklin was considered "the farmer's sage" we may concur with Greeley's contemporaries and call him "the farmer's friend". Where the first man crystallized the farmer's workaday philosophy, the second crystallized his complaints, and, in a more complicated age than Franklin's, became a spearhead in the farmer's fight against new elusive forces. The *New York Tribune*, which was one of the first newspapers in the country to devote regular space to agriculture, became the organ of an agrarian crusade. All the major problems and issues of the day were echoed in its pages, but reformulated on the basis of an agrarian philosophy. Likewise, on the lyceum platform and in magazine articles, in books and impromptu speeches, Greeley hewed to the line of his main agrarian thesis.

Examples of this consistency may be found in two of the major obsessions of his career, the problem of land reform and the question of the tariff. To forestall a repetition of the Panic of 1837 with its intense suffering both on the farm and in the city, Greeley believed there could be nothing more effective than a wide and even distribution of the nation's land. Indeed, he believed that this solution was intrinsic to the whole problem. By reforming the land system in order to outlaw speculation and monopoly, by giving

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁵ *Political Economy* (Boston: 1875), p. 108.

the average family a chance to possess its own farm, he believed the unemployed of the cities would disperse over the land where they could produce their own necessities, and he believed the farmer himself, now exploited by the financier and monopolist, would be given a new opportunity to make farming a successful occupation. Suppose, he suggested,

The usage and the law were so changed that no man was permitted, in this boasted land of equal rights, to hold as his own more than half a square mile of arable soil (which is enough for fifty men to cultivate) so long as a single person needing land in the community should remain destitute of any, what a mighty and beneficent transformation would be effected in the reward of labor and the condition of the laboring class! Then, instead of a constant increase in the proportion of landless seekers for something to do . . . we should see a continual division and subdivision of large estates, with a steady increase in the number and proportion of small proprietors, each his own employer and his own laborer, whereby the mass of landless seekers for work as hirelings or tenants would be rapidly diminished.⁶

This was a conscious application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to the problem of land reform,⁷ and though the procedure necessarily had its whimsical side, Greeley could not have been more serious about its intrinsic validity. He offered his plan as an expression of

the Founders' ideal of a nation of small independent farmers. In agitating for homestead exemption he reinforced his plan with a concomitant belief of the Founders that a nation of independent owners is essential to a Republican form of government. He held that the free homestead is "one of the cardinal principles of a Republican polity", and that "the enjoyment of Inviolable Homes shall be commensurate with the existence of Republican Freedom".⁷

Greeley's stand on the tariff issue also reveals how his mind was centralized in an agrarian philosophy, though this is at first not so apparent and has created difficulties for some of our scholars. Vernon Lou Parrington, for instance, associated the policy of Protection with the conservative tradition of American capitalism, and therefore concluded that Greeley, who was obviously one of the luminaries of our liberal tradition, had been inconsistent in upholding Protection, or at best the victim of "the Federalist-Whig prepossessions of his youth . . ." ⁸ But such a statement hardly bears investigation, and it ignores the context of Greeley's thought.

It must be remembered that Greeley was a product of American society as it existed from 1811 to 1831, and as late as 1830 approximately eighty per cent of the American people gainfully employed were still engaged in agriculture. Furthermore, American manufacturing as late as 1850 was still not functioning "fully on a fac-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁶ *Hints Toward Reforms* (New York: 1857), pp. 313-14.

⁸ *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: 1930), II, 251.

tory basis."⁹ Home manufactures in the form of the "putting-out" system was still a familiar part of our economic life. During Greeley's formative years, however, home manufactures were, with the exception of the early textile mills, the predominant form of manufacturing known; and like most Americans until after the Civil War, Greeley could not begin to envision the urban-industrial civilization which would rise with scientific technology. It is a simple fact that the tone of this rustic American more surely echoes the eighteenth century world of Benjamin Franklin than it does the age of the railroad builders.

Seen in this light, Greeley's dream of a self-sufficient nation of small farms, with manufactures occupying a subsidiary position in the form of household and village crafts, becomes completely plausible; and by the same token his stand on the tariff becomes consistent with his whole line of thought. He believed that a tariff on imported manufactures would strengthen our agrarian economy and benefit our farmers by giving encouragement to our "manufactures". In other words, a tariff on imported manufactures would create nuclei of manufacturing villages and towns in our own country which would afford a domestic market for the surplus products of our farmers. This situation would eliminate the necessity of throwing our economy on the mercy and caprices of foreign tastes and markets. Furthermore, the parasitic

middleman who made a living handling the products of someone else's labor would be eliminated; the farmers themselves would have some control over their markets; manufacturing and agricultural people would have direct contact with each other and form a fraternity of common interest. At the bottom of Greeley's program is the belief that the country will remain agricultural, that manufacturing (Greeley never dreamed of "Industry" in the modern sense, and always used the word in the sense of "labor") will not become a separate interest of its own, and that the largest organizational unit needed for self-sufficiency is the Township.

However naive Greeley's program seems to us today—missing as it does the significance of the geographical basis of manufacturing, and the dynamics of a new form of wealth—it was plausible enough in its own time to capture the allegiance of "the mass of farmers north and west",¹⁰ and to be appealed to in the name of Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Jackson, and a host of governors and statesmen. Greeley is very explicit about the opinions of the Founders, and quotes them directly to support his statements. A point which he makes again and again is that the Founders who favored the protection of domestic manufactures were primarily motivated by a desire to help agriculture.

The Founders of this Republic—themselves either farmers by vocation or the representatives

⁹ Harold F. Williamson, ed., *The Growth of the American Economy* (New York: 1946), p. 243.

¹⁰ Parrington, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

of farmers mainly—deliberately and thoughtfully determined to protect and develop Home Manufactures, and that they did this in the conviction that they thereby promoted the interest and enhanced the gains of American Agriculture.¹¹

As late as 1870 Greeley championed Protection with arguments that were anchored in a pre-railroad age of home manufactures. An agrarian dies hard, as John Taylor of Caroline, James Fenimore Cooper, John Randolph, and many others during the early part of the nineteenth century have clearly shown. And who is to pass judgment on them? For the first time in the history of man agriculture as the basic pattern of life was being replaced by a new form of culture. Since man is still trying to register this fact, perhaps Horace Greeley may be pardoned his belief that America would remain an agrarian nation of self-sufficient townships.

This belief was best illustrated in Greeley's practical attempt to erect a more perfect agrarian society by neutralizing the apparent evils, and certainly the hostility, of an incipient industrialism. The height of this attempt was during a three year period when, due to the extreme crisis of the depression following the Panic of 1837, he espoused the extreme doctrine of Fourierism. Greeley's relationship with "Associationism" thus gives us a picture of his agrarian philosophy in action when it was most completely and systematically formed, and allows us to evaluate its

strength and weakness when confronted with the initial stages of American industrialism.

The Utopian Application of Greeley's Agrarian Philosophy

Attractive industry, the dream of the past age, the aspiration of the present, shall be the fruition and joy of the next. The ultimate and thorough remedy, I believe, is found in *association*.

Like John Taylor fifty years before and Hamlin Garland fifty years after, Greeley entered the field of agrarian reform because of a shocking sense of discrepancy between what agriculture should be and what it actual' is, and each man in turn linked the plight of agriculture with the enmity of some other power and attraction which were usually associated with capitalism or urban-industrialism.

Greeley often said,

The position and sphere of the independent, virtuous, contented Farmer, has from earliest time been pointed at as one of the most fortunate and healthful, mentally as well as physically, that earth can afford . . . He would seem to be marked out for integrity and elevation of sentiment . . . And yet, on practical acquaintance we find him quite often another being—narrow, prejudiced, and selfish . . . a foe to other men's good and his own.¹²

And this is not all. The farmer's sons have no love for his vocation, and are leaving their ancestral calling for the more attractive life of our cities. Agri-

¹¹ *Political Economy*, p. 133.

¹² *Hints Toward Reforms*, pp. 62-63.

culture is in a state of decay, and the nation is being corrupted by new urban values.

From the noblest and richest rural homestead, you will see the youthful heir eagerly hieing to the distant city, there to consecrate years to the exhibition of sarsenets to simpering, shopping misses, or to the service of some six-by-eight subterranean money-changer's den . . . Talent, knowledge, and skill, which are greatly needed in the sphere of rural life, crowd and jostle each other on the city's pavements, and often sell to Capital for a month's livelihood some happy invention . . . which should have insured a competence for life.¹³

It is to be noted in such passages that Greeley did not compare two ways of life, as he did condemn an actual life in the light of an old ideal. He condemned contemporary life, not because it deviated from agricultural life *per se*, but because it deviated from the ideal agricultural life. The emphasis was important. It meant that first of all he saw more clearly the flagrant contrast between the American ideal and the reality; and second, that he supported a plan for social reorganization which re-stated an agrarian idealism that had never been too "realistic" from the viewpoint of actual American conditions, and that was becoming more and more untenable. Though this meant that in the long run his plan had to fail because of its archaic philosophy, the fact remains that in his own day his ideas were still close enough to the

actual form of society to have immense vitality. Furthermore, in 1840 the agrarian ideal and the actual state of American society were so close together that any attempt to unite them—even if it meant socialism—seemed like an act of patriotism rather than treason.

In the early 1840's Greeley was introduced to a plan for social reorganization which seemed to afford a practical basis for the fulfilment of his dreams of the good society. It was a time when America was again being fertilized by European thought, and just as the agrarian doctrines of the Physiocrats gave many new directions to the social and economic thought of late eighteenth century America, so the doctrines of the Fourierites had a profound influence during the mid-nineteenth century.

Greeley was introduced to Fourierism by Albert Brisbane, the son of a large American landowner who first saw the light while reading Fourier's *Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association*. Brisbane had had two years of study under the personal direction of the master in France, and then, returning to spread the gospel in America, published in 1840 his *Social Destiny of Man; or, Association and Reorganization of Industry*. Realizing that the reform-minded editor of the *Tribune* would certainly give him a sympathetic hearing, Brisbane gave a copy of his book to Greeley and thus gained a more capable zealot than himself.

Greeley's interest in Fourierism extended from his first meeting with

¹³ *Ibid.*

Brisbane in 1840 until 1847 when he conducted a newspaper debate on the subject with H. J. Raymond of the *Courier & Enquirer*. During that period, which saw the rise and fall of between 27 and 33 Fourieristic "Phalanxes,"¹⁴ the editor of the *Tribune* became the movement's "acknowledged leader,"¹⁵ was "responsible for the stir that it made,"¹⁶ and through lyceum lectures and newspaper articles, and actual participation in Associationist experiments themselves, constantly kept the movement in the public eye. Between 1842 and 1843 he invested \$5,000 in "Sylvania," a settlement devoted exclusively to agriculture in Pike County, New York,¹⁷ and was an active member of the "North American Phalanx" at Red Bank, New Jersey—the most successful and long-lived of all the settlements, and the one which "came probably nearest to the ideal of the 'Phalanx'".¹⁸ In 1844, when Brook Farm swung over to the cause, it was

"The article on 'Communitistic Settlements' in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, p. 99, gives the larger figure; whereas F. A. Bushee in an article entitled 'Communitistic Societies of the United States' (*Political Science Review*, XX, 1906, 625-664) gives the smaller figure. According to both writers only three or four Phalanxes lasted beyond 1847, and the average life of the community was 16 months.

¹⁴ Henry L. Stoddard, *Horace Greeley, Printer, Editor, Crusader* (New York: 1946), p. 84.

¹⁵ Don C. Seitz, *Horace Greeley, Founder of the New York Tribune* (Indianapolis: 1926), p. 122. On the whole, Seitz' treatment of the socialistic activities of Greeley is superficial and inaccurate.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁷ M. Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York & London: 1903), p. 100.

done mostly "through Greeley's constant proselyting".¹⁹ He became one of the Vice-Presidents of the new organization, and helped to edit the *Harbinger* when it replaced the *Dial*. Alluring this period the powerful organ of the *Tribune* was kept open to the Fourierist cause, Albert Brisbane contributing weekly articles from 1841 to 1843, and the editor himself contributing an occasional article until the famous debate with Raymond terminated his interest, and, in the opinion of Greeley's latest biographer, "finished Fourierism in the United States."²⁰

It may well be asked what special appeal Fourier's plan for the reorganization of society had for the editor of the *Tribune*? In a lecture entitled "The Social Architects" Greeley reviewed the utopian schemes of such men as Plato, Harrington, Saint Simon and Robert Owen, and came to the conclusion that Fourier's plans were "far less imperfect in themselves than any other, and more likely to lead to beneficent results".²¹ But this only stated a preference. Why, for instance, did Greeley choose the plans of Fourier rather than those of Robert Owen? A partial answer may be found perhaps in a statement by Edward S. Mason: "While both Fourier and Owen looked to an abolition of the differences between town and country, Fourier's ideal was an agrarian-handicraft economy, Owen's a combination of agriculture and factory manufac-

¹⁹ Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²⁰ J. Parton, *The Life of Horace Greeley* (New York: 1855), p. 205.

²¹ *Hints Toward Reforms*, p. 282.

ture".²² The emphasis on a pre-industrial state of agriculture in Fourier's plan is important, and how clearly this emphasis suggests the anomalous character of the plan! It appeared almost a generation after the Owenite movement of the 1820's and yet it placed even less importance on the reality of industrialism. And this marks the difference between Owen, the practical-minded English businessman, and Fourier, the religious theorist. It has been said that "it is hard to imagine anyone further removed from contemporary life than Fourier. He was oblivious of . . . the revolutionary changes in production technique associated with the industrial revolution".²³ Greely rejected the questionable religious theory behind Fourier's plan, but accepted in full its practical suggestions for the reorganization of society as an agrarian society. He was interested in Fourierism foremost and always because it allowed him to express his belief that "it is the mission of the age to regenerate and dignify Agriculture, by rendering it practically and intellectually an expansive vocation".²⁴

Fourier's plan was uniquely adapted to the furtherance of this end. It called for the reorganization of society into self-sufficient areas roughly equivalent to the Township. Each area was owned and controlled by three or four hundred families 'who lived together in a central edifice. There was

a division of labor according to the abilities and desires of the individuals. Agriculture was basic; the various crafts and manufactures were subsidiary. Cultural and social interests were important communal activities. Education was central, and reflected the whole purpose of the organization. As Greeley said, from earliest infancy children

Are to be familiarized with the various processes of Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Arts; they are to see labor, however rude or repulsive, the main source of honor and distinction, as well as wealth; and they are to be thus taught to seek the knowledge and skill which shall fit them for eminence in the domain of Industry, and to arrest the earliest opportunity of winning her cherished rewards.²⁵

Labor and culture were combined in this scheme of things. The purpose was to achieve an "organic society" in which all the members participated personally in every activity, menial or cultural, which contributed to their complete development. This was one reason why the "Phalanx" had to be self-sufficient: it was believed, as Greeley said, that "a diversity of pursuits is indispensable to . . . [the] enduring prosperity" of a person or of a region, and that no single "calling can employ and reward the varied capacities of male and female, young and old, robust and feeble".²⁶ Fourierism was therefore opposed to the types of specialization which placed, for in-

²² *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, "Charles Fourier," Vol VI, p. 403.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 402

²⁴ *Hints Toward Reforms*, p. 65.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.

²⁶ *Political Economy*, p. 19.

stance, all the manufactures of the country in isolated sections, or all the trade in the hands of special groups. Competition, which led to specialization, and which pitted man against man for the sake of private monetary gain, was also outlawed. Cooperation was intrinsic to the whole plan: only cooperation made it possible for families to till the soil without the waste in resources and talent that was co-existent with the "isolated" farmstead and the competitive system. And this was one of Greeley's cardinal ideas. He believed the sordidness and frustration of farm life were the result of an "inefficient" competitive system. If farm life—the traditional pattern of life in America—was to have the attractions, facilities and opportunities that were drawing the young people into the factitious life of the city, then it must be conducted within the cooperative framework of "Associationism". This, then, was the reply that Greeley made to the new economic forces which he believed were corrupting our agrarian society.

Greeley's agrarian critique of contemporary society led him to anticipate many of the viewpoints which have come to dominate the modern mind. No one, for instance, has had a finer sense of what Carlyle called the "cash-nexus" — the bond of money that creates discord rather than harmony, and that splits society into interests and factions. Though he was too enthusiastic in condemning the city as an iniquitous interest in itself

which did nothing but feed upon the surrounding countryside, he was right in concluding that urbanization was giving rise to vast new artificial attractions which were not related to an agrarian— and therefore traditionally American—mode of existence. And he was most sound in saying that a new culture was arising which divorced art and intellect from the practical life of the nation. Finally, at the heart of his vision is this burden of the modern spirit, the anxious realization that our society has lost some of its old moorings and has wandered into places of darkness.

Though the attempt to recapture a unity of purpose on the arcadian level Greeley contemplated is no longer even an academic question, the attempt was at least feasible in 1840, and that is why, together with all the Americans of his generation, Greeley could be so articulate about the dream of his forefathers. And if today America had been so transformed as to have lost all practical connection with this ancient dream, we can understand how it is possible for the appeal to idealism to be mute today, frozen on the fibers of the mind, while the country passes through an era in which wars are fought "without patriotism".²⁷ And we can understand how Greeley's utopian plans were disseminated with a fanaticism which was not considered archaic, or subversive.

²⁷ Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio*, Penguin edition (New York: 1946), p. 48.

NOTES

Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr.

RESTDY OF WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

About twenty-five years ago, Drs. Carle C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor did a study of the rural organization of Wake County, North Carolina. (*Rural Organization: A Study of Primary Groups in Wake County, N. C.*, AESB 245, August, 1922.) This was one of a series of studies conducted in cooperation with the U.S.D.A. under the influence of the late Dr. Galpin. The Wake County study as well as the others in the series are still referred to and quoted extensively in rural sociological literature.

A restudy is now underway by the Department of Rural Sociology at N. C. State College. In the first phase of the restudy, an attempt will be made to follow the same methodology as was used in the original study. Several thousand cards were distributed to the children through the rural schools. The parents of the children were asked to answer a few simple questions. The most important question was: What is the name of the neighborhood in which you live? A very large proportion of the cards were returned as a result of the cooperation of the school officials. This will enable us

to outline the neighborhood areas as was done in the original study. Other parts of the original study will be duplicated in so far as possible.

It is anticipated that some of the original groupings will have disappeared and others will have come into existence. A personal follow-up will be made to determine why these changes have occurred.

A second phase of the study is also underway. Two man months have been spent in a detailed delineation of the rural sociological-geographical areas of the county. All the new techniques of neighborhood-community delineation have been employed in this phase of the study. As a result it will be possible to compare areas as delineated by the two techniques. Revisits will be made to those areas in which discrepancies occur with respect to social groupings.

With the 1922 Taylor-Zimmerman study as a bench mark, we believe that the restudy will be of considerable importance in the understanding of change in rural society.

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LIBRARY STUDY, PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MARYLAND

The Prince Georges County Memorial Library, established in July 1946, requested, through the County Library Board, the assistance and guidance of the Department of Sociology of the University of Maryland in finding the answer to a number of questions which would greatly facilitate the establishment of adequate library services for the county.

First, the library planners needed to know the location of the natural groupings of people and their social and economic centers. In response to this request, the research staff of the Department of Sociology, with the help and assistance of the librarian,

county agricultural extension and home agents, and several well-informed residents of the county, delineated the communities and neighborhoods and trade areas and located the social and economic centers of the county. Schools and churches were located as were all actively functioning social and civic organizations. By the use of these materials, the library staff was able to plan more intelligently the library services for the communities and neighborhoods through bookmobile service, branch libraries, and community libraries and stations.

In order to be of further service to the people, the library staff wished to know

more about the cultural, economic, social and educational backgrounds, levels of living, and reading habits and desires. Again the County Board requested the assistance of the Department of Sociology in gathering and analyzing specific information pertaining to these questions. To accomplish this, a joint research project was instituted by the Department of Sociology, with the Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Prince Georges County Memorial Library cooperating.

The purpose of the total project is to provide information basic to the formation and functioning of a County Library in Prince Georges County, Maryland by:

- 1 Further defining the communities and neighborhoods in the county, so that the citizens of the county may be served at the appropriate centers by the bookmobile and other library facilities.
- 2 An analysis of the library facilities now being used by the families of the county with a view to determining their availability and adequacy.
- 3 Determining the library needs, desires and preferences of the families of the county to aid the County Library in planning their programs and services.
- 4 Analyzing the characteristics of the population as a basis for planning specific library services.
5. Providing basic information on levels of living of the families of the county.

The study includes information on approximately 1,300 families and 4,000 individual family members. Two schedules are being used, the one dealing largely with the characteristics of the family as a whole, and the other with individual family members. A family schedule is being taken on each family surveyed. The individual reader interest schedule is being taken on each member of the family household over twelve years of age. Both schedules are precoded for the use of punched card equipment. The eighty question are all being put on one card.

Area sampling techniques are being used, with different procedures for the rural and urban areas of the county. The Bureau of the Census drew the sample for the metropolitan area and the University research staff the sample for the rural area. This dual type of sample was necessary because of the nature of the population. The western half of the county is densely populated, a part of the greater metropolitan area of Washington, D. C., and contains over 80 percent of the county's population located in this area. The eastern half of the county is rural, sparsely populated, and one of the leading tobacco areas of Maryland.

The study is somewhat unusual in that the enumeration is being done by local volunteer workers. In the rural area the enumeration was done by members of each community with the community leaders taking charge of the survey in their own areas. In the metropolitan area the enumeration is being done through community organizations such as American Legion posts, Volunteer Fire Department, Women's Clubs, Community Clubs. The volunteer workers in the rural areas were surprisingly successful in completing their enumeration in good order. This is due in large measure to the enthusiasm which the county library workers have stimulated throughout the county. Although the problems are somewhat different and more difficult, it is to be hoped that the method will be equally successful in the metropolitan area. The greatest disadvantage in using volunteer workers is that enumeration progresses slowly and the instruction needs to be frequently repeated.

The work of the Joint Committee of the American Library Association and the Rural Sociological Society has uncovered a great amount of interest in the field of library studies. Numerous requests for information on this study are being received, and within the state of Maryland a number of county library boards have already requested that similar studies be made in their counties.

HAROLD HOFFSSOMMER.

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CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.†

Publications Received

(*Indicates bulletins reviewed in this issue. Numbers appearing by each review refer to corresponding number in the list of publications.)

1. Allred, Charles E. *Classified List of Courses Offered by Departments of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Land Grant Colleges, 1947-48*. Tennessee Agr. Expt. Sta. Mono. 236. 29 pp. Knoxville, June 1948.
- *2. Anderson, A. H. and Hill, Randall C. *Rural Communities and Organizations—A Study of Group Life in Ellis County, Kansas*. Kansas Agr. Expt. Sta. Circ. 143. 51 pp. Manhattan, Mar. 1948.
3. Behrendt, Richard F. *Inter-American Economic Relations, Problems and Prospects*. Committee on International Economic Policy. 405 W. 117th St. 99 pp. New York, Feb. 1948.
4. Bonser, H. J. *Opportunities for Getting Started in Farming in Tennessee*. Tennessee Agr. Expt. Sta. Mono. 235. 44 pp. Knoxville, May 1948.
- *5. Brewer, Earl D. C. *A Program for the Local Rural Church*. Div. of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 150 Fifth Ave. 30 pp. New York, 1948. 15 cents.
6. Div. of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. *A Suggested Program Guide*. 150 Fifth Ave. 12 pp. New York, 10 cents.
- *7. Ewing, Oscar R. *The Nation's Health, A Ten-Year Program*. Federal Security Agency. 186 pp. Washington, Sept. 1948.
- *8. Farrell, F. D. *Kansas Rural Institutions: III. A County Agricultural Center*. Kansas State Agr. Expt. Sta. Circ. 240. 18 pp. Manhattan, May 1947.
9. Illinois Rural Life Conference and American Country Life Association. *What Farmers Want Their Schools To Teach*. Univ. of Illinois. 11 pp. Urbana, May 1948.
- *10. Illinois State Medical Society. *"Doctors and Horses," The Health Care of the Farm Family*. Committee on Rural Medical Care. 15 pp. Chicago, June 1948.
- *11. Johnson, Sherman E. *Changes in Farming*. U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. of Agr. Econ. 107 pp. Washington. June 1948.
- *12. Klem, Margaret C., Hollingsworth Helen, and Miser, Yelma A. *Medical and Hospital Services provided under Prepayment Arrangements*. Federal Security Agency. Bur. Memo. No. 69. Washington, June 1948.
13. Leonard, Olen E. *Canton Chullpas—A Socioeconomic Study in the Cochambamba Valley of Bolivia*. U. S. Dept. Agr. 77 pp. Washington, July 1948.
- *14. Martin, Bishop William C. *The Church and the Rural Community*. Div. of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 150 Fifth Ave. 122 pp. New York, 1948.
15. McCharen, W. K. *Improving the Quality of Living*. Div. of Surveys and Field Services, George Peabody Coll. for Teachers. 68 pp. Nashville, Dec. 1947.
16. McKay, A. W. *Farmers' Cooperatives in Our Community*. U. S. Dept. Agr. Misc. Rep. 118. 41 pp. Washington, April 1948.
- *17. Motheral, Joe R. *Trends in the Texas Farm Population, 1948*. Texas Agr. Expt. Sta. 7 pp. College Station, August 1948.
18. Österreichischer Fachzeitschriften-Verlag. *Das Schrifttum der Bodenkultur* (A bibliographical periodical). Doblhoffgasse 5. 36 pp. Wien-I. (Aus-

† Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

- tria), May 1948. Six months subscription price is 7 Swiss francs plus postage.
- *19. Riecken, Henry W., Jr. and Whetten, Nathan L. *Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut*. Storrs Agr. Expt. Sta. 138 pp. Storrs, May 1948.
 - 20. Robinson, James L. *Using Credit to Farm*. U. S. Dept. Agr. Circ. E-31. 20 pp. Washington, Jan. 1948.
 - 21. Rural Reconstruction Commission. *Canberra, Australia. A General Rural Survey*. 58 pp. 1944.
 - 22. *Settlement and Employment of of Returned Men on the Land*. 55 pp. 1944.
 - 23. *Land Utilization and Farm Settlement*. 139 pp. 1944.
 - 24. *Financial and Economic Reconstruction of Farms*. 79 pp. 1944.
 - 25. *Rural Credit*. 86 pp. 1945.
 - 26. *Farming Efficiency and Costs and Factors Relating Thereto*. 208 pp. 1945.
 - 27. *Rural Amenities*. 78 pp. 1945.
 - 28. *Irrigation, Water Conservation and Land Drainage*. 78 pp. 1945.
 - 29. *Rural Land Tenure and Valuation*. 65 pp. 1946.
 - 30. *Commercial Policy in Relation to Agriculture*. 362 pp. 1946.
 - *31. Southern Rural Life Conference. *The School and Rural Community Living in the South*. 41 pp. Nashville, 1947.
 - *32. *The Church and Rural Community Living in the South*. 39 pp. 1947.
 - *33. Sturm, Roy Albert. *Research and Survey in the Town and Country Churches of Methodism*. Div. of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 150 Fifth Ave. 28 pp. New York, 1948.
 - *34. Taylor, Carl C., Ducoff, Louis J., and Hagood, Margaret Jarman. *Trends in the Tenure Status of Farm Workers in the United States Since 1880*. U. S. Dept. Agr., Bur. of Agr. Econ. 36 pp. Washington, July 1948.
 - 35. Teacher Education Workshop. *Is Yours An Excellent School?* Div. of Surveys and Field Services, George Peabody Coll. for Teachers. 41 pp. Nashville, Dec. 1947. 25 cents.
 - *36. Tharp, Max M. *The Farm Tenure Situation in the Southeast*. So. Carolina Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 370. 47 pp. Clemson, Jan. 1948.
 - 37. U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. of Agr. Econ. *Agricultural Economic and Statistical Publications*. 54 pp. Washington, July 1948.
 - *38. U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. of Agr. Econ. *Suggestions to Prospective Farmers and Sources of Information*. 23 pp. Washington, June 1948.
 - 39. Wichers, H. E. *Farmhouse Planning is Easy*. Wash. State Coll. Ext. Serv. Bul. 377. 9 pp. Pullman, July 1948.
 - 40. Wight, Edward A. and Liddell, Leon. *Connecticut Library Survey*. Conn. State Dept. of Education. 149 pp. Hartford, April 1948.

Rural Organization

[2, 19] The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in cooperation with a number of land-grant colleges and universities has examined the social organization of rural people in 24 counties, representing the major type of farming areas in the United States. The purpose of these studies is threefold: "(a) to analyze the types of groups in which rural people are organized and the patterns of group relationships through which they participate in local and non-local programs and services, (b) to analyze the ways in which agencies relate themselves and their programs to these types of organizations and patterns of group relationships and (c) to compare, by types of farming areas, trends in the different types of organizations—formal and informal, local and non-local, etc."

In some instances the reports will be issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; in some, the bulletins will be published jointly with Agricultural Experiment Stations; and in others, publication will be sponsored by land-grant colleges and universities or by private concerns. For example, *Rural Communities and Organiza-*

tions—*A Study of Group Life in Ellis County, Kansas*, was issued by the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, while *Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut*, was published by the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station and *On the Edge of the Black Wazy, A Cultural Survey of Bell County, Texas*,** was released by Washington University at St. Louis. Attention is called to the publication arrangement so that persons interested in the entire series may be able to locate the individual reports.

This is the first time that a comparative analysis of rural organization in the United States on a comprehensive scale has been attempted. Although each monograph bears the distinctive imprint of the region it represents, a common frame of reference has been employed in each analysis. Thus, both the kinds and degrees of social organization that exist in the counties may be compared. For this reason the complete series will represent more than the sum of the separate reports. Accordingly, it is planned, first, to review each bulletin separately in the *Current Bulletins Review* section and, then, to present a review of the entire series.

The first part of *Rural Communities and Organizations—A Study of Group Life in Ellis County, Kansas*, contains a description of the major rural organizations: the locality groups, the institutionalized organizations such as the schools and the churches, the formal groups, the governmental agencies, and the informal groups. This is followed by an analysis of the factors that have given rise to the county's social organization and that condition social participation in Ellis County. It was found that rural people in Ellis County, like others in the Plains region, are subject to the peaks of prosperity and the sloughs of depression. Their social organization shows the effects of nature's bounty and nature's harshness. Even more important to an understanding of the social organization of Ellis County

is an appreciation of the role of the Roman Catholic Church. Early settlers in Ellis County were Russian-Germans. They lived in agricultural villages at first and their church life has remained under the care of the Capuchin Fathers. Later they adopted the dispersed homestead type of settlement but their group life has remained "Church-centered." In 1935 oil was discovered in Ellis County. The introduction of new occupations and new sources of wealth has posed some problems to the residents of the County, but in general the pre-existing forms of social organization have prevailed.

Rural Social Organization in Litchfield County, Connecticut, is reinforced by and, in turn, reinforces the basic value system of its inhabitants. A firm regard for independence, respect for orderliness, conservatism and caution, and a pragmatic outlook characterize the people and are apparent in both their formal and informal organization. The central value structure, although erected on the base of colonial subsistence agriculture, has endured through the many changes in the area's economy. Today agriculture in Litchfield County is largely commercial dairy farming. The population is no longer homogeneous, but segmented. Yankees and foreign-born live side by side; not more than one-fourth of the rural residents are engaged in agriculture; and summer residents, retired people, and commuters from New York City are found in growing numbers. Despite these changes, the social organization has remained relatively constant because of the permissive nature of Yankee values. Town-meeting government and all that it implies epitomizes the kind of rural social organization that is to be found in Litchfield County.

Rural Church

[14] *The Church and the Rural Community* summarizes the reports of eight study committees which brought in material for the guidance of discussions at the National Methodist Rural Life Conference held in Lincoln, Nebraska in 1947. These groups also made studies and recommendations

**To be reviewed in the March issue.

which were issued as reports after the adjournment of the Conference. Five of these reports were listed in the September issue of *Rural Sociology* and two others are noted below. The author, chairman of the Conference, presents the material under the following headings: (1) Family and Community Life, (2) The Rural Church and the Land, (3) The Ministry and the Rural Church, (4) The Program of the Rural Church, (5) Church Cooperation, and (6) The Christian World View. Maps, graphs, and tables supplement the text.

[33] *Research and Survey in the Town and Country Churches of Methodism* explains the use of scientific techniques in the study of church problems. The author says that "The aim of research in the church is to discuss the underlying patterns of community development and of population, so that prediction of the future course of events will be possible and that church leaders may more adequately meet the spiritual needs of the church and community". Suggestions are given for collecting information, reporting the data, and forming an action group to take the initiative in promoting work within the church.

[5] Another report of the National Methodist Rural Life Conference outlines *A Program for the Local Rural Church*. It includes suggestions which may be used by pastor and people to help the church function more effectively. In planning any action, the local church should set specific objectives, decide upon methods to be used, and estimate the resources and leadership available.

[32, 31] The Second Southern Rural Life Conference has issued reports on the church and school and their relation to rural community living in the South. The report on the rural church presents (1) the need for a philosophy of rural life, (2) the responsibility of the rural church in a world of secular materialism, (3) the function of the church, (4) what the church is doing to improve the quality of living through better-

ment of economic conditions, health, leadership training, and recreation, (5) barriers experienced by church leadership from within and without the church, (6) contributions made by church leadership toward improving community living, and (7) outstanding illustrations of community cooperation.

The report on the rural school describes activities of schools which are improving the conditions in various communities. It stresses the importance of the development of techniques for the planning and initiation of school-community programs. The authors outline the contributions which leadership at the national, regional, state, and local levels may make to improve the quality of living in southern communities.

Rural Health

[7] A ten-year program to raise the level of *The Nation's Health* includes plans to be carried out in local communities with the help of state and federal governments. The findings of the National Health Assembly held at Washington, D. C. in May, 1948, form the basis for many of the recommendations. Detailed reports of the Assembly will be published later. The author discusses the following health goals which we should strive to reach by 1960: (1) Enough manpower everywhere—to satisfy the health and medical needs of all people; (2) Enough hospitals everywhere—supplemented by auxiliary health centers to reach remote regions; (3) An equal chance for health—access to adequate medical care, regardless of economic status; (4) Mental health—promotion of both preventive and curative work by expanding research, manpower, and facilities; (5) Healthy maturity—by controlling chronic diseases and relieving other problems of adult life; (6) Rehabilitation for handicapped—restoring those disabled through illness or injury to the most nearly normal life of which they are capable; (7) A good start in life—complete medical care and social, psychological, and health services for all children and mothers in childbirth; (8) Community action—to provide the best possible health conditions and to supply needed services by

organizing local agencies of health with effective teamwork for the welfare of the entire community.

The author concludes that "If the people will get together—professional workers and public representatives alike—in citizen health councils throughout the country, we will have the satisfaction of proving not only that health is everybody's business, but that it is good business, essential business and successful business".

[10] *"Doctors and Horses"* is a pamphlet outlining the health needs of farm communities and how they may be met. The importance of an increasing supply of doctors, nurses, hospital facilities, and health measures in rural areas is discussed. The formation of a health council is suggested as the first step to be taken by any community towards providing adequate medical care.

The Illinois Agricultural Association and the Illinois State Medical Society have established a joint Student Loan Fund Board to encourage country boys to study medicine with the intention of returning to rural areas to practice. "The primary condition of the Illinois program is that, after finishing your medical course and internship, you will agree to practice general medicine in a town of less than 5,000 in your home county at least until you shall have repaid the loan plus two percent (2%) interest. If you do not complete the medical course or do not take up practice in a rural community as agreed, you must repay the amount loaned immediately at the rate of seven percent (7%) interest". The pamphlet contains information regarding the loans and a copy of the agreement to be signed by recipients.

[12] An intensive study has been made of *Medical and Hospital Services Provided under Prepayment Arrangements* at Trinity Hospital, Little Rock Arkansas, 1941-42. Data were obtained on the volume of service provided over 24 consecutive months. The report includes information on "the demand for preventive services, the degree

to which consultations are held with physicians early in illness, the extent to which laboratory and X-ray facilities are utilized, and the amount of services provided for certain diagnostic groups". An explanation of the meanings of the terms used and the contracts under which care was provided accompanies a series of 113 tables.

Tenure Status

[34] Between 1880 and 1940 the number of owners per 1,000 males 20 years of age and older gainfully employed on farms declined from 547 to 414. During the same period the corresponding number of tenants increased from 187 to 273 and the number of farm laborers increased from 266 to 313. Loss in ownership status was fairly consistent over the entire period and was to be found in each major geographic region. Increases in the proportion of tenant and farm laborers in the agricultural labor force varied from region to region. In the analysis of the reasons for these shifts emphasis is placed on the secular trend from relatively self-sufficient to highly mechanized commercial farming. Since 1940, the proportion of owners and part-owners in the agricultural labor force has increased. The authors point out that this recent development was not created by the rapid rise of low status workers on the agricultural ladder but rather was the result of the withdrawal of tenants from agriculture and the purchase of farms by persons heretofore not members of the agricultural labor force.

[36] *The Farm Tenure Situation in the Southeast* is the first publication of the Southeast Regional Land Tenure Committee. The report contains a description of the tenure situation in the seven southeastern states as revealed in the 1945 Census of Agriculture. The number of farms, acres in farms, cropland harvested, the value of land and buildings and the size of farms are broken down by the tenure status of the operators the types of tenancy, and the color of operators. Census items dealing with farm labor and mechanization are also summarized.

Population

[17] A substantial drop in the farm population of Texas has occurred in recent years. A relatively high natural increase in 1947 was more than offset by migration from farms. Included in the replies to mail questionnaires were several comments on the exodus of people from the farming areas of the State. The lack of city conveniences was mentioned most frequently among the reasons for the depopulation of rural areas. The unsatisfactory condition of rural roads was stressed. Other reasons were poor housing, the high cost of labor, and soil erosion.

Miscellaneous

[38] A revised edition of *Suggestions to Prospective Farmers and Sources of Information* has been issued. It contains specific information about farming possibilities, experience, physical and economic factors in farming, operating problems, locating farms for sale or rent, sources of credit and other financial and technical aid. Addresses of State Agricultural Colleges, State Directors of Extension Service, and Directors of State Agricultural Experiment Stations are included.

[11] *Changes in Farming* is "a revision of the summary of a study that was begun in the fall of 1944 with the purpose of analyz-

ing the changes in farming during the interim and war years, appraising the forces back of the large increases in production and evaluating some of their peacetime implications". That summary, *Changes in Farming in War and Peace*, was issued in June, 1946. This revision includes production experience in the years 1946 and 1947 along with information regarding trends in size of farm and ownership. The author points out that constant change can be expected in the field of mechanization and that agriculture must adapt itself to them. The text is supplemented with ten tables and 39 figures.

[8] The growth of the Agricultural Extension Service in size and importance suggests that consideration be given to the housing facilities of the program in many Kansas counties. Although some counties have substantial investments in accommodations for agricultural fairs, inadequate facilities are available for extension work, an activity that is carried on throughout the year. In Rice County an agricultural center has been built to meet this need. The bulletin describes the steps that were taken to secure the building with special attention being paid to the enlistment of public support, the use that has been made of the center, some of its present imperfections, and its importance to the agricultural extension program in other Kansas counties.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Otis Durant Duncan

Agricultural Price Policy. By Geoffrey S. Shepherd. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. vi + 440. \$4.50.

Forward Prices for Agriculture. By D. Gale Johnson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xiii + 259. \$3.00.

Rural sociologists no longer need fear lest agricultural economists neglect economic factors in the lives of farm families. They won't. And neither should we. Never before in our history has the economic climate under which the farm population lives loomed so important in their actions and in their thinking. And never before has the farmer's welfare been so dependent upon conditions beyond his immediate control. It is a complex problem that confronts American agriculture today, and sociologists must delve into its complexities if they expect to make a contribution to the ultimate solution.

Geoffrey Shepherd's book, *Agricultural Price Policy*, provides a step by step analysis of the need for price control, the history and the current status of price regulation and finally a five-point program for future control. Open market prices do not properly regulate agricultural production and consumption because (1) supply also fluctuates with the weather, (2) demand is also a function of changing economic, political, and military conditions, (3) there is an inherent lag in production response ranging from a few weeks to several years, and finally (4) because over the long run both agricultural prices and incomes are relatively low.

The demand for price control resulted in a number of federal programs including price floors during World War I, the stabilization operations of the Federal Farm Board and later of the Commodity Credit Corporation, agricultural marketing agreements designed to control market supplies, consumption subsidies in the form of the distribution of surplus commodities directly or by means of food stamps and school

lunches, and parity prices. According to Shepherd, each of these programs has taught us a lesson but none of them has adequately corrected the situation. He advocates five different programs all running concurrently. They are (1) a more accurate forecast of supply, demand, and prices, or, lacking this, the establishment of forward prices, (2) stabilization of the year-to-year variations in the total production of each crop, (3) stabilization of each farmer's crop production through insurance, (4) stabilization of the demand for farm products, perhaps through direct income payments, and finally (5) the maintenance of comparable farm incomes for equal ability by expanding the existing educational and placement services.

Forward prices involve the estimation of anticipated prices for at least one production period in advance and an unqualified offer by the Government assuring farmers that these anticipated prices, or a large fraction of them, will be realized. They are far removed from parity prices which are based on previous returns and use prices as goals or ends to be attained. Forward prices consider future conditions and are means to the desired allocation of resources.

Johnson lists six basic goals, two of which relate to resources and four to incomes. A nation should maximize the total return from its resources and at the same time make provision for economic growth and progress. The four income goals are: (1) a minimum level of living, based on social welfare criteria, should be provided for all; (2) gross inequalities in income distribution should be relieved; (3) per capita income should be the same for comparable groups in society, and (4) the distribution of income should be reasonably stable.

Forward prices make their chief contribution in the regulation of resource allocation by reducing price uncertainty. They or any other price policy do not contribute

materially to the income goals. High farm prices are not a guarantee of adequate farm incomes, particularly for the large segment of the farm population that has relatively little commercial production.

The technical, administrative, and political complications raised by a program of forward prices are discussed and not discounted. Both Johnson and Shepherd present the issues carefully, modestly, and well.

WALTER C. MCKAIN.

The University of Connecticut.

Agricultural Finance. Revised Edition. By William G. Murray. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. x + 372. \$4.00.

The 1947 edition is a revision of the 1941 book bearing the same title. The difference between the two editions is limited chiefly to the inclusion of new legislation and recent statistics on farm finance, together with an evaluation of farm credit changes during the past six years. The more important farm credit legislation since 1941 provides for the Farmer's Home Administration and an act in 1945 permitting Federal Land Banks to lend 65 per cent of normal value of the farm instead of the former limitation of 50 per cent of the appraised value of the land and 20 per cent of the value of insurable buildings.

The subject matter has to do with the principles underlying the proper use of various types of capital needed in farming, including an analysis of terms for payment of debts best suited to the business of agriculture and the costs of credit from various sources. The essential facts with respect to the various sources of credit for farming are given. Interest rates, lending limits and the conditions under which credit may be attained are analyzed. The problem involved in successfully becoming a farm owner-operator through the use of credit is the subject of Chapter IX.

The book has the special merit of being well indexed and of including the essential facts of agricultural finance without a burdensome detailed description. This makes the publication valuable as a source of

specific information on credit for farmers, professional workers and as a textbook for courses in agricultural finance. While it has the merit of leaving detailed description to the instructor, supplementary sources of information and exercises are suggested.

BUEFORD M. GILE.

The University of Louisiana.

All Manner of Men. By Malcolm Ross. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948. Pp. 314. \$3.50.

This volume is significant because it proposes to reveal the real story of the Fair Employment Practice Committee; its author was chairman of that committee during the last three years of the late war. He derives the substance of the book from personal experiences as well as from records and other sources. Written in popular, often reportorial style, it comprises 21 vivid highly descriptive chapters.

The first chapter treats of instances and incidents involving racial discrimination and friction during the 18th and 19th centuries. Throughout the book, there are references and illustrations of a historical nature emphasizing the deep-seated roots of racial prejudice which retarded the efforts of F.E.P.C. to overcome economic discrimination. The author contends that the historical explanations for excluding the Mexican-American, the Negro, the Nisei, and the Jew from participation in American life are wearing thin; that the old tension between North and South over Negro status weakens national unity and degrades the United States in international affairs.

Ross declares that the Committee was a wartime makeshift, never armed with authority to do a proper job. It possessed no subpoena powers and it lacked the prestige which a sincere non-discrimination policy by Congress would have given its representatives and workers. In spite of this, the F.E.P.C. was remarkably effective in its attempts to alleviate unfair employment practices and to improve race relations.

Several chapter titles in this book are flippant; such, for example, as "Congress

Backs the Wrong Horse," and "Inside the Rathole". In general, however, the analyses are keen and penetrating, especially the chapter on "Politics," which is a discussion of the political implications of the F.E.P.C. Here also is a rather thorough analysis of the attitudes of some southern liberals who opposed the Committee in Congress.

In a few spots the text would seem jerky but for its informal, lucid style. The author was evidently confused in his reference to William Lloyd Garrison's periodical as "The Vindicator." According to this reviewer's information, Garrison's pamphlet was known as "The Liberator." All in all, the book is useful, illuminating, and timely. It can be recommended for both students and the general public.

THELMA ACKISS PERRY.

Langston University.

Kroeber, A. L. *Anthropology, Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Prehistory*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948. \$5.50. Pp. xxxix + 856.

In recommending this revised edition of A. L. Kroeber's *Anthropology*, the publishers stress the fact that the index of the work alone runs to 39 pages with 2898 entries. The body of the book, originally published in 1923, has grown from 502 pages to 856. The length of the work, which is not necessarily an advantage where it is to be used as a text book, is due to the inclusion of physical anthropology, archeology, and social anthropology in the same volume. These three fields have grown far apart in their development, and their treatment in one single course or book is traditional rather than necessary. The lay or expert reader who is primarily interested in social anthropology might be satisfied with a discussion of the relation or rather the lack of a relation of race and culture and be willing to dispense with the evolutionary history of the human animal. He might also be willing to forgo the discussions of the prehistoric development of technological implements which shed only very little and very conjectural light on the social life of early man. Professor Kroeber is un-

willing to separate these fields because his approach is basically historical. While many contemporary social anthropologists tend to stress the study of relationships within a given culture at a given time, his interest is to a great extent directed upon the reconstruction of prehistory and the establishment of laws of long range cultural change. It is thus as a study of history that the work merits the greatest interest.

It is unfortunate that this broad vision, presented in a very readable and aesthetically pleasing style, is marred by the renewed use of the concept of the "super-organic". To speak of things other than biological organisms and certain related chemical substances as organic cannot be anything but an analogy. To speak of something as *superorganic* is like saying that it is just like the organic, only more so. It is to be hoped that such terms which confuse the epistemologically untrained student and do not add anything to the understanding among experts will some day soon disappear from the vocabulary of social science publications. Social and cultural phenomena have a reality of their own and can be described in terms of this reality without reference to biological, physical, or any other analogies.

Once mystical concepts like the "super-organic" are admitted, the door is open for all kinds of "superpersonal" and "super-individual" phenomena. Professor Kroeber looks at individuals and their individual actions merely as the substratum of the phenomena the anthropologist deals with. The phenomena themselves are beyond and above rather than between and among the individuals concerned. Consequently, the recent movement to apply modern methods of individualistic psychology to the understanding of cultures is summarily rejected, its findings disregarded.

The changes and additions that distinguish the new edition from the earlier ones are too many to be enumerated in this review. The work can well be considered as almost completely new. The six pages which indicate these changes and additions also contain all source reference to be found in

the book. They are few and vague. Though the reader may have the highest respect for the author's veracity and scientific integrity, he may well wish to learn more about this or that aspect of a matter touched in the book, particularly in cases which admit of differences in opinion, even if they have been decided with a tone of finality by the author.

FRANZ ADLER.

University of Arkansas.

Boletín del Instituto Psicopedagógico Nacional, Año VI, No. 2, 1947. Lima, Peru. Pp. 172.

This publication contains three anthropometric studies made by the Department of Anthropology of the National Psychopedagogical Institute. The first article is by Julio C. Pretto, head of the Department; the second is by his first assistant, María Gómez Calderón; the third is by these two in collaboration with eleven of their students. Anthropology in these labors has its common European meaning which corresponds to physical anthropology in the usage of the United States.

The students measured, numbered more than 23,000, about half from Lima and half from the provinces. The age range was from six to seventeen. All of the subjects were white-Indian mixed bloods, manifesting varying and undetermined proportions of the two races.

The announced purposes of the investigations were to gather data on physical growth and on nutritional conditions as reflected in bodily measurements. The results serve neither of these purposes very adequately, especially the latter. The racially mixed population introduces a complex genetic variable which seems not to have been taken into account. The chief utility of the studies is that they provide a long series of carefully done measurements. The increase in lung capacity with elevation, a fact brought out by other studies in the Andean region, shows up clearly in the figures.

ASAEL T HANSEN.

Michigan State College.

Communications in Modern Society. By Wilbur Schramm (Ed.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1948. Pp. vi + 252. \$4.00

The contributions to this symposium wrote to use Paul Lazarsfeld's phrase, as "godfathers for a new communications center". Remarks are pitched with all due respect for this institutional role. While included materials may be suggestive for rural sociologists interested in problems of modern ecological location, vicinage, or communications design, effect, and control, they do reveal the certain truth of Edgar Dale's observation: "We are in the same dilemma here as we are in the material field of goods and services. We produce faster and better than we can distribute."

The papers fall quite clearly into four classes: mere observations, hortative accounts tuned principally by the releases of the Commission on Freedom of the Press and similar recent critiques, historical notes, and direct or implicit research suggestions. A bibliography of 100 titles is appended. Two broadly focused papers deserve specific mention: Elmo C. Roper's discussion of leads in radio audience research and Lazarsfeld's consideration of the role of criticism in management of mass communications. Pertinent research suggestions seem to italicize two points. First, there is need for much analysis of the dimensions of test opinions and for the testing of relative appeals with given populations for given sources, types of information, and media and modes of presentation (Carl Hovland, R. O. Nafziger). Second, there is need for further systematic empirical orientation of the social situation in which communication operates (John E. Ivey, Jr., Clyde Hart). Hart, following a suggestion by Herbert Blumer, points to what may be the crucial question in use of opinion scaling—indeed, in the use of any questionnaire or schedule procedure. The question attacks the assumption that a series of cases, however distributed, drawn from a *mass*, may reflect power in social action or control. The latter, which is directly dependent on patterns in social

organization—not number, cannot be ignored or grossly assumed.

PAUL B. FOREMAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Direct Thinking. By George Humphrey. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1948. Pp. 229. \$3.50.

The aim of this book is to set forth the essential knowledge which has been gained in recent years from the scientific study of the thinking processes and to indicate how this knowledge can be applied by the individual in the organization and systematization of his thinking. In the reviewer's opinion the author does an unusually good job of summarizing existing knowledge about the thought processes, especially on such questions as why we think, the stages, unity and guidance of thought, the role of imagination and insight in thinking and the relation between thought and action. However, he fails to make clear just how the reader can apply what he has learned to aid him in reflective thinking. Nevertheless the educated and intelligent layman to whom the book is directed should be able to examine his thought processes in light of the scientific findings so clearly presented and make his own diagnosis and prescription.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL.

University of Wisconsin.

Empire's Children: The People of Tzintzuntzan By George M. Foster (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6) Washington: Printed in Mexico for Smithsonian Institution, 1948. Pp. 297. Free.

Cultural Geography of the Modern Tarascan Area. By Robert C. West. (Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 7.) Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. Pp. 77. \$0.75.

These are two of a series of monographs that report the joint field studies of the Institute of Social Anthropology and the *Escuela Nacional de Antropología* of Mexi-

co. The studies were conducted in 1945-46 in the Tarascan area of the state of Michoacán.

The title, "Empire's Children," immediately raises the question, "What empire?" One soon learns the Tzintzuntzan was the capital of the Tarascan Empire at the time of the Spanish conquest. So the question seems to be answered. Yet, the book brings out clearly that, unlike many neighboring communities which are still inhabited by Tarascan Indians, the people of Tzintzuntzan are predominately *mestizas*, i.e., de-Indianized mixed bloods. Perhaps the title should be "Empires' Children."

The author and his Mexican assistant, Gabriel Ospina, obviously achieved excellent rapport with the people. The data gained from observing, participating, and interviewing are correspondingly rich and revealing. These usual ethnological procedures were supplemented by a quite elaborate census of the whole community and by sample studies of family budgets, of foods consumed, and of work patterns. Hence, quantitative statements can be made on many points. All the materials are woven into a readable and full description of almost everything that Tzintzuntzan is and does.

The town has a population of 1,231. The main occupation is pottery making with agriculture in an important secondary place. It is hard to select any section of the book for special comment. Economics receives very complete treatment and the analysis of the economics of agriculture is particularly interesting.

Few criticisms can be offered. The author could have been more explicit in defining what a Tarascan is. Males are the base for expressing sex ratios at one point (pp. 29-30); females at another (p. 228). One map reverses convention by having south at the top for no apparent reason (p. 133). Marriage by elopement, the usual method, is adequately described. But not much is given by way of explanation except to cite the antiquity of the custom in the region. It would seem to be a proper task of social anthropology to attempt to devise means of

analysing family systems to account for a situation in which family system persists only by regularly being subjected to traumas.

The other book should be read first by a person with a special interest in the Tarascan area. By itself, however, it communicates less than does *Empire's Children*. The discussions of different phases of culture are necessarily brief and one has to examine the maps frequently for the text to be meaningful. But as a background survey, it is competently done. It goes beyond what the title suggests in that much historical material is presented, a large part of which was gathered from primary sources.

ASAEL T. HANSEN.

Michigan State College.

Family Farm Policy. Edited by Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xxii + 518. \$4.00.

Basically a report of the Farm Tenure Conference held at the University of Chicago in February, 1946, this book represents much more work and time than is usually devoted to a single conference. The central theme of the Conference was the Family Farm in the United States Land Policy. In addition, considerable time was given to reports on tenure conditions in eleven other countries. The first part contains an interpretive summary, a description of the farm tenure system in the United States and a report of the panel discussion on "The Place of the Family Farm in United States Land Policy." Parts II to VI are made up of Chapters VI to XIV on the Farm Land Tenure in various parts of the world. Part VI is made up of the reports of the five committees and Part VII is coterminous with Chapter XX on "Looking to the Future" written by Dr. Henry C. Taylor.

The papers on land tenure in Canada, Britain, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany and France are varied in content and emphasis. Only the reports on Germany and Sweden

include maps. These reports give considerable space to the social, economic and political background in which tenure changes have taken place.

The statements broaden and bring up-to-date the brief descriptions given in the *Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy* (1937). "The Farm Tenure System in the United States" as developed in Chapter II is the best statement of the tenure situation and of governmental policy on farm land tenure seen by the reviewer.

The treatment of the family farm is particularly important. Substantially, it is defined as one with (1) the entrepreneurial functions vested in the family, (2) operations carried on by family labor, aided, if necessary, by outside labor in emergencies, and (3) an operating investment large enough to employ efficiently the labor of the farm family. The importance of the family farm is stressed throughout, yet "the family farm is not an end in agricultural policy. Rather it is an instrument, a means, through which agriculture and rural life can be made a richer and more satisfying experience for those who farm." (p. 9.)

The reports, and the entire book, are remarkably up-to-date with many quotations from post-war planning committees reports. This book is a must for students of tenure and policy making. It is recommended to those conducting conferences and reporting on the work of conferences. It provides some insight into the political and social structure of selected foreign countries.

RALPH J. RAMSEY.

University of Kentucky.

Family Life in West China. By Irma Highbaugh. New York: Agricultural Missions, Inc., 1948. Pp. vii + 240. \$2.00.

This is a study of three aspects of family relationships in two communities in Szechuan Province in West China. It was conducted over a three-year period from 1941 to 1944, while the constructive forces in China were operating with Szechuan as the war-time center of China. The hypothesis of the study is that permanent rural recon-

struction can best be achieved through the reconstruction of family relationships, particularly in China where the family holds such a position of esteem. Accordingly the author selected to study three phases of family relations; those between the pre-school child and his parents; those between the parents as husband and wife; and those between the older and younger generations of adults. These relationships were considered to affect the young child most directly. The major relationships were subdivided into 54 minor relations, 26 for the young child and his adults, 15 for his parents as husband and wife and 13 for the younger and older adults in his family.

Rural sociologists will be most interested in the research procedure. The researcher designed a check list of the relationships with a value scale from zero to four and the investigators checked the list on frequent occasions according to the behavior observed in the family. From these checkings plus a series of case studies, the results were developed. In order to have frequent and intimate opportunities for meeting the approximately 60 families studied, a service program was developed. This included children's school training, adult literacy work, nursery school and parent education program, and Christian nurture. This service program, conducted over the three-year period, brought about many changes in these families. But its most important use was to make available an opportunity to see family relationships operate at first hand.

The results of the study are presented in two case descriptions and summarized in a chapter entitled "Changes in family relationships." With a long experience of over 20 years in China, and with the help of a number of cooperators, the author completed a work that yields considerable fruit and should be suggestive to others who wish to study family relationships through the service program technique.

W. A. ANDERSON.

Cornell University.

The Farmer In The Second World War. By Walter W. Wilcox. Ames: The Iowa State College Press, 1947. Pp. xii + 410. \$4.00.

If Army-Navy E Awards had been given to American farmers under the same condition as to industry, there would now be millions of flags flying over American farms. This is one part of the factually told story in this book.

The farmers of America increased their production in the second World War by one-half, as compared with the first World War. This was accomplished with only a very small increase in acreage over prewar levels and with considerably fewer farm workers. The triple factors of favorable weather conditions, increased mechanization, and improved varieties and strains of seeds made it possible for the farmer to set all-time production records. Fortunately, however, there was no repetition of the destruction of soil resources as was true in the first World War.

The second major story outlined by the author in this book is that of an analysis of the governmental policies in arriving at production goals, the distribution of the production to the armed forces, to our allies, and to our civilian population. This story can perhaps be summed up in the following sentence: "For the most part, price policies achieved their objectives." (p. 3) There were serious mistakes made in the determination of policy. These errors were made as a result of (1) lack of accumulated experience in adjusting to wartime demands, and (2) continual compromise which was made "necessary" by pressure groups even in wartime.

Many other results of the war are touched upon but not fully developed. For example, it is pointed out that the rural schools of the nation deteriorated and that many communities were left in a precarious condition because of inadequate medical care personnel. One the other side of the ledger, the author contends that the family size farms improved their competitive position during the war.

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

The Farmer's Handbook. By John M. White.

Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. xiv + 440. \$4.95.

During more than fifty years of practical experience as a farmer and county agent, I have often felt the need for a ready reference on everyday farm problems. As a consequence, it was only natural that, beginning twenty years ago, I should have undertaken to collect material for this book. (Author's preface, p. vii.)

There are 21 chapters replete with practical information ranging from field crops of all kinds, pastures, livestock care and management, soil and wildlife conservation, to tables of weights and measures. The author says that only the major phases of farming are covered, and advises those interested in particular fields to consult original sources. That is undue modesty, if one desires only general information in non-technical language. It would be hard to imagine anything on a farm, whether it is how to break a cow from sucking herself, first aid for apoplexy, or periods of heat in various farm animals which is not catalogued. Child birth and setting broken bones are about the only common events on the farm for which there is no suggested remedy.

This book is immensely interesting to rural sociologists, although only incidentally. Rural sociologists need more knowledge about applied agriculture. The appeal is directly to farmers, but, in serving an educational function to farmers, the book has a distinct sociological import. It is, therefore, highly recommended.

"Uncle John," as the author is affectionately known among extension workers in the Southwest, has brought his long period of service in agriculture to a fitting climax by bequeathing to posterity the whole of an education gained "the hard way."

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Francis Lieber: Nineteenth-Century Liberal. By Frank Freidel. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1947. Pp. xiii + 445. \$4.50.

Encyclopedist, teacher, political theorist, publicist, reformer, dabbler in philology, nationalist, patriot, friend and adviser to the great and near great, ambitious seeker after recognition and fame, Francis Lieber (1798-1872) was a man of many interests and accomplishments whom Dr. Freidel has portrayed in a solid book which is likely to stand as a definitive biography.

Lieber came to the United States in 1827, and the next year the first volume of his *Encyclopaedia Americana* came off the press. He taught at South Carolina College and at Columbia College. His best known works of a more scholarly type are: *Manual of Political Ethics*, and *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government*.

Lieber was not an original thinker, and this biography indicates that he should be viewed more as a publicist than as a scholar. Just to mention the bewildering array of subjects which his fertile mind turned to at one time or another would exceed the length of this review. He touched upon prison reform, international law, defense of nationalist doctrines for the Radical Republicans, and almost everything else that engaged public attention through his long life. Through his ability to make friends with the most prominent people and persuade them to further his proposals he probably had much greater influence than later generations have realized. Because of the scope of Lieber's activities most social scientists will find in this book something of interest.

Dr. Freidel has written no hero's tale, but has given a careful definition of the life and influence of one of our great publicists. One might wish that he had added a bibliography of Lieber's writings, even though these are cited in footnotes.

O. A. HILTON.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

The Growth of Physical Science. By Sir James Jeans. New York: Macmillan, 1948. Pp. x + 364. \$4.00.

"We look on helpless while our material civilization carries us at breakneck speed to and end which no man can foresee or even

conjecture." With these words this leading British astronomer and mathematical physicist (died 1946) begins and, in the same spirit, ends his swift moving and pointed history of physical science from Babylonian beginnings to the present atomic age. The book is breath-taking. It tells how man has in a few centuries probed into many of the mysteries of the universe. Now we know much that happens at absolute zero as well as at twenty million degrees of temperature, as well as in the electron and in objects as far away as five hundred million light years.

The social scientist will be interested in the book for three reasons. It portrays the development of physical science in our culture. It illustrates processes of creative thought and patience which, if used, should lead to work in the social field. Finally, it gives similar insight largely incidentally, to the conceptions of social science principles which have crystallized in the minds of many prestige leaders in the physical sciences.

In the mind of the reviewer, this last point deserves extended comment. Since the atom bomb a plethora of suggestions has appeared in *Science* and other organs mainly dominated by physical scientists suggesting that many of them turn also to social science and furnish a new leadership. And we have as a cardinal illustration, the Kinsey Report, which in addition to many dubious taxonomic conclusions, is riddled with a "new" social science, that based upon a conception of uninhibited "mammalian" behavior.

In Jeans' work two inadvertent conclusions of immediate import to social science deserve, from the reviewer's point of view, fundamental discussion. One is the antagonism to religious institutions for restraints upon scientific thinking or for opposing the dissemination of new ideas concerning the universe. A major second is the implied denial of the influence of historical processes upon current behavior. There are many other ideas, but there two cardinal points suffice for discussion here.

The main outcroppings of the antagonism to religious—and hence social—institutions for their skittishness about new ideas in the physical sciences begins when Plato and Aristotle come up in the discussion of Greek scientific thinking. These men made "natural laws subordinate to the authority of divine principles" and, in the general opinion of Jeans' "held back" scientific development. Later (p. 71) we find the Christians upbraided because, following the paths of the Roman Emperors, contributed "real danger" in that they "knew nothing of tolerance" and brought about the "wilt" of science. All through this work only one religion or dominant social doctrine is credited with being "pro" physical science—Mohammedanism in its first few centuries before it reached its maturity as a social power.

With the bare facts as reported by Jeans' there can be no quarrel. The interpretation given the facts is what goes. The Greece of Plato and Aristotle was like a drowning man. How could they discuss science in the midst of ruin and disaster? The social conditions of the Roman world during its empire days varied but certainly no one "impeded" any real scientific thinking until ruin and disaster faced the world again. Why should Christian leaders be receptive to new scientific interpretations when, in the words of Salvian, (c. A.D. 440) only the rudest barbarians were sufficiently civilized as to be kind to their own children. The later antagonism of the church to science is a very different story. No social institution seems to bear great power gracefully for any length of time. No credit is given the church for creating conditions making scientific thinking possible.

The main attack upon the influence of historical processes comes later (p. 312) after a discussion of exponential decay of radioactivity. Here different rates of decay are given ranging from uranium losing half its power in 4500 million years to thorium C' which falls to half strength "in perhaps a hundred millionth part of a second." A few lines later it is noted that "in the events now under consideration, the past

had apparently no influence upon the present nor the present on the future." This statement, though delimited as it is, represents in the minds of many, as we see about us in the newer leadership of the social sciences, a denial of the influence of social systems and of historical-social processes by twentieth century society.

This is, to the reviewer at least, illogical logic. If uranium has lost its radioactivity until it becomes lead, it is now lead, and the past must affect its present. It must be used to make pewter instead of an atom bomb. If on the other hand, some new uranium is present which will equally become lead in the same length of time necessary to make the first lead, then we have uranium-lead "history" repeating itself.

Taking issue with these points of view in this "new testament" of the physical sciences does not blemish the values of physical science or Jeans' interpretation of their discoveries. It merely attempts to set before the social scientist one of his fundamental problems—that of the understanding of the minds of the physical scientist who now has so much prestige in our society and of interpreting social science principles so that physical scientists can understand them. And this process is more difficult than it seems on the surface. For instance, Jeans' authority on the decay of the Roman culture is Gibbons, whose work blaming the Christians for the decline and fall of the Empire was published before the American Revolution. A great deal of re-educating might be needed before physical and social scientists can get together and agree on a common set of principles. Who was it said—Science can save us? It can!

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

History of Oklahoma. By Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. Pp. x + 572. \$7.65.

This work has three parts—pre-history until American dominion, Chs. I-IV; Oklahoma as an Indian refuge, Chs. V-XIV; and Oklahoma as a state, XV-XXIII. The first

part goes back into European politics, Spanish and French explorations, and gives an unusually good background for local history. It is a preface to local history as history should be written. The second part is most informative to the outsider in that it deals in detail with the culture of the five civilized tribes, most prominent of which were the Cherokees, and the story of their removal to Oklahoma. Their experiences in the Civil War, some being Northern in sympathy, and others Southern, brought them into full membership in the white dominated American nation. The third history, the story of Oklahoma since 1906, is trite and of little value. For instance, the *Grapes of Wrath* thesis never arises, either for notation, explanation or refutation. It notes that the Cherokees are the most astute group in the state, although no serious attempt is made to explain this singular phenomenon. Lake Texoma, above the Denison dam, is summarized as "an ideal place for hunting, fishing, camping and boating". This third section evades the basic issues of Oklahoma and may be due to the political situation in the state, but even if so, it makes the reviewer wonder.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

An Introduction to the History of Sociology.

By Harry Elmer Barnes, Editor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, Pp. xvi + 960. \$10.00.

It is bootless to quarrel over labels. By any title this volume would stand handy to the chair of professional sociologists, and each reader will be tempted sometimes to use it for a doorstep sole. In truth, "Biographical Essays in the History of Sociology" would be a more suitable title, for nearly all the volume consists of chapters devoted to individuals prominent in sociology, beginning with Comte. Unfortunately, discussions of the makers of sociology is not portrayal of the movement of sociology. No doubt the price of the volume will restrict its use among graduate students who could make the best use of it.

The brief historical introduction may refresh informed readers and warn novices that social thought did not begin with Comte. It would have been preferable, perhaps, to have used the same space for longer and therefore useful introductions and summaries of the several parts of the volume.

Part II covers "the pioneers": Comte, Spencer, Morgan, Sumner, Ward, Gumpлович, Leslie White's discussion of Morgan is distinguished; Barnes wrote the other five chapters (and too many in the other sections of the volume).

Part III (Germanic countries) includes essays on Wundt, Tönnies, Simmel, von Wiese; the Webers, Sombart, Troeltsch, Oppenheimer, Freyer, Spann, Stein, and Ratzenhofer. Heberle's two chapters on Tönnies and Simmel win three stars.

Part IV covers other continental writers and includes the single chapter of this volume that the reviewer regards as brilliant: that on Durkheim by Bevoit-Smullyan. Other men discussed are: Novicow, Kovalevsky, Fouillee, Tarde, LeBon, DeGreef, Posada, and Pareto with other Italians.

Part V is devoted to English writers. Besides Barnes' beautiful commentary on Townbee, the remaining chapters deal with Kidd, Hobhouse, Westermarck, Briffault, Geddes and Branford, Wallas.

The final section is dedicated to American sociologists: Giddings, Small, Thomas, Stuckenberg, Ross, Cooley, Ellwood, Hayes, Sorokin, and Cornejo. Outstanding among this group of reviews, we judge, is Speier's on Sorokin (though we should differ significantly on several points) and Dewey's on Cooley.

This kind of volume is always assayed for scope as well as for adequacy of treatment of the men covered. As to rejections, we should omit only the chapter on Stuckenberg. But why was Park omitted and Thomas included, when both were living. But the big question is: why no chapter on Marx?

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON.

University of Kentucky.

Life and Morals. By S. J. Holmes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. x + 232. \$3.00.

Life and Morals by S. J. Holmes, Professor Emeritus of Zoology at the University of California, is a book in which "morals have been treated from a naturalistic viewpoint in the determination of which biological concepts have inevitably played an important part." (p. v.) The naturalistic viewpoint is a revolt against the supernaturalistic approach, for Prof. Holmes has seen the advancement of science as a result of the progressive freedom which science has achieved by discarding theological presuppositions and trappings. The "present chaos and confusion [in morality] will be cured," according to Holmes, "through the adoption of a scientifically grounded ethics". (p. vi)

Our hopes, however, are not fulfilled in *Life and Morals*. As a scientist Prof. Holmes fails to see the presuppositions of scientific method. It is causal in its analysis of moral phenomena; and, as would be expected, in its attempt to achieve universality, this method leads us *backwards* either *biologically* to the animals—wasps, bees, ants, fish, grasshoppers and apes—or *psychologically* to a consideration of such unit character traits as fear, anger, jealousy, shame, bashfulness, pride, etc. (pp. 203-206). These individual traits must nevertheless, be compounded into social traits; thus we find that altruism is traced backwards "from its foreshadowing in the reproductive activities of primitive animals." (p. 116).

The scientist as well as the theologian fails us. The one roots behavior in causally determined behavior; the other roots behavior in the supernatural system of ends, goals and values. Both use the individualistic approach; hence neither is able to cope with cultural problems—labor and capital, peace and war, the control of atomic power or a planned economy. These are the moral questions which confront us today. Upon answers to questions like these depend the future of civilization. A consideration of the merits and/or demerits of euthanasia may be of academic importance, but the

massacre of ten-million Jews is infinitely more important practically. Man in trying to solve the problems of his culture cannot turn to biology or to theology. His only hope lies in political methods, the guiding principles of which must be moral.

FORREST ORAN WIGGINS.

University of Minnesota.

Men Out of Asia. By Harold Sterling Gladwin. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947. Pp. xv + 390. \$4.00.

This is a unique book in that it is a polemic in behalf of the Diffusionist versus the Psychic Unity School of anthropologists. It is written popularly, even with zest and verve. Its 140 semi-cartoons embellish its drive and the points it makes.

The average sociologist may be surprised that such sledge-hammer attacks are needed against the psychic unity school of thought because he accepts the diffusionist theory as the only feasible one. He will, however, delight in the exposé which the author presents of the vitalistic theory of the believer in psychic unity.

To one who accepts the diffusionist theory, or isn't concerned with it, or never even heard of it, this is a valuable and exceptionally readable book because of the immense amount of information it contains, not only about the origins of the Indian peoples of the Western Hemisphere but of their cultural accomplishment—from the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego to the Mayas.

The book's basic scheme of analysis should suggest to the anthropologist that a knowledge of history and the contribution of the other social sciences are necessary to the understanding of modern society; that both as description and as a fruitful and valid analysis it is better to work back from observable and verifiable data to less known than it is to attempt to pick up from countless field studies the fragmented components of culture and piece them together as an explanation of modern societies.

CARL C. TAYLOR.

Division of Farm Population
and Rural Life.

An Outline of Social Psychology. By Muzafer Sherif. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. Pp. xv + 479 \$4.00.

This is a systematic textbook in social psychology that carries an editorial introduction and a blessing by Gardner Murphy and to whom the author freely acknowledges indebtedness. More specifically, it is a condensation and restatement into general textbook form of ideas and materials that have appeared in the author's earlier works: *A Study of Some Social Factors in Perception* (Archives of Psychology, 1935, No. 187); *The Psychology of Social Norms* (Harpers, 1936); and parts of *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements* (Wiley, 1947).

There are seventeen chapters arranged in four parts—Motives, Groups and Norms (Values), Individuals and Social Change, Individual Differences in Social Reactions—with eleven chapters devoted to the analysis of group norms in relation to attitudes and identifications. Materials include a skillful weaving together of laboratory reports, various "field" experiments on social or group behavior, and the rich literature of personal report on experience with war and crisis that has come out of the last hectic decade or two. There is an eight page subject index and a five page name index.

This appears to be an excellent general text that should be acceptable to either sociologists or psychologist unless they prefer "doctrinaire" interpretations. To the thoughtful reader it will serve to highlight again the important fact of the fundamental character that an adequate social psychology has to all the special fields in both psychology and sociology.

GEORGE B. VOLD.

University of Minnesota.

People and Process in Social Security. By Karl de Schweinitz. Washington: American Council on Education, 1948. Pp. xi + 165. \$2.00.

This little volume traces the history of assistance in western countries up to the passage of the Federal Social Security Act of 1935, and points out some incongruities in the interpretation of the Act resulting

from the vagueness of its terminology. The book stresses the individual and his needs as the chief source of information to determine eligibility for social insurance or public assistance. It outlines the type of personnel needed and what should be expected of that personnel at the maximum competence level, and emphasizes the need for specialization of personnel in various fields of responsibility for administration.

Part II deals with the education and training of personnel for Social Security administration, and outlines the needed study at the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels, and in-service training. The understanding of human relationships is stressed throughout the book.

This book is simply, clearly, and concisely written, and would be an excellent reference for orientation in the field of social welfare administration. It is a good source for laymen interested in the "why's" and "how's" of the Social Security laws and their administration. Also, it is a good supplementary text or reference for college classes in various social sciences, particularly sociology and social work.

The author shows a deep understanding of human relationships plus a knowledge of the type of personnel and administrative policy needed in social welfare administration.

CORINNE H. SCOTT.

Oklahoma City Council of
Social Welfare.

The Rural Community And Its School. By Lorene K. Fox. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. 233. \$3.25.

This book is a survey and an analysis of rural society in Chautauqua County, New York, with recommendations for the reorganization of the public schools.

The greater part of the book is a careful study of rural society in Chautauqua County. This study includes a short history of the development and change of the rural society; a description of the types of farming enterprises found; the role of the farm in the community organization; the organization and operation of the rural schools;

the part played by the church in the life of the people; the political organization and county government; the attitudes of the rural people on current problems which confront them; and the various forms of culture conflict and the consequences of these conflicts. After an enlightening and interesting discussion of rural society in Chautauqua County, a closing chapter is devoted to a proposed program of reorganization of the rural schools.

In this book Miss Fox does not embark upon a theoretical discussion of what constitutes a community or who are the rural and the urban people. She apparently assumes that the readers will be sufficiently familiar with the meaning of these terms to understand about whom she is writing. She considers the description of the land and its people of sufficient importance to occupy most of her efforts. Miss Fox presents the reader with a vivid picture of rural people, their life and problems, in general, and of those of Chautauqua County in particular.

The importance of the school in rural life has been frequently stressed in professional publications by educators and by sociologists. In these articles agreement is often found that our rural schools are failing to meet the needs of the rural communities in which they are located to the full extent of their potentialities. However, the reviewer is unaware of any publication which has so forcefully and clearly pointed out the deficiencies of the rural schools and at the same time sets forth in detail suggestions for meeting the educational needs of the rural people as has Miss Fox's study of *The Rural Community and Its School*. Miss Fox shows that the rural schools of the study area, as a whole, do not strive to fit the rural children for life in their society. Rather, the school administrators are more interested in promoting the conventional pattern of education followed in the village town, and city schools. The school program proposed by Miss Fox reaches into all sections of the county; touches the life of the adults as well as of the children; and through the functioning of the proposed

schools better farmers, better citizens and more well-adjusted persons may well result.

This book is a valuable contribution to the field of rural sociology and especially to the field of rural education. All educators could profit from reading this book.

MARION B. SMITH.

Louisiana State University.

Social Policies in the Making. By Paul Landis. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1947. Pp. xix + 554. \$4.00.

Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict. By John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948. Pp. xviii + 394. \$3.00.

Landis' text is "designed to orient youth to the major social forces operating in modern society and show how they affect individual adjustment and social problems". His approach is mainly socio-cultural and he sees the principal forces which have caused maladjustments to be mobility, urbanization, rapidity of cultural change and complexity of culture, the emergence and prevalence of secondary group society, and the dominance of secularism. All these forces are "natural results of the industrial and agricultural revolutions". His "plea throughout is the national social replace outworn folkways and mores that still dominate many phases of behavior and administration where social science has offered a better guide". The book is divided into five parts: dynamic processes in American society, personal adjustments to a complex society, the family-social system of our transitional society, problems of the politico-economic system, and social policies in the making. When he writes about the latter he is weakest, but here are the weakest aspects of our society. Within the large framework depicted he discusses a number of social problems including crime, race, class interests, population, education, and others. The chapter on race is not too well organized or judicious in treatment. Too much space is given to the problems of the family. The book is lively and interesting, it will hold the attention of students. It is amply illustrated and contains excellent charts and tables.

Cuber and Harper's book is a sociology of social problems. Its theoretical theme is that "social problems arise out of the clashes between the values held by the various persons and groups in a society". Within this framework the social problems are analyzed. While this is a valuable approach, the conditions which give rise to such values although not neglected are not emphasized. The social problems analyzed include physical health, mental health, crime, social class, race, education, marriage and the family, and others. There is also a discussion of such significant topics as class struggle and American ideology and the "rational approach to our value heritage". This reviewer thought the analysis of mental health and mental illness the most outstanding in the book. The chapter on race does not include some essential facts necessary for a rounded treatment as for example, the distribution of Negroes. In the chapter on crime, white collar crime is neglected and juvenile delinquency is not given enough attention. Too many times, statistics are given without the dates for such statistics, the dates given being for the sources rather than the figures. Each chapter has, in most instances, a good listing of references which are particularly worthwhile since the significance of each reference is given comment. This is a creditable work which perhaps could best be used as a supplementary text in social problems.

A. STEPHEN STEPHAN.

University of Arkansas.

Sociology: A Comparative Outline. By Kewal Motwani. Bombay: New Book Company, Ltd., 1947. Rs. 5-12. Pp. xii + 196.

This is (1) a cursory survey of the conventional material of American "Sociologies". (2) an interpretation of this material in the thought patterns of the Indian, and (3) a plea for sociology in the Indian scheme of education and governmental services. The United States is cited as the main country in which sociology—the only science containing the version necessary for national integration and preservation—has

had a functional part in education and political life. Germany and Soviet Russia also have mastered [?] the technique of coordinating their internal strength because they have cultivated sociological education. Britain's backwardness in this respect has hindered that nation as well as India. Whether India lives or dies depends upon its ability to learn to plan scientifically so as to thwart the crushing forces from without and the disruptive influences within. Hence, there is a critical need for more sociological education in the modern sense to facilitate a new national birth in which the foremost problem will be to reconcile diverse religious, linguistic, economic, ethnic, and political factions. Unfortunately, the book may foster in India a belief that America has solved successfully a similar complex of problems, having given sociology a succulent growth.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

This Man and this Woman. By Frederick W. Brink. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 79. \$1.50.

The Hygiene of Marriage. New Rev. Ed. By Millard Spencer Everett. Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co., 1948. Pp. xvii + 232. \$1.49.

The first of these two little volumes is designed for young people who are definitely contemplating marriage. It deals with fundamental supports for marriage, problems to be solved during the engagement period, the marital union, adjustments to be made in marriage, the successful home, and problems involved in marriages of Protestants and Catholics and of Jews and non-Jews. Ministers will find it a helpful device in counselling young people in their parishes. It will be useful also in young people's forums on marriage and the family.

The second volume is a popular priced reprint (originally published by The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1932) designed not only for those contemplating marriage but also for the married. While written by a professor of philosophy, it contains a foreword of

endorsement by a member of the medical profession. That a book written by a "layman" should be commended by the medical fraternity is little short of remarkable. Four major subjects comprise its contents: the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of sex; venereal disease prevention; mental hygiene in relation to sex behavior; and child birth and birth control. The book is inexpensive, thereby bringing to even low income families a distinctly helpful source of information on marital problems.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

Oklahoma Agricultural and
Mechanical College.

Toward Public Understanding of Casework

By Viola Paradise. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. Pp. 242. \$2.00

Administration of Group Work. By Louis H. Blumenthal. New York: Association Press, 1948. Pp. 220. \$3.50.

These books deal with common problems in casework and group work. They will be useful handbooks to social workers, members of boards and students. The "gobbledegools" characteristic of most social work and social science writing is entirely absent from Viola Paradise's book and appears only as a minor lapse in Louis Blumenthal's work.

Miss Paradise has undertaken to show the difficulties encountered by social caseworkers in trying to explain to the layman what they do. This is a serious matter, because the layman pays the bills and receives the service. Consequently, the clarity with which caseworkers can make their functions and methods understood has an important influence upon the effectiveness of casework. The book is based mainly upon a sort of "case history" of social casework interpretation in Cleveland. It is factual, readable and interesting.

Two things become clear as a result of Miss Paradise's analysis of the public understanding of casework. First, while caseworkers know how to use their knowledge and skill in specific cases, they have spent so little time and money on scientific study of their problems and the effects of their methods that they have accumulated very

little verified general knowledge of either problems or methods. Second, most case-workers dropped English composition too soon when they were in college. Both of these facts contribute largely to the difficulties of interpretation.

Mr. Blumenthal undertook "to gather into a single volume the three major concerns that have pertinent bearing upon democratic administration: the process of administration, the techniques of democracy and the dynamics of individual and group behavior". This obviously was a large order. He has summarized very well the administrative processes made familiar in many books on political science and has utilized in some measure reports of the recent research of Elton Mayo and Kurt Lewin. His account of "the techniques of democracy" is also familiar. The presentation of the "dynamics of individual and group behavior" is rather abstract and hazy.

There is little in Blumenthal's book which is new. Hardly any of the issues are presented as problems for scientific study. The review of much re-stated doctrine is clearly written, but the book suffers from a paucity of verified fact.

R. CLYDE WHITE.

Western Reserve University.

Voluntary Medical Care Insurance in the United States. By Franz Goldmann. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 228. \$3.00.

Dr. Goldman offers this book as a companion volume to his earlier *Public Medical Care*. The present volume describes an analysis of the development and present state of voluntary medical care insurance and appraises the most important types of organization in the United States.

This writing has been prompted by the development of a very large number of voluntary plans during the last two decades in this country and the popularity of prepayment plans as evidenced by phenomenal membership gains. The book is an endeavor to provide the information necessary to answer two questions: Is voluntary medical care insurance here to stay? Will it even-

tually be made part of a broad national health program or succumb before legislation for compulsory health insurance?

The author sees definite limitations in voluntary medical care insurance. For example, "it can provide for limited services at reasonable cost but not for complete care if the plan is operated on the basis of the individual practice of medicine and the fee-for-service method of payment". Further, that although voluntary plans may be established in all the states, they cannot reach all the self-supporting people and at the same time attain uniformity of provisions, reciprocity, and easy transfer of subscribers.

Dr. Goldman does a very effective job in pointing out the difficulties involved in properly administering public subsidization of voluntary medical insurance plans. His point seems well taken that the true potentialities of the plans lie in the greatest possible extension of the cost-sharing principle and in the combination of group practice and group prepayment.

The book is arranged in nine chapters, a bibliography, and an index. The material, some of which is highly controversial, is presented forcefully and clearly.

ROBERT L. McNAMARA.

University of Missouri.

You and Your Doctor. By Benjamin L. Miller, M. D. New York: Whittlesey House, 1948. Pp. x + 183. \$2.75.

It is a refreshing experience to read a book like this one from the pen of a medical man. Its author clearly and frankly describes the inadequacies and discrepancies in the social and economic aspects of present-day medical practice. He also prescribes improved methods of distributing medical care.

The main thesis is that the advancement of scientific medicine has outrun the general practitioner, leaving him a horse-and-buggy doctor trying to handle a helicopter. As the G. P. becomes more and more inadequate to the tasks before him, the traditional system of medical practice begins to collapse.

The solution calls for division of labor and cooperation among medical specialists organized into a national system of group practice units. The evils of overspecialization would be avoided by the development of the "pilot physician". He would be the keystone of the medical group, occupying a place somewhere between the too specialized specialist and the too unspecialized G. P. With considerable training in internal medicine and in psychiatry, the pilot doctor would diagnose and treat those conditions within his scope of competency but he would be a referral specialist directing patients to the proper specialists in the various branches of medicine.

This reorganized medical practice would be supported financially through a nationwide insurance system such as that proposed in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.

A. R. MANGUS.

Ohio State University.

BOOKS LISTED

- America and the International Trade Organization.* By William L. Clayton et. al. Washington: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1948. Pp. 101. \$1.00 (paper). A collection of addresses before the First 1948 Economic Institute.
- Americans From Japan.* By Bradford Smith. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948. Pp. 430. \$5.00. A history of Japanese settlements in America emphasizing the role of the Nisei during and after the last war.
- The Annals.* Edited by Thorsten Sellin. "Parties and Politics," Edited by Charles C. Rohlfing and James C. Charlesworth (Vol. 259, Sept. 1948) Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1948. Pp. vii + 207. \$5.00 per year, \$2.00 per copy to non-members.
- A Symposium dealing with the basis of American party system, Political Party organization, the campaign and interest groups in 1948. There are in all sixteen papers by competent authors. The section on "Interest Groups" will be of great interest to rural sociologists.
- The Criminal and His Victims: Studies in the sociobiology of crime.* By Hans Von Hentig. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. Pp. 469. \$6.00. An outline and discussion of social conditions and physical determinants of crime.
- Economic History of Europe; Rev. Ed.* By Herbert Heaton. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. 806. \$4.50.
- The Future of the American Jew.* By Mordecai Kaplan. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. xx + 571. \$6.00. Limited use to rural sociology.
- The Labor Force in Louisiana.* By Rudolf Heberle. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, (Planographed), 1948. Pp. x + 189. \$2.00 (paper). Analysis of the 1940 Census showing occupational and demographic characteristics, and socioeconomic status of Louisiana Labor force.
- Law on the Farm.* By W. H. Hannah. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. 451. \$4.50. Legal information on problems which arise in the business of farming.
- The Nuba.* By S. F. Nadel. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xiv + 527. \$11.00. An Anthropological Study of the hill tribes of Kordofan as influenced by the Arabs. Has considerable appeal for rural sociologists.
- The Proper Study of Mankind.* By Stuart Chase. New York: Harper & Bors., 1948. Pp. xx + 311. \$3.00.
- Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers.* By John R. Ellington. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948. Pp. 384. Trade Ed. \$5.00. Text Ed. \$3.75. A comparison of traditional with current California methods of dealing with juvenile delinquency.
- Public Letters of a Private Citizen.* By George F. Logan. New York: The William Frederick Press, 1948. Pp. 29. \$1.00 (Paper). Maintains the thesis

that a defense from Communism can come only from an economic standpoint; shows how Communism works.

The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico. By Olen E. Leonard. Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1948 (Sales Agent, Texas Book Store, University Station, Austin, Texas). Pp. xii + 154. \$2.00 (Paper, Lithoprinted). A Ph. D. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1943

Santa Cruz: Estudio Economico Social de una Region. (Trans. from English by Douglas Moore) Por Olen E. Leonard. La Paz, Bolivia: Ministerio de Agricultura, 1948. Pp. 103 (Gratis).

Social Adjustment in Old Age: A research planning report (Bull. 59) By Otto

Pollak. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948. Pp. xi + 199. \$1.75 (Paper). A reorganized and largely rewritten edition of a mimeographed planning report on *Social Adjustment in Old Age* issued two years previously. Emphasizes definitions and categories, individual adjustments, attitudes toward and adjustments in retirement, contains a note on sampling for old age research, and a bibliography of 397 selected references.

Social Organization. By Robert Harry Lowie. New York: Rinehart, 1948. Pp. ix + 465. \$4.50. A treatise on social forms of all peoples; the potency of economic forces, ethnic relations, psychological factors, and applications of statistics.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Leland Tate

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PROGRAM

Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28-30, 1948

MONDAY, DECEMBER 27

- 8:30- A.M. to
9:30 P.M. *Workshop Program Sponsored by Joint Committee of Rural Sociological Society and American Library Association*

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 9:00-10:00 A.M. Registration—Jointly with The American Sociological Society
- 10:00-12:00 A.M. *Communications Research as it Relates to Library Usage*—Jointly with American Library Association
Harold Hoffsommer, Chairman
- 1:15- 3:15 P.M. *The Status of Rural Sociology*
Frank Peck, Chairman
F. D. Farrell—The Farm Foundation's Study of Rural Sociology. (A Preliminary Report.)
Bonney Youngblood—The Status of Rural Sociological Research In The Agricultural Experiment Station.
Carl C. Taylor—The Status of Rural Sociological Research In The Department of Agriculture.
Gordon Blackwell—Rural Sociological Extension.
- 3:30- 5:30 P.M. *Research Organizations at Land-Grant Colleges*
Irwin Sanders, Chairman
Reports of Sociological Research Organizations:
George Hill—University of Wisconsin
Homer L. Hitt—Louisiana State University
Paul H. Landis—State College of Washington
Charles P. Loomis—Michigan State College
Robin Williams—Cornell University
- 8:00-10:00 P.M. *Latin America*—Jointly with American Sociological Society
T. Lynn Smith, Chairman
Olen E. Leonard—Locality Grouping In Bolivia
Lowry Nelson—Social Class Structure in Cuba
Oscar Lewis—Contrasting Systems of Agriculture in a Mexican Village.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 9:00-10:00 A.M. *Rural Social Structure and Value Orientation*
Robin Williams, Chairman
Vernon Parenton—A Comparison of the Rural Social Systems of Two Spatially Separated French-speaking Societies.

Charles P. Loomis—Elements and Qualities of Rural Social Systems

10:00-11:00 A.M. *Business Meeting of The Rural Sociological Society*

11:00-12:00 A.M. *Business Meeting of The American Sociological Society*

1:15- 3:15 P.M. *Implementation of Programs* -Jointly with the Society of Applied Anthropology

John Useem, Chairman

F. L. W. Richardson—Influence of Original Culture in Resettlement—The Case of a Mining Patch.

M. L. Wilson—Fitting Extension Work in its Cultural Setting.

3:30- 5:00 P.M. *Rural Social Systems*

Homer Hitt, Chairman

Odin Anderson—Incidence of Hospitalization in Rural Michigan Counties.

Carle C. Zimmerman—Effects of Social Change Upon Rural Personality.

Discussants—O. D. Duncan and Leland Tate

6:30 *Dinner Meeting and Presidential Address*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

9:00-12:00 A.M. *Business Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society*

1:00- 3:00 P.M. *Objectives and Methods of Rural Sociological Research in Health*

Charles E. Lively, Chairman

In Missouri—C. E. Lively

In Ohio—A. R. Mangus

In Michigan—Edgar A. Schuler and C. R. Hoffer

Discussion led by—Robert L. McNamara, Harold Dorn, Carl C. Taylor, and others.

CONSTITUTION

of the

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

December, 1948

Article I. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. *Objects.* The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. *Affiliation.* This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a mem-

ber upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. *Officers.* The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

Article VI. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

Article VII. *Elections.* The president, vice-

president, and one other member of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting. The secretary-treasurer shall be appointed by the other members of the Executive Committee.

Article VIII. Annual Meeting. The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX. Amendments. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

Article I. Membership Dues.

SECTION 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

SEC. 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars and fifty cents per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the society. Students of educational institutions may become members upon the payment of two dollars per annum.

Article II. Standing Committees.

SECTION 1. There shall be three standing committees on research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the Executive Committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

SEC. 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. Publications.

SECTION 1. The quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, shall be the official publication of the society and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

SEC. 2. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the Executive Committee, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

SEC. 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *Rural Sociology*.

SEC. 4. The Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. Elections.

At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate two candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary before November first. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the two nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who

have received a majority of the ballots cast.

Article V. *Vacancies.*

The Executive Committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society.

Article VI. *Amendments.*

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

NAT T FRAME

Resolution of Respect from the
Twenty-seventh Conference of the
American Country Life Association
Berea, Kentucky, July 13-15, 1948

This, the Twenty-Seventh National Country Life Conference, is the first major meeting to be conducted by the American Country Life Association without direct assistance from Nat T. Frame. No other man has equaled his record of consistent participation and support. He was one of its founders. He long served on its Board of Directors. During one of the most critical periods he served as its secretary. In the 1930's when the American people were severely feeling the economic depression he was its president. His loyalty, vision, and courage have been one of its greatest assets.

When Nat T. Frame passed on, March 22, 1948, he left a record which will long stand as a guiding beam for all who work for better country life in America. As a teacher and administrator in agricultural extension work in West Virginia, he was a pioneer in promoting programs for rural youth, for farm homes, and for more adequate rural communities. In his later years he helped carry forward research programs

clarifying the factors and setting guide posts. Throughout the nation those endeavoring to strengthen human, spiritual, and community phases of rural life respected him as a helpful consultant.

THIS conference, with its membership representing more than a dozen of the national and regional programs which he helped to establish and more than twenty states in which he has worked, pauses to pay respect for the long and useful career of Nat T. Frame. We ask that this resolution be published in our conference proceedings and also that a copy be forwarded to his lifetime partner and co-worker, Mrs. Nat T. Frame. We further express the hope that the time will come when an adequate record of his pioneering service will be prepared and published so that others may benefit from knowing more about this statesman and crusader for the type of rural life in America which is a first essential if we are to maintain and advance our democratic type of civilization.

The American Country Life Association held its Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference at Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, July 13-15, on the theme "Rural Policies and Policy Making". Headquarters of the Association have been established at 3166 North Eighteenth Street, Arlington, Virginia, with Paul V. Maris as Executive Secretary. Dr. Roger B. Corbett, Associate Dean, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, is president of A.C.L.A. Members of the Board of Directors elected or re-elected at Berea are: Mrs. Almer Armstrong, Howard W. Reers, R. D. Butler, Roger B. Corbett, John H. Davis, Arthur Floyd, Gunvor Johannesen, and Sherman E. Johnson.

University of Massachusetts: Dr. C. Wendell King, of Rollins College, taught a section of Introduction and Race Relations during the first six weeks of summer school. Mr. John F. Manfredi, who holds an M.A. from Harvard, has been appointed to the rank of instructor. Mr. Manfredi is completing his dissertation under the direction of Professor Talcott Parsons. Mr. Edwin Driver, who holds an M.A. from the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania and is continuing his work toward the Ph.D. there, has also been appointed to the rank of instructor. Mr. Driver's major field of interest is Criminology. Dr. J. H. Korson has been promoted to the rank of professor.

Michigan State College.—Kenneth Tiedke of Columbia University has taken over Solon Kimball's anthropological work in the Experiment Station and Department. Kimball has resigned to become head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Alabama.

Alex Sim, last year's Hinman fellow in the department has returned to Canada where he is carrying on a study of a French Canadian community. Eduardo Arze, State Department fellow in rural sociological extension methods, returned to Bolivia after having completed his work for the master's degree. Graduate research assistantships for use in the area program research evaluation work of the department were awarded to Reed Powell, now in Costa Rica, Alex Sim, and Wade Andrews. Teaching and extension assistantships were awarded to the following: Faye Blakeley, Walter Boek, Betsy Castleberry, Linwood Hodgdon, Fu-Ju Liu, Joseph H. Locke, Sheldon Lowry, Clara H. Lowe, and Thomas Poffenberger.

Christopher Sower worked with Dr. Ray Mangus on a cooperative project in the Division of Mental Hygiene, Ohio Department of Public Welfare, during the month of August.

C. P. Loomis, head of the department, has been elected president of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

A list of publications of the Social Research Service and the Agricultural Experiment Station is now available. Among items included are monographs and reports on Health by E. A. Schuler and C. R. Hoffer; Educational Sociology by Wilbur Brookover and Fred Thaden; Marriage and the Family, by Judson Landis; Farm Labor Conditions and Membership Relations of Cooperatives by Duane Gibson; Rural-Urban Fringe by Christopher Sower; Extension methods and Research by Paul Miller; Population,

Sociometry and Acculturation by Allan Beegle and C. P. Loomis.

Purdue University.—A. Kimball Romney has been appointed temporary instructor in sociology, taking the place of Walter Hirsch, who has been granted a year's leave of absence for graduate study. Mr. Romney completed his Masters' Degree in sociology at Brigham Young University last June. He was in summer school at the University of Southern California this past summer.

The sociology curriculum has been revised and expanded to meet the needs of a growing department. The Masters' Degree is now being offered, and there are a number of Graduate Assistantships open. Those interested should apply to the chairman, Harold T. Christensen.

Mississippi State College.—Harald A. Pedersen, who will soon complete his work for the doctorate at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of rural sociology. Mr. Pedersen will engage in research and teaching, and is the second staff member to be added since the work in this field was inaugurated in July.

The first research project to be initiated deals with the movement and employment opportunities of the rural population of the State. Population research is one of several fields in which coordination and cooperative endeavors are being planned with the Department of Sociology at the University of Mississippi.

University of Missouri.—Robert L. McNamara has joined the staff with the rank of professor. He will head the experiment station research in rural health and do some teaching. Dr. McNamara comes to Missouri from Oklahoma A. & M. College.

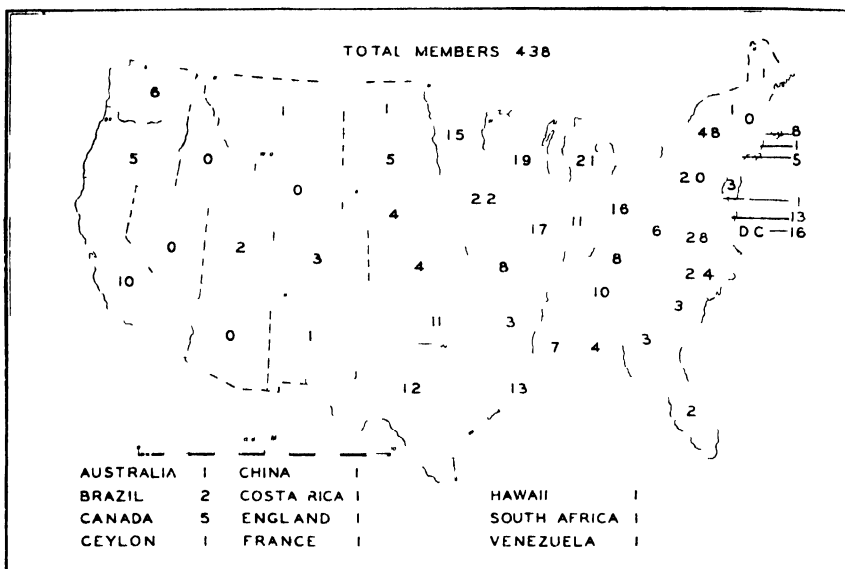
John B. Mitchell of Osceola, Arkansas, has been appointed part-time instructor. He holds the B.S. degree in Agriculture and the M.A. degree in Rural Sociology from Louisiana State University.

Asst. Professor Herbert F. Lionberger has just published Experiment Station Research Bulletin No. 413, entitled, "Low In-

come Farmers in Missouri: Situation and Characteristics of 459 Farm Operators in Four Social Area B Counties". It represents the first of a series on this subject.

C. L. Gregory is at present supervising a resurvey of the St. Francois river flood control project at Waynesville, Missouri. Eight years ago when the flood control dam was built, he surveyed the situation and devised

a plan for the removal of families from the flooded area. The present resurvey of the human effects of the project is being financed from Governor Donnelly's special flood control fund, and is being made in cooperation with the State Division of Resources and Development. Miss Zetta Bankert is in charge of the field work and tabulations.



MEMBERS IN THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1948

Compared With Four Previous Years

Class	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944
Total	438	424	400	399	358
Active-professional	349	339	340	348	298
Student members	83	78	52	40	38
Joint members	4	1	4	1	1
Contributing members	2	5	3	2	1
Honorary members	0	1	1	1	1

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP LIST, 1948

ALABAMA

Andrews, Henry L.	Box 797	University
Gomillion, Charles G.	Box 31	Tuskegee Institute
Neal, Ernest E.	Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee
Nunn, Alexander	Progressive Farmer	Birmingham 2

ARKANSAS

Charlton, J. L.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Ewbank, John R.	Philander Smith College	Little Rock
Hudson, Gerald T.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville

CALIFORNIA

Andersen, Martin P.	University of California	Los Angeles 24
Anderson, C. Arnold	University of California	Berkeley 4
Atterbury, Marguerite	Box 57	San Marcos
Griffin, F. L.	University of California	Davis
*Kaljian, Ara	Route 1, Box 315	Fowler
Metzler, William H.	222 Mercantile Building	Berkeley 4
*Phillips, Jack	714 W. California Street	Pasadena 2
Taylor, Paul S.	University of California	Berkeley 1
*Vucinich, A. S.	Stanford University	Stanford
Young, Earle F.	Route 6—414	Modesto

COLORADO

Hodgson, James G.	Box 275	Fort Collins
Kloepfer, Herman J.	956 Marine Street	Boulder
Stetts, Herbert E.	Iliff School of Theology	Denver

CONNECTICUT

Hypes, J. L.		Storrs
McKain, Walter C., Jr.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Webb, V. H.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Whetten, Nathan L.	University of Connecticut	Storrs
Woodward, Ralph L.	409 Prospect Street	New Haven

DELAWARE

Thomasson, M. E.	Delaware State College	Dover
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Beck, P. G.	4716 Harrison Street, N. W.	Washington 15
Belshaw, H.	1201 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.	Washington 6
Bowles, Gladys K.	1703 Bay Street, S. E.	Washington 3
Clark, Lois M.	1201 Sixteenth St. N. W.	Washington 6
Ducock, Louis J.	1302 Saratoga Ave. N. E.	Washington 18
Ellickson, J. C.	3420 McKinley	Washington 15
Fitzwater, C. O.	1201 16th St. N. W.	Washington
Folsom, Josiah C.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics	Washington 25

* Student Member

Hagood, Margaret Jarman	Bureau of Agricultural Economics	Washington 25
Manovill, Robert J.	Dairy Industries Society	Washington
Nichols, Ralph R.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics	Washington 25
Niederfrank, E. J.	Extension Service, U.S.D.A.	Washington 25
Rose, John Kerr	1808 16th Street, N. W.	Washington 6
Rosoff, Milton	2712—29th Street, S. E.	Washington 20
Wells, Oris V.	Bureau of Agricultural Economics	Washington 25
Yang, Ellwood Hsin-Pao	1209 Trinidad Ave. N. E.	Washington

FLORIDA

Alleger, Daniel E.	Florida Agricultural Experiment Station	Gainesville
Moore, Coyle E.	Florida State College for Women	Tallahassee

GEORGIA

McClain, Howard G.	Mercer University	Macon
McMahan, C. A.	165 Springdale Street	Athens
Williams, B. O.	University of Georgia	Athens

ILLINOIS

Bailey, Dwight L.	Western Illinois State College	Macomb
Butt, Rev. E. Dargan	600 Haven St.	Evanston
Cummins, Rev. Ralph	809 South Fifth Street	Champaign
Folae, Clinton L.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Lindstrom, David E.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Mueller, Rev. E. W.	327 South La Salle	Chicago 4
Obenhaus, Victor	5757 University Avenue	Chicago 37
Petroff, Louis	Southern Illinois Normal University	Carbondale
Ratcliffe, S. C.	Illinois Wesleyan University	Bloomington
Regnier, E. H.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Reibel, E. D.	Evangelical Theological Seminary	Naperville
Rogers, Helene H.	Illinois State Library	Springfield
Sering, Mrs. Margaret P.	2720 South Karlov Avenue	Chicago 23
*Sharp, Herbert Lee	607½ West Elm Street	Champaign
Shideler, E. H.	University of Illinois	Galesburg
Smith, Rockwell C.	Garrett Biblical Institute	Evanston
Tudor, William J.	Southern Illinois University	Carbondale

INDIANA

Becker, Edwin L.	United Christian Missionary Society	Indianapolis 7
Biddle, William W.	Eralham College	Richmond
Christensen, Harold T.	1060 State Street	West Lafayette
Davison, Victor H.	2030 North Delaware	Indianapolis 2
*Feemster, Mary E.	Purdue University	West Lafayette
Gray, Wayne T.	613 Anderson Street	Greencastle
Greene, Shirley E.	Merom Institute	Merom
Herahberger, Guy F.	1306 South 8th Street	Goshen
Losey, Edwin J.	225 Connolly Street	West Lafayette

O'Hara, Warren
Smith, Harold E.

Indiana Farm Bureau
Purdue University

Indianapolis
Lafayette

IOWA

*Beal, George
*Beran, Don L.
*Bohlen, Joe
Carter, Gene W.
Comfort, Richard O.
*Fessler, Donald R.
Ghormley, Mr. & Mrs. Hugh
Glaser, Rev. Robert E.
Graff, E. F.
Hill, Reuben
Hintgen, Rev. Victor
Hradecky, Rev. W. C.
Jehlik, Paul J.
Ligutti, Rt. Rev. Luigi G.
*Palmer, James H.
Reuss, Carl F.
Rohwer, Robert A.
Schultz, Gerard
Stacy, W. H.
Timmons, John F.
Wakeley, Dr. Ray E.

517 Stanton Street
2513 Westover Blvd
212 Pammel Court
604 W Boston
University of Dubuque
Marydon Route 3
1535 West 26th Street

525 Ash
3018 Story Street

Duncan
1218 Ridgewood
3801 Grand Avenue
Iowa State College
Wartburg College
119 Beach Ave
606 North Burton Street
Iowa State College
832 Brookridge Avenue
2144 Sunset Drive

Ames
Des Moines
Ames
Indianola
Dubuque
Ames
Des Moines
Strawberry Point
Ames
Ames
Stacyville
P. O. Britt
Ames
Des Moines 12
Ames
Waverly
Ames
Indianola
Ames
Ames
Ames

KANSAS

*Day, Rev. LeRoy J.
Hill, Randall C.
Schroll, Sister Agnes C.
Wolters, Rev. Gilbert

Ottawa University
Kansas State College
Mt. St. Scholastica College
St. Benedict's College

Ottawa
Manhattan
Atchison
Atchison

KENTUCKY

Beers, Howard W.
Brown, James S.
Grigsby, S. Earl
Hanna, C. Morton
Oyler, Merton D.
Ramsey, Ralph J.
*Ross, James Pheane
Sanders, Irwin T.

1120 South Limestone Street
1120 South Limestone Street
University of Kentucky
109 East Broadway
Box 532 Berea College
University of Kentucky
351 Lexington Avenue
University of Kentucky

Lexington
Lexington 36
Lexington
Louisville 2
Berea
Lexington
Lexington
Lexington

LOUISIANA

*Bedsale, George W., Jr.
Bertrand, Alvin L.
Burrus, John N.
D'Argonne, Michael C.
*Ford, Thomas R.
Frey, Fred C.
Harrison, Walter R.
Herberle, Rudolf
Hitt, Homer L.

Box 178 College Station
Louisiana State University
Louisiana State University
5933 Vicksburg Street
Louisiana State University
Louisiana State University
Southwest University
Louisiana State University
Louisiana State University

Hammond
Baton Rouge
Baton Rouge
New Orleans 19
Baton Rouge
Baton Rouge
Baton Rouge
Baton Rouge
Baton Rouge 3
Baton Rouge 3

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|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| Hyde, Roy E. | Southeastern Louisiana College | Hammond |
| Parenton, Vernon J. | Louisiana State University | Baton Rouge 3 |
| *Pellegrin, Roland J. | Louisiana State University | Baton Rouge 3 |
| Thompson, Susanne | Box 8444, University Station | Baton Rouge 3 |
-
- MAINE**
- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------|
| Lebrum, Edmund J. | University of Maine | Orono |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------|
-
- MARYLAND**
- | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| Baker, O. E. | University of Maryland | College Park |
| Davis, Loa | Box 485 | Frederick |
| Dodson, Linden S. | 10,225 N. H. Avenue Extension | Silver Springs |
| Galloway, Robert E. | University of Maryland | College Park |
| Hoffsommer, Harold | University of Maryland | College Park |
| Hoves, John B. | Westminster Theological Seminary | Westminster |
| Liss, Samuel | 114 Shepherd Street | Chevy Chase 15 |
| *Longmore, T. Wilson | 1525 Elson Street | Takoma Park |
| Roberts, Roy L. | 4404 Bywood Lane | Bethesda 14 |
| Taeuber, Conrad and Irene | 4222 Sheridan Street | Hyattsville |
| Wilson, M. L. | 14 Rosemary Street | Chevy Chase |
| Woofter, Thomas J. | 8303 Roanoke Avenue | Takoma Park |
-
- MASSACHUSETTS**
- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Bourgeois, Lawrence Louis | 20 Trowbridge Street No. 5 | Cambridge |
| Fenn, Donald F. | University of Massachusetts | Fort Devens |
| Korsen, J. H. | Massachusetts State College | Amherst |
| McIntire, Ruth | University of Massachusetts | Amherst |
| *Pierce, Albert | 2711 Eliot Road | Fort Devens |
| Safford, N. Morton | 235 Main Street | Higham |
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 Cornell University
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 25 Claremont Avenue
 281 Fourth Avenue
 15 Amsterdam Avenue
 520 West 122nd Street
 Cornell University
 New York State College
 1230 Amsterdam Avenue
 Cornell University
 287 Fourth Avenue
 310 West 105 Street
 437 North Geneva Street
 RFD No. 1
 Cornell University

State College

- Ithaca
 New York
 Ithaca
 Oneonta
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 Ithaca
 Ithaca
 New York
 Ithaca
 New York 27
 New York 11
 Ithaca
 Bronx 58
 Syracuse 2
 New York
 Ithaca
 Syracuse
 Poughkeepsie
 Odessa
 Ithaca
 Ithaca
 New York 27
 Orangeburg
 St. Bonaventure
 New York 27
 Ithaca
 New York
 New York 32
 Ithaca
 Canton
 New York
 Romulus
 New York 10
 New York 23
 New York
 Ithaca
 Albany
 New York 27
 Ithaca
 New York 10
 New York 25
 Ithaca
 Groton
 Ithaca

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 Durham
 Goldsboro
 Chapel Hill
 Raleigh
 Asheville
 Raleigh
 Raleigh
 Chapel Hill
 Taylorsville
 Raleigh
 Chapel
 Raleigh
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Grand Forks

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 Columbus
 Chickasaw
 Columbus
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 Oxford
 Yellow Springs
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Oklahoma City 5
 Poteau
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 Stillwater
 Stillwater
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 Portland
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 Corvallis
 Eugene

State College
 State College
 State College
 State College
 Pittsburgh 18
 Mount Joy
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 Allentown
 State College
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 State College
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